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**Trade in the Safavid Port City Bandar Abbas
and the Persian Gulf Area (ca.1600-1680)
A Study of Selected Aspects**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents and discusses some results of archival research into aspects of intra- and interregional trade in the Persian Gulf Area during the XVIIth century. It illustrates movements of selected non-luxury goods and explores the ways in which the regional network of port cities (and the connecting caravan trade) functioned on a variety of levels, such as distribution of goods and price formation. In this context individual operations and strategies of some merchants and merchant groups are traced. The study is informed by the conviction that the workings of pre-modern Persian Gulf trade can best be captured by an approach which focuses on commercial regions as sustained by a network of trading places irrespective of their political allegiance, whether Safavid, Ottoman, Afrāsiyāb or Yaʿāriba.

Models developed by economic anthropologists and social geographers to describe the spatial dimension of exchange systems underlie the analysis and are presented in the General Introduction. A survey of the development of interregional trade patterns in the Persian Gulf Area (Ch.1) is followed by a sketch of the political processes which shaped the institutional framework for trade and comments on the relationship of merchants and state officials (Ch.2). Among the area's exports (Part 1), the horse trade is discussed as an example of highly regulated administered exchange (Ch.3). Conversely, the bulk trade of foodstuffs (dates, wheat) was completely open to commercial enterprise (Ch.4). Part 2 on imports is introduced by a presentation of wholesale price lists for widely traded Asian goods (spices, dyestuffs, metals). An excursus discusses problems inherent in the study of consumption and retail patterns in the pre-modern Persian Gulf Area. Imports of Indian textiles (Ch.5) and foodstuffs (rice, sugar; Ch.6) are described as (also) targeting mass markets. The reaction of local crafts and industries is commented upon, as is the position of the Persian Gulf Area in wider Indian Ocean circuits of exchange.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents and discusses some results of archival research into aspects of trade in the Persian Gulf Area during the XVIIth century¹. It illustrates movements of selected non-luxury goods to and from major ports in the region and supplies new evidence on the workings of intra- and interregional as well as long-distance trade. In doing so, it explores in some detail the ways in which, in the pre-modern period, the regional network of port cities operated on a variety of levels, such as price formation, distribution of goods, merchants groups etc. The timespan covered is determined, to some extent, by the availability of mercantile records kept in European archives which alone permit such an undertaking, relevant Persian, Ottoman and Arabic sources being largely confined to court chronicles and comparatively rare government documents. The choice of geographical framework, on the other hand, reflects a deliberate departure from a historiographical tradition in Middle Eastern Studies, which has the "central state" as the active principle behind the organisation of space². Conversely, this study is informed by the conviction that the workings of pre-modern maritime trade in the area can best be captured by an approach which focuses on a network of trading places, here port cities, irrespective of their political allegiance. It shares this perspective with recent scholarship in "Indian Ocean Studies"³, a strand of research as yet hardly assimilated into Middle Eastern Studies. As one of the main objectives in this thesis is an investigation into the Persian Gulf Area's position in wider Indian Ocean circuits of exchange, it is hoped that the conceptualisation of space, which in that wider context has proved useful in describing pre-modern patterns of trade, can be employed in a meaningful, if revised fashion for this study.

¹ The following conventions have been used throughout the text: "Iran" refers to country and state, "Persian" to ethnicity and language (*fārsī*). The term "Persian Gulf" has been preferred over "Arabian Gulf" because of its seniority in scholarly literature. The meaning of "Persian Gulf Area" is discussed below.

² This is not the place to discuss in detail the history of the area's historiography, either local or European. Principally, the problems reside for the former in attempts to incorporate more or less anachronistically "Gulf history" into nationalist historiography, glossing over multiple ethnic, linguistic and religious diversities, for the latter in a tendency to view local political and social systems as underdeveloped or degenerate versions of the nascent nation state in contemporaneous Europe so as to more easily construct a narrative counterpart in what essentially was a minor branch of the history of European expansion. However, even apart from questions of *Ideologiekritik*, there is as yet no satisfactory history of the Persian Gulf in Islamic times, weaving political, commercial and other developments into one account.

³ Attempts to expand the notion of "Indian Ocean" from a geographical concept into a meaningful historical category can be found in the studies of K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, and ID. (1990), *Asia Before Europe. Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, which both acknowledge inspiration from the historiography of F. BRAUDEL. There is no need here to dwell on the difficulties, epistemological and otherwise, invariably encountered when reversing the process of deduction underlying the writing of "world history", or, for that matter, history of the "World System East of Longitude 20" (a phrase taken from ID. (1981b), *The World System East of Longitude 20: The European Role in Asia*, *Review* V/2, 219-245).

Initially it was planned to analyse commercial activities in the port city of Bandar-e 'Abbās alone, seen in the context of a political superstructure - here Safavid Iran. In the course of research, however, it became evident that in order to understand the history of pre-modern trade in lands bordering the Persian Gulf it was necessary to view the area as *one* arena. After all, Persian Gulf traders, while consciously dealing with the various overlords of the Gulf's shores, interacted in networks of exchange which almost by definition transcended the borders of political units. While merchant houses often pursued commercial interests on both shores of the Persian Gulf, it was the exception rather than the rule that large land-based empires straddled the coastlines. It is true that in the period just prior to that dealt with in this study *de facto* independent polities rose on the Persian Gulf littoral. However, it seems they owed their existence more to the inability of mainland states to wield effective coercive power over distant coasts, than to the need for (politically and economically) neutral "*Handelsplätze*" (ports-of-trade) of Polanyian inspiration⁴. Much of what can be observed in the XVIIth century may be read as a variation on this theme. It appeared promising, therefore, to shift the focus. In this study, the maritime traders' operations will be placed in a setting outlined not by the borders of pre-modern Middle Eastern states. Instead, the investigation will revolve around the network of what can be called the natural habitat of these merchants, the port cities, whether under Safavid, Ottoman, Afrāsiyāb, or Ya'āriba domination. Observations on commerce in Bandar-e 'Abbās will be viewed in the context of trade in and with other ports such as Bandar-e Kong, Bandar-e Rīg, Al-Bašra, Al-Qaṭīf or Masqaṭ, and across the regions they served, here called the Persian Gulf Area⁵. This term is meant to encompass not just the littoral⁶ but also the ports' hinterlands and inland markets in so

⁴ In the period we are concerned with we shall see this assertion apply notably to Al-Bašra and, in a less formalised way, to unruly settlements on the Iranian coast. The notion of "port-of-trade" will be discussed in some detail below; the reference is to K. POLANYI (1963), *Ports of Trade in Early Societies*, *JEcH* XXIII, 30-45 [German ed. in: ID. (1979), *Ökonomie und Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt/M., 284-299; Polanyi's original German term does not evoke the immediate linkage to maritime trade].

⁵ Some (pre-)historians have thought the Persian Gulf Area a useful unit for analysis, see e.g. R. BOUCHARLAT (et al.) (1984), *Arabie Orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran Méridionale de l'âge du fer au début de la période Islamique*, Paris. The region here labelled as Persian Gulf Area bears some resemblance to the fourth of eight Eurasian trade circuits described in J.L. ABU LUGHOD (1989), *Before European Hegemony. The World System A.D. 1250-1350*, New York / Oxford, 35 as "fourth subsystem that passed [*scil.*: from the Levant] overland to Baghdad before it split into two branches, one that set out northeastward to join the Central Asian caravan circuit, and the other that went southward to the Indian Ocean via the Persian Gulf". Differences both in the area's extension and the way its definition has been arrived at will become more evident in the course of this study.

⁶ Recently, students in the field of "Indian Ocean Studies" have demanded a greater awareness of "littoral societies" in order to study in a more integrated fashion the ecological and economic opportunities offered by their direct access to the sea, see M.N. PEARSON (1985), *Littoral Society. The Case for the Coast*, *GC* VII/1, 1-8 and J.C. HEESTERMAN (1980), *Littoral et intérieur de l'Inde*, *Itin* I, 87-92. However, in M.N. PEARSON (1981), *Coastal Western India. Studies from the Portuguese Records* (=XCHR Studies Series No.2), New Delhi, the hermeneutic usefulness of the concept is not immediately evident, and for the present study, centred, as it is, on trade, it was not found to offer new insights; it

far as they can be shown to have sustained continuous communication in exchange networks. The frequency and intensity of these exchange contacts varied greatly, both in space and over time. The main body of the text will therefore be prefaced with an outline of the geographical and historical setting against which XVIIth century Persian Gulf trade developed. The integration of the Indian Ocean subunit "Persian Gulf Area" into the wider context of Asian trade will be constructed from the vantage point of our port cities in terms of hinterland-foreland relationships. Here, a number of models devised by economic anthropologists and geographers and aimed at categorizing market-systems in precapitalist societies have informed the analysis, often without being explicitly referred to in the chapters that follow. It has therefore been deemed useful to present the more important of them in this introduction.

Although for this study the search for an alternative (spatial and conceptual) framework has been found appropriate, there is no need to emphasise that disputing the usefulness of the "central state" as a meaningful unit for the analysis of a commercial region does not deny the importance of "the state", in whatever incarnation, as an agency in pre-modern trade. In fact, much of our data points to the opposite. However, it is hoped that by deliberately disregarding the problematic assumptions of Šīrī and Ibādī nationalism in Iran and 'Umān, and of antagonisms such as Ottoman vs. Arab in Al-Baṣra, Persian vs. Arab on the Iranian coast, Persian vs. Turkic in Iran (which would inevitably have to be tackled were one to venture into a study of state formation in our area), some scope for viewing (commercial) actions and strategies of "states" in the Persian Gulf Area comparatively may be attained. Nor does the search for a new approach imply contending that the social formation of the land-based states of the Persian Gulf Area firmly rested on anything but an agrarian base. Strict quantification is impossible, but there can be little doubt that XVIIth century foreign trade, if of momentous impact on the areas of life it touched (geographically and socially), can hardly be said to have moulded the countries surrounding the Persian Gulf⁷. Yet, switching the focus from the core of inland powers to the port city, the

might do just that, however, were one to endeavour a more in-depth study of *genres de vie* or clashing historical identities of coastal and inland people, see e.g. the geo-historical premises in J.C. WILKINSON (1987), *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, Cambridge.

⁷ This certainly holds true for economic analysis. In a political context, the only possibility to gauge the incidence of foreign trade would be an examination of customs receipts. As only scattered data is available for late Safavid Iran, we are barred from assessing reliably that derivative of foreign trade in any but the most general terms, see: V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk. A Manual of Safavid Administration*, London, 180 (incidentally, not even the exact flow of these revenues within the Safavid financial administration is quite clear, see MĪRZĀ SAMĪ'Ā, *Tazkerat ol-mulūk*, in: *ibid.*, 105, 109); for the share of customs revenue in the income of XVIth century Ottoman Al-Baṣra see: R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux Ottomans: la province de Bassoura*, *JESHO* X, 224-270; for early XVIth century Hormūz see below. It can be safely argued that in a local context income derived from foreign trade passing through a province was considerable, see for the Indo-Iranian caravan trade through Qandahār the remarks in R. KLEIN

scenario changes radically: by deliberately highlighting the exchange functions of these settlements the spatial relationship between long-distance and regional trade and the tenuous integration of the two can be more appropriately explored. Whether or not the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area must be considered "peripheral" in the context of a separate "Indian Ocean world economy", as suggested by some world-system theorists, can only be decided once more detailed research into interregional trade becomes available, but certainly the position of foreign trade within the area can be described as "peripheral"⁸. In fact, our data has guided us to believe that it is precisely the very low levels of integrated development of foreign trade and agricultural base which demands a different approach. We would suggest the coexistence of different stages of commercialisation which found expression in different spatial arrangements under an overarching structure we may tentatively call tributary mode of production⁹ and which need not be centralising.

Merchants and Modes of Production

The tributary mode of production (TMP) distinguishes surplus takers and primary producers, whether cultivator or pastoralist, not as opposed by their control or lack of control over the means of production, but by non-market extraction of (agrarian) surplus. One can assume beyond this basic relationship of power and as expression of more complex social hierarchies that there is an almost universal tendency to circulate part of the surplus or derived commodities, socially and/or geographically. Here opportunities for merchants open up¹⁰, whose activities, in a first phase, assist in satisfying social demand generated by political élites. In doing so they would draw on both subsistence and status enhancing luxury goods, assigning them socially neutral exchange values, thereby potentially subverting the social order of which the TMP is an expression. Among the inhabitants of the large, land-based empires of the pre-modern Islamic

(in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier en Iran Safavide et la route de Qandahār (ca.1550-1650)*, *StIr*; for a note on the importance of the export trade for specialised textile manufacturing in Central Iran see below Pt.2 (Excursus).

⁸ Cfr. P. BOHANNAN / G. DALTON (eds.) (1962), *Markets in Africa*, Evanston, Introduction, *passim*, where the term refers to (geographically and socially) limited market exchange in partially commercialised societies.

⁹ The "tributary mode of production" (TMP) has been proposed, among others, by S. AMIN (1973), *Le développement inégal*, Paris, as a result of dissatisfaction with the traditional Marxist categories of "Asiatic mode of production" (AMP) and "Feudal mode of production" (FMP). A revised formulation can be found in E.R. WOLF (1982), *Europe and the People Without History*, Berkeley etc., 79ff. As we shall see, the TMP can accommodate at the same time the allegedly highly centralistic AMP and overcome the difficulties presented by legalist aspects which bar applications of the FMP to data acquired empirically outside Western Europe, without having to resort to aberration theories.

¹⁰ In this section, no distinction is made between wholesale and retail, foreign or domestic trade, although what is said below would appear to apply to different categories of merchants to different degrees.

world, Ottoman observers were acutely aware of the dangers to which the social order was exposed by mercantile activities and aspirations¹¹. Many examples from Islamic India reveal the possibility of political dividends to be reaped from commercial success: individuals who had boosted their assets by combining revenue farming and commercial enterprise (and continued to do so) could be coopted into the political élite¹². Closer, perhaps, though not by definition structurally different, were contacts between political power and the mercantile world, in political entities hinging on trading places (in our period and area especially Al-Baṣra and Maṣqaṭ), an important share of whose revenue base was created by taxing trade¹³. Our source base for Safavid Iran does not, at present, allow us to draw clear parallels to either phenomenon. However, by conjecture and as observed practice, one would expect political power to strive to deflect such threats to the social order, seeking to rein in merchants whose trade by definition removed them from the centres of intensive power: preferential treatment of minority trading communities, partnership agreements, monopoly trade, taxation, etc. were among the constructive strategies employed by the surplus extractors. At the other end stood sanctions, including the constant threat of forcible dispossession at the hands of the monopolists of coercive power, i.e. the political élite. These were facets of reactions to the same dilemma, namely to discourage the unrestrained mobilisation of capital. If conflict was built into the system, so were means to limit ensuing damage.

In our context it is important to realise how the TMP allows for a systemic approach to - rather than a substantivist (in fact: culturalist) interpretation of - the ambiguous position of merchants, vulnerable and at the same time indispensable. This approach dispenses with the need to juxtapose three or more parallel modes of production¹⁴ and has the great advantage of creating a logical space for market exchange *within* pre-capitalist societies. Hence, there is no need to

¹¹ See now especially C. KAFADAR (1991), *Les troubles monétaires de la fin du XVI^e siècle et la prise de conscience ottomane du déclin*, *AESC* XLVI/2, 381-400; this dimension has attracted less attention in earlier studies such as B. LEWIS (1962), *Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline*, *ISr* I, 71-87. R.A. ABŪ AL-ḤĀḠĠ [Abou el-Haj] (1991), *Formation of the Modern State*, Albany, has now demonstrated that these authors were by no means disinterested observers, and has pointed out the socially conservative agenda followed by their writings.

¹² For some cases and references see below our discussion of the politically sensitive horse trade.

¹³ See for examples from overland caravan cities R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier...*, *StIr*.

¹⁴ J. FORAN (1988), *The Modes of Production Approach to XVIIth Century Iran*, *IJMES* XX, 345-363, has suggested for "the Iranian XVIIth-century social formation" the contemporary existence of a "pastoral nomadic mode of production", a "peasant crop-sharing mode of production" and a "petty-commodity mode of production". Despite references to Western (and some Iranian) discussion of (neo-) Marxist thought (but practically no mention of Soviet historiography) his is essentially a new terminological vest for the old vision of tripartite Middle Eastern societies (urban-rural-tribal). More importantly for our context, Foran signally fails to integrate mercantile activities into his model.

invent isolated, external areas as *loci* of market exchange, as suggested for the "port-of-trade" (and in related models). Nor are we forced to allot these societies a place on a stage-ist teleological progression towards capitalism¹⁵, or, amounting to much the same, towards a subordinate position at the periphery of a world system, which helps to avoid the, by now, sterile "obstacles-to-capitalist-development" debate¹⁶. The appreciation of the non-economic inherent in the TMP approach, aided by the acceptance of time-honoured strategies in social management, by the élites, of status enhancing commodities (such as withdrawal, chiefly internally, and gift exchange) also allows us to assess implications for social reproduction of the trade in luxury goods¹⁷. In this study, we shall touch upon this point only very briefly in the context of conspicuous consumption of textile products in Safavid Iran. Among other advantages that do not immediately concern us here¹⁸, the TMP-approach obviates the need to rank merchants in

¹⁵ Some Ottomanist historiography goes to show how the imposition of successive research agendas based on questions vexing historians of early modern Europe could, if not actually stall, certainly press into a straightjacket of preconceived categories several centuries in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond; for the feudalism debate see e.g. J. MATUZ (1982), *The Nature and Structure of Ottoman Feudalism*, *AASr(H)* XVI, 281-292; for the world system approach see e.g. H. ISLAMOĞLU-İNAN / C. KEYDER (1977), *Agenda for Ottoman History*, *Review* I/1, 31-55, the articles dealing with the early modern period in EAD. (1987), *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, Cambridge / Paris.

¹⁶ Most famously for Iran see A. ASHRAF (1969), *Historical Obstacles to the Development of a Bourgeoisie in Iran*, *IrSt* II, 54-79 [rev. ed. in: M.A. COOK (ed.) (1970), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, London, 308-332], and, more extensively on the XIXth century in ID. (1359/1982), *Mavāne'-e tārīḫi-ye rošd-e sarmāyedārī dar Irān: doure-ye qāğārīye*, Tehrān.

¹⁷ For some relevant thoughts see J. SCHNEIDER (1977), *Was there a Pre-Capitalist World System*, *Peasant Studies* VI, 20-29.

¹⁸ The TMP approach appears particularly promising in resolving the problematic role of tribal pastoralists, for whom most historiography had always reserved a special place. Pastoral nomadism perceived not as an economic activity putting to work marginal resources, but primarily as an automatic threat to settled agriculture and urbanism. To mention only a recent example of this viewpoint for Iran: F. MOGHADAM (1988), *Nomadic Invasions and the Development of Productive Forces. An Historical Study of Iran 1000-1800*, in: *Science and Society* LII/4, 389-412, but also the implications of A.K.S. LAMBERTON (1977), *The Tribal Resurgence and the Decline of the Bureaucracy in XVIIIth Century Persia*, in: T. NAFF / R. OWEN (eds.) (1977), *Studies in XVIIIth Century Islamic History*, London / Amsterdam, 108-126, 377-382. Recent thought on the social construction of tribal identity has moved away from the concept of kinship groups towards an appreciation of tribes as political entities (although the kinship idiom could evidently be a strong element of cohesion), see R.P. LINDNER (1982), *What was a Nomadic Tribe?*, *CSSH* XXIV, 689-711, but also R. TAPPER (1988), *History and Identity Among the Shahsevan*, *IrSt* XXI, 89-108. In this perspective, tribal leadership could be equated to other households, just as their use of grazing space and other resources was governed by as strict a system of rules as that represented by titles and rights applying to settled agriculture; their inner organisation and integration into vaster political formations, "states", can be described with the analytical tools offered by the TMP approach. For the integration of tribes into exchange systems M. SPEECE (1987), *Duality of Market Structures in XIXth and Early XXth Century Oman*, *Erdkunde* XLI, 196-210, has shown the dendritic central-place marketing network (see also below) as the optimal spatial arrangement of markets for partially commercialised societies such as those characterised by the TMP. For the active participation of tribes in trade, both as carriers, sellers, buyers and distributors in the Safavid period see R. KLEIN (in prep.). For Indo-Iranian trade, some have maintained that "powindah" tribes offered transport services as they migrated between summer and winter pastures, see S.A. AZIMDŽANOVA (1977), *Gosudarstvo Babura v Kabule i v Indii*, Moskva, 44, citing Mir Guljam Moḥammad GUBAR (1959), *Akhmad Šākh osnovatel' Afganskogo gosudarstva*, Moskva; A.M. KHAZANOV (1983), *Nomads and the Outside World*, Cambridge, 210f. quotes the "powindah" as a classical example for his category of "mediatory trade". In XIXth century ethnographic literature, "powindah" appear now

pyramids or similar graphical approximations of social stratification, a matter otherwise complicated by their wealth and exclusion from political power as well as their association with the clerical élite (both Muslim and Christian) and, in many, cases, their position as members of ethnic minorities¹⁹. On the whole it seems as if the TMP offers a convenient framework in which to view mercantile activities in pre-modern Persian Gulf cities.

Emporia and Empires

The port city's fundamental identity, rationale and strategy of survival stemmed from mercantile considerations, nowhere more so than in the Iranian port cities, deprived of any immediate fertile hinterland to speak of. The purpose-oriented character of the seaports lays bare its primary function - providing facilities for and control of commercial exchange - , with detailed mercantile records offering almost laboratory *in vivo* conditions for a historical investigation into the workings of markets. We shall see that by placing the study of pre-modern Persian Gulf port cities into the context of hierarchically organised markets in West Asia, changes in their role must be read, more often than not, in connection with their position *vis-à-vis* land-based states of the area.

From the data presented below it will become evident, that the different product composition of imports and exports was such that the port cities could be seen to fulfill greatly varying functions in the two contexts. For prior to the advent of large scale cash crop-cultivation in Iran in the course of the XIXth century, no major agricultural produce was exported from the Persian Gulf Area to other parts of Asia except for dates, to a much lesser extent wheat, and, more important for the intra-regional trade, 'Umānī sugar. Only the latter can possibly be said to have exerted any modifying force on social or economic structures in the area. Exports such

as carriers now as traders in their own right and linking Central Asia and the Indus plain, see C. JENTSCH (1973), *Das Nomadentum in Afghanistan*, Meisenheim, 134ff and 162ff., but evidence for their role in XVIth and XVIIth century trade, however, is far from unequivocal: Zahir od-Dīn Mohammad BĀBUR, *Vaqf'āt-e Bāburt (=Bāburnāme)*, ed. facs. A. BEVERIDGE, London/Leiden 1905, fl.149b; A.S. BEVERIDGE (ed.) (1922), *The Baburname in English*, London, 235, has an episode in which his men pillage merchants and gives as their leader "Khwaja Khizr Luhani", with a *nisba* tantalisingly close to the name of a "powindah" named-group Lohani. Yet, the facsimile edition of the Čaġatay text spells H'āġa Hīzr Nūhānī. The accurate spelling is given in the index of personal names of Beveridge's translation, and has been preserved in the Russian translation of the text coordinated by S.A. AZIMDŽANOVA, Taškent 1958, 174. Things may have changed towards the XVIIIth century - Mīr Wais, famous head of the Gilzay federation, was said to have made a fortune from commanding the lucrative Indian trade, see: *Encyclopaedia Islamica*², vol.1, s.v. Abdālī; H'āġa 'Abd ol-Karīm KAŠMĪRĪ, *Baydn-e Waqī'*, ed. K.B. NASIM, Lahore 1970, 57, speaks of Afghan tribes of Qandahar selling Persian goods on the bazars of Sind; see for further evidence M. ALAM (1986), *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India. Awadh and the Punjab 1707-1748*, Delhi, 142f.

¹⁹ However, see for Safavid and post-Safavid Iran the remarks in J. CALMARD (1988), *Les marchands iraniens: Formation et montée d'un groupe de pression. XVIe-XIXe siècles*, in: D. LOMBARD / J. AUBIN (eds.) (1988), *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et dans la Mer de Chine. XIIIe-XXe siècles*, Paris, 91-107, a summary of Iranologists' case studies without reference to relevant sociological debates.

as textiles, leatherware or pottery were manufactured in specialised and localised production centres and transshipped in Persian Gulf ports. This created direct transportation links between these two points, but the function of the port city was merely one of offering speedy means of conveyance to distant markets. Primarily nodes of transport integration, little trade (in the sense of buying and selling of these goods) occurred in the XVIIth century port cities, especially in Iran, where most transactions were completed in the production centres, major inland markets or along the route in major cities, such as Lār²⁰. Actors in Persian Gulf port cities did not exert an appreciable influence on the volume, price or direction of goods dispatched, except perhaps for some small-scale last-minute upgrading of market intelligence on the basis of news arriving from the goods' final destination²¹.

While playing an entirely inconsequential part in the marketing of exports, for imports (especially textiles, of which a not insignificant percentage were manufactures aimed at buyers other than the very affluent) Persian Gulf port cities represented important entrypoints into distributional networks arranged as a grid of hierarchically organised markets. As such port cities were linked with one another as well as with hinterland selling markets and foreland purchasing markets: information circulated, goods were distributed, trends observed, suffered or manipulated, all in all a scenario entirely different to that outlined for exports. For the latter, the port city operated as little more than an assembly of storehouses filled with goods that only waited to be embarked for their final destination. For the import trade the storehouses buzzed with the exchange of information and intrigue, the goods being at the centre of fierce bargaining and canny negotiation, coveted or despised here as they would be along the chain of hinterland markets into which they were to be funnelled.

If this appears stating the obvious, implications of this simple observation are far-reaching, for they concern the way we see and categorise the phenomenon of the "port city" in the XVIIth century Persian Gulf. For no longer any of the ports here discussed seems to fit the

²⁰ The situation in Al-Baṣra was slightly different in that some local produce could be sold to overseas merchants, but here fewer products of industrial centres of the wider hinterland were traded.

²¹ As we shall see, this assertion does not apply to Masqat (both under the Portuguese and the Yaʿāribā), where the country's agricultural produce destined for export was offered wholesale in the proximity of the port, as were, later, horses, see below. In the pearl trade, connected with the pearl fisheries of Baḥrayn and elsewhere off the Arabian coast almost all the way to Ġulfār, much of the hauls were marketed directly at Baḥrayn, although some *nāḥodds* and divers, who converged on these pearl beds from other parts of the littoral, sometimes took parts of their catch to seel in their home bases; in addition to Baḥrayn, the XVIIth century knew secondary markets for pearls in Bandar-e Kong, and later Al-Baṣra; for contemporaneous evidence see below.

definition of "emporium", a term otherwise so readily applied to maritime trade centres in pre-modern Asia, "a market place in which a variety of goods is more or less continuously available and in which a plurality of buyers and sellers can meet without undue restraint under predictable conditions of supply and demand"²², and where, we may add, access to a wide range of services facilitated transactions and, to an extent, reduced their costs. The ideal type of "emporium" would have operated to a certain extent autonomously, its merchants being middlemen striving to reap profits from price differentials for goods between the regions it connected, its markets essentially a buffer which isolated the two or more regions: if prices at the receiving end could be high, traders in the emporiums would see to it that they remained so constantly and would control the distribution of the goods concerned accordingly. Only a few decades earlier, these characteristics would have described admirably much of what Hormūz stood for: as a fulcrum of maritime trade it assembled and distributed imports and exports to and from the Persian Gulf Area, its merchants directing the flow of goods over vast areas, their shrewd management of stocks setting the prices for a wide range of products. The emporium trade, if it had always entailed the shipment of high-volume low-value goods, was ideally suited for goods over which quasi monopolies could be exercised. At the root of such a régime we have to imagine a capability to enforce this monopoly²³. If distant regions knew they could rely on Hormūz as the spatial epitome of middlemen activity, they were aware at the same time that their traders would be subjected to severe sanctions were they to subvert this order of things. With the demise of Hormūz as earlier centuries had known it, all this fell away. The fall of Hormūz in 1622, then under Portuguese suzerainty, has served one scholar rightly or wrongly as a metaphor for structural change in the patterns of Euro-Asian trade²⁴. More importantly - in our context certainly, but, we would suggest, also as a truer representation of Hormūz' rôle as a regional centre of trade - its end did

²² D. ROTHERMUND (1991), *Asian Emporia and European Bridgeheads*, in: R. PTAK/ID. (eds.) (1991), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade. c.1400-1750* (=BSA CXLI), Stuttgart, 3-8, 3.

²³ In this respect, the Dutch policy of imposing minimum prices and maximum quantities for monopoly goods in the area, far from representing an institutional innovation, was reminiscent of the principles of the earlier emporia trade.

²⁴ N. STEENSGAARD (1973), *Carracks, Caravans and Companies: The Structural Crisis in the European-Asian Trade in the Early XVIIth Century*, Odense; bearing in mind the use made of the example Hormūz, it is nonetheless useful to remind oneself of the doubts regarding the question whether these changes brought about the demise of Hormūz (the Persian Gulf was, after all, very much a sideshow for all European participants in Asian trade, even at this early stage), and whether, by the same token, its fall affected Euro-Asian trade in any lasting way; for criticism of other central theses of Steensgaard's study see among others T.B. DUNCAN (1975), Niels Steensgaard and the European Trade of the Early XVIIth Century, *JMH* XLVII/3, 512-518, M.A.P. MEILINK-ROELOFSZ (1980), The Structures of Trade in Asia in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries, *MLI* IV, 1-43, and lately again E. HERZIG (1985), Hormuz, *BRISMES* XII, 3-11. Except for a critical appraisal by J. AUBIN, *Siir* III, 1974, 130ff., Steensgaard's monograph has been received in Middle Eastern Studies, if at all, with nowhere near the acclaim it met with among modern historians.

mark a significant change in the spatial organisation of markets across the region, engendering eventually the constellation sketched above and discussed in greater detail below.

Paradoxically, the integration of the mainland successors to Hormūz into larger political units may be linked to their elimination as centres of decision-making and price formation for the export trade. XVIIth century Iranian port cities especially declined into a humble existence at the outer fringes of empire. Perhaps more puzzlingly, this reduction in rank of port cities in the export trade of the Persian Gulf Area was mirrored, for the import trade, by the growth of intimate links with, and in many respects subordination to major purchasing markets overseas. For the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area, the emporium paradigm is no longer an appropriate mode of description, as functions once fulfilled by the emporium disintegrated geographically. It is hoped that the presentation of a number of models devised by economic anthropologists and geographers for the analysis of the spatial organisation of markets, which have informed our interpretation of the archival material employed, will help to elucidate how, on a variety of levels, these functions were now rearranged.

Trading Places and Traders: Some Models

Two concepts have gained currency in the discussion of port cities in pre-modern Asia which were developed by an economic anthropologist and by a geographer interested in locational theory. I am referring to the already mentioned notion of port-of-trade (*Handelsplatz*), as conceived by K. Polanyi, and to central-place theory, as first formulated by W. Christaller. Both approaches were born somewhat outside the mainstream of the two academic disciplines concerned, but otherwise their origin could hardly be further apart, and it can be misleading to extract some aspects from either concept for application in Asian trade without bearing in mind the discourse of which they are an element.

Polanyi was an ardent, if somewhat unorthodox socialist, who strove to classify stages in the development of trade from its beginnings to the all-embracing market of fully-fledged capitalism. Initiated in Europe before the rise of fascism, his thought matured in exile in America, without his ever being fully integrated into American anthropology²⁵. He drew up a list of characteristics common to trade prior to the rise of market exchange, maintaining that the latter was inexorably and exclusively linked to the Industrial Revolution. The port-of-trade

²⁵ For a brief history of the thought of K. Polanyi see S.C. HUMPHREYS (1979), *Geschichte, Volkswirtschaft und Anthropologie: das Werk Karl Polanyis*, in: K. POLANYI (1979), 7-59.

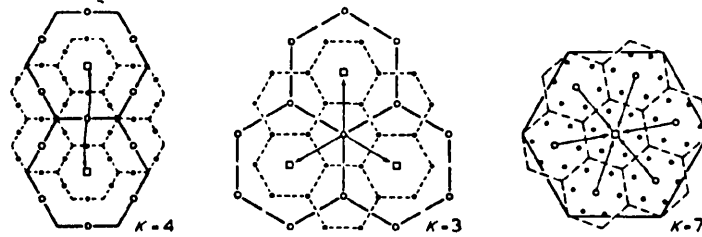
(*Handelsplatz*), for him, belongs to a class of pre-market *loci* of transaction offering facilities for exchange between societies having reached different degrees of commercialisation. Under the impression of the havoc wreaked by the Great Depression he imagined the port-of-trade as a "neutrality device", isolating pre-market societies against influences of "the market" (perceived as originating in an external area) which might potentially subvert the position of political élites of the society thus protected. Parallels are striking to the aims of containing the proliferation of "the market" mentioned above among the preoccupations of élites in societies characterised by the TMP. This similarity notwithstanding, application of Polanyi's model to the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area is problematic, although, somewhat paradoxically, even critics of his distinction of trade and market often adopt the idea of a neutrality device, which makes sense only in the construction envisaged by Polanyi²⁶.

W. Christaller, on the other hand, worked and published his trailblazing study of central places in the Germany of the early 1930's²⁷ before being associated, in the 1940's, with regional planning of new German cities in the context of the Nazi régime's geopolitic project of subjecting and transforming Eastern Europe²⁸. His aim in his earlier academic work was to develop criteria for deciding the optimal, i.e. least-cost, location for markets. In order to lay the groundwork for generalisations he posits an isotropic landscape, an entirely homogenous population of consumers

²⁶ See e.g. K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), 13f. and 223f.; among the critics see also D.C. NORTH (1977), *Markets and Other Allocation Systems. The Challenge of Karl Polanyi*, *JEECH* VI, 703-716. For a truly Polanyian, but somewhat unconvincing attempt to apply the notion to pre-modern Indian Ocean trade see A. LEEDS (1961), *The Port-of-Trade in Pre-European India as an Ecological and Evolutionary Type*, in: V.E. GARFIELD (ed.) (1961), *Proceedings of the 1961 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, Seattle, 26-43. Recent collections of essays such as D.K. BASU (ed.) (1985), *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia*, Lanham / London., or F. BROEZE (ed.) (1989), *Brides of the Sea. Port Cities in Asia from the XVIth-XIXth Centuries*, Kensington, more concerned with the contemporary period, no longer find the "port-of-trade" concept useful.

²⁷ W. CHRISTALLER (1933), *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*, Jena.

²⁸ See M. RÖSSLER (1989), *Applied Geography and Area Research in Nazi Society: Central Place Theory and Planning 1933 to 1945*, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* VII, 419-431.

Figure 1: Central-Place Arrangements²⁹

. The three classical central-place arrangements developed by Christaller.

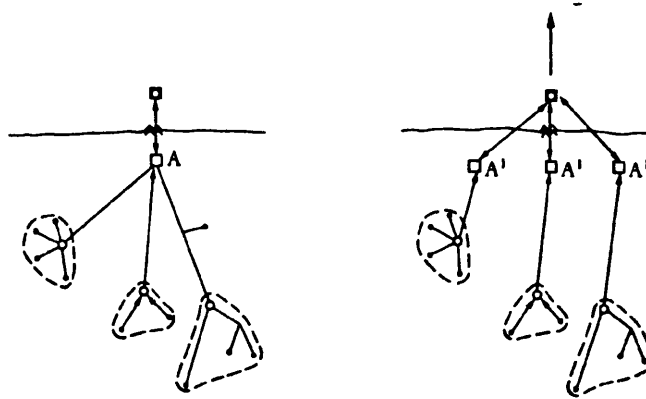
displaying maximising behaviour and nonlocalised resources circulating in a fully competitive, i.e. capitalist, environment of hierarchical markets. Measuring the economic threshold of firms, he arrives at a marketing landscape composed of hexagonal market areas based on consumer travel efficiency ($K=3$). He acknowledges that transport factors would favour the untypical growth of a lower-level centre equidistant from two higher level centres ($K=4$), while other lower-level centres not located on a major axis of communication would not assemble more than the functions we would expect from their ranking. Empirically and theoretically a very different picture would emerge for administrative organisation ($K=7$): here, all lower order centres would have only one higher order centre, conforming to a logic informed not by competition, but by monopoly. It is important to bear in mind that Christaller's point of departure was the retail trade in goods and services. This aspect has often been disregarded, taking the term "central-place" to describe entirely different phenomena, in our context chiefly the emporia trade of the pre-modern Indian Ocean³⁰.

²⁹ Source: C.A. SMITH (1976a), *Regional Economic Systems: Linking Geographical Models and Socioeconomic Problems*, in: EAD. (ed.) (1976), *Regional Analysis*, 2 vols., New York etc., vol.1, 3-63, 19 (Fig.4).

³⁰ K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), 230, N.1, neglects this problem and advocates the use of the "geographical central-place-theorem" as a tool particularly suitable for describing pre-modern Indian Ocean trade between port cities. For some thoughts on indicators that can serve to define central places in the pre-modern period see H. AMMANN (1963), *Vom Lebensraum der mittelalterlichen Stadt. Eine Untersuchung an schwäbischen Beispielen*, in: *Studien zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde* (=Fs. F.HUTTENLOCHER), Bad Godesberg, 284-316, and the survey in M. MITTERAUER (1971), *Das Problem der zentralen Orte als sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Forschungsaufgabe*, VSWG LVIII, 433-467, repr.in: ID. (1980), *Marka und Stadt im Mittelalter: Beitrag zur historischen Zentralitätsforschung*, Stuttgart, 22-51; but see also D. DENECKE (1973), *Der geographische Stadtbegriff und die räumlich-funktionale Betrachtungsweise bei Siedlungstypen mit zentraler Bedeutung in Anwendung auf historische Siedlungsepochen*, in: H. JANKUHN (et al.) (1973), *Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter*, pt.1 (=Abh. Göttingen, 3.Ser. LXXXIII), Göttingen, 33-55.

Neither the "port-of-trade" nor the "central-place" can be used as they stand to describe port cities of the XVIIth Persian Gulf Area: the former seems to look more at luxury goods and is less suitable to describe pre-capitalist trade in goods of mass consumption, the later cannot be applied without significant revisions to wholesale trade. The "central-place" especially is, of course, located at the centre of its catchment area, while port cities tend to be found in an eccentric position. Some recent models can help to remove this difficulty: on the basis of contemporary observations of wholesale trade in partially commercialised Mesoamerican societies C.A. Smith has proposed the notion of "dendritic central-place systems". Hers is a model describing single primary markets close to the confines of a region, e.g. on coasts, onto which agricultural produce destined for export converges; the "dendritic central-place" involves strong political control through a resident élite³¹, whose position in the exchange system is not dissimilar, we would suggest, to that of surplus extractors under the TMP. Dendritic organisation of hinterland markets is likely in areas of dispersed population and difficult transportation, such as can be found on at least the Iranian side of the Persian Gulf. Smith's model evolved in the environment of (neo-) Marxist thought on dualistic development and naturally emphasises the flow of raw materials from the periphery to the core³². The introduction of the concept of "gateway

Figure 2: Dendritic Central Place Systems (*cum* gateway)



³¹ See C.A. SMITH (1976a), *Regional Economic Systems: Linking Geographical Models and Socioeconomic Problems*, in: EAD. (ed.) (1976), *Regional Analysis*, 2 vols., New York etc., vol.1, 3-63, 34ff.

³² Another characteristic of C.A. Smith's model, the growth, in the immediate hinterland of the "dendritic central-place", of a limited, but above-average craft specialisation, is a phenomenon difficult to verify for XVIIth century port cities in the Persian Gulf Area, for reasons, we would suggest, chiefly to do with the area's geography and especially population distribution. An entirely different situation, of course, obtained in India.

communities"³³ will help to describe commercial regions for both imports *and* exports. Gateways are defined as places of centralised trade, situated more often than not at intersections of distinct natural regions. Like dendritic central-places gateways serve as wholesale markets for commercial regions, whose spatial arrangement takes the form of a fan rather than a circular or hexagonal shape³⁴. Significantly, the "gateway" concept allows for a number of partially overlapping hinterlands, a possibility not contemplated in the monopolistic dendritic central place. In this study, the concepts of dendritic networks and gateways, linking as they are trading places, their hinterlands and forelands, are preferred over both the "port-of-trade" model, which by definition wants to separate them, and a "central-place" approach with its retail-based isotropic conditions. It must be borne in mind, however, that both concepts describe the spatial arrangement of regions as seen from the entrance point to exporting regions, although the marketing of imports is not unlikely to have occurred through similarly structured, or, possibly, the same conduits.

With the emphasis on external trade stimuli, gateway communities with a dendritic marketing network are characteristically imagined to be linked to only one price-setting market³⁵. As we shall see, this statement is problematic in XVIIth century Persian Gulf trade. C.A. Smith saw the establishment of dendritic central place systems in the context of colonial penetration, but a more recent study on XIXth and early XXth century 'Umān has argued that "foreign political domination is not the key factor. Rather the foreign orientation of merchants and trade determined the nature of the [*scil.*: linear] marketing structure"³⁶.

This statement, irrespective of its factual correctness, brings us to highlight two further aspects in the study of XVIIth century Persian Gulf cities: firstly, it reminds us that it is essential to view port cities in terms of hinterland-foreland relationships. We had already pointed out that

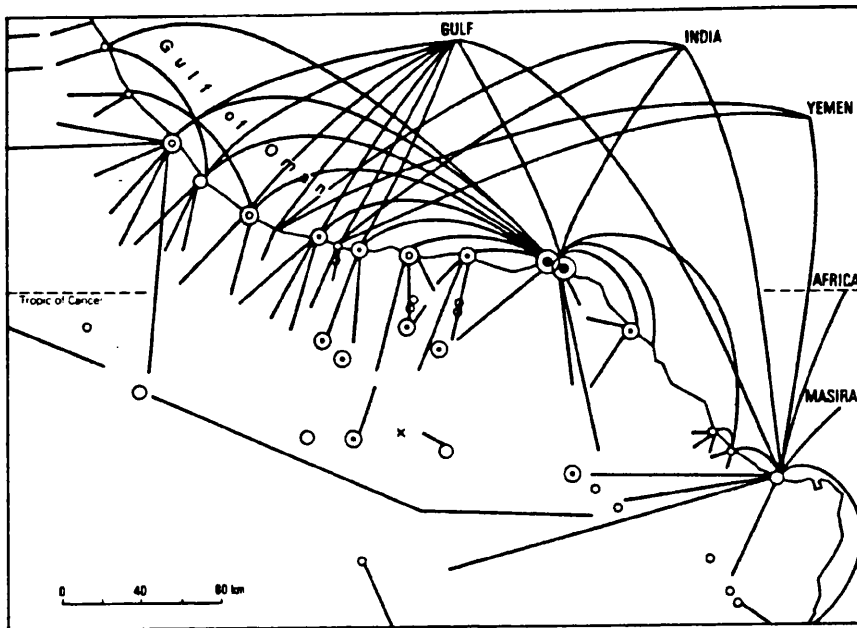
³³ For earlier ages see K.G. HIRTH (1978), *Interregional Trade and the Formation of Prehistoric Gateway Communities*, *American Antiquity* XLIII, 35-45; for the spatial arrangement see also A.T. BURGHARDT (1971), *A Hypothesis About Gateway Cities*, *AAAGeo* LXI, 269-285.

³⁴ In a historic perspective one would have to argue that this form of hinterland penetration was preceded by an earlier penetration along a single avenue and at right angle, see J. BIRD (1972), *Seaports and Seaport Terminals*, London, 129.

³⁵ See especially C.A. SMITH (1976c), *Exchange Systems and the Spatial Differentiation of Elites: The Organization of Stratification in Agrarian Societies*, in: EAD. (ed.) (1976), vol.2, 309-374, 319.

³⁶ M. SPEECE (1987), 203. In greater detail on the activities of Indian merchants in XIXth century 'Umān see C.H. ALLEN (1978), *Sayyids, Shets and Sultans: Politics and Trade in Masqat under the Āl Bū Sa'īd, 1785-1914*, PhD Univ. of Washington, and ID. (1981), *The Indian Merchant Community of Masqat*, *BSOAS* XLIV/1, 39-53. No new data can be found in S. FUKUDA (1992), *Omani Maritime Trade and the Indian Residents of Muscat in the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries*, *Orient* (Tokyo) XXVIII, 1-16.

Figure 3: Documented Trade Patterns in XIXth/Early XXth Century 'Umān³⁷



except for Christaller's "central places" the geo-/ethno-graphical models so far discussed locate their trading places at the periphery of regions served. Superficially, one could argue that, by definition, this would describe appropriately port cities as market centres. However, as briefly mentioned above, our data suggests that XVIIth century Persian Gulf port cities were segments in a chain of trading places, which bound together hinterland and overseas markets. Foreland has been defined as "land areas which lie on the seaward side of a port, beyond maritime space, and with which the port is connected by ocean carriers"³⁸. A more elaborate definition has been condensed in Figure 4. If the port city is perhaps the most natural specimen of gateways, its primary function is to provide a locus for maritime and overland trade to link up³⁹. This dimension of a port's history partly accounts for differing degrees of stability in port location, as well as for overlapping hinterlands between one large and a number of smaller ports. In our

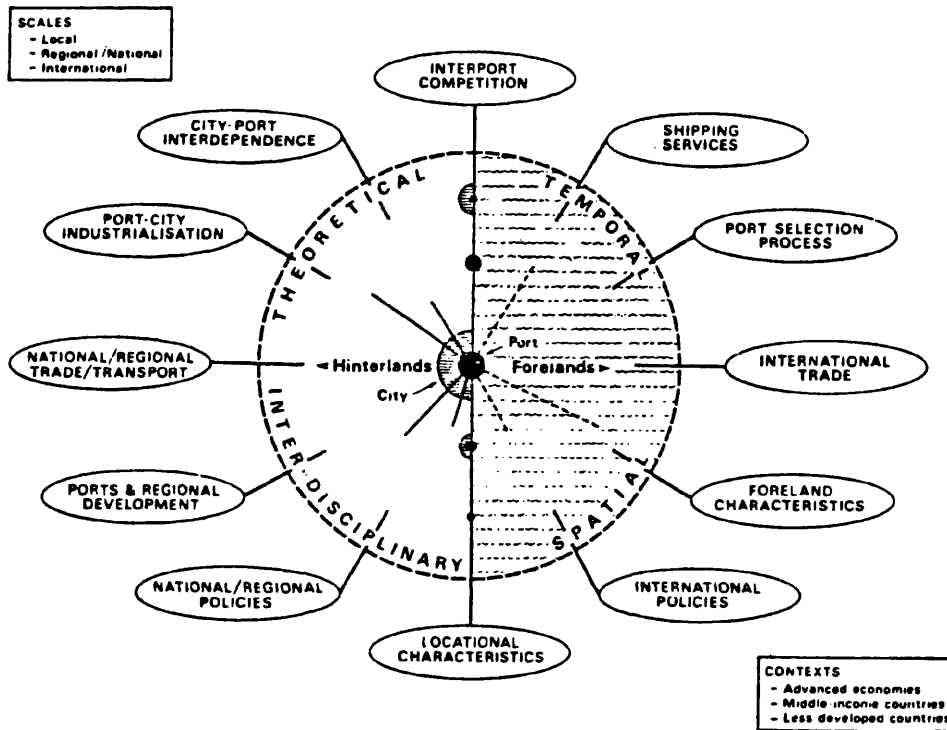
³⁷ Source: M. SPEECE (1987), 203, Figure 2.

³⁸ G. WEIGAND (1956), The Problems of Hinterland and Foreland As Illustrated by the Port of Hamburg, *EcGeo* XXXII, 1-16, quoted in [henceforth: q.i.]: J. BIRD (1972), 126.

³⁹ J. BIRD (1980), Seaports as a Subset of Gateways for Regions: a Research Survey, *PrHGeo* IV, 360-370, 365, has observed that historical studies of port cities tend to assume they were "generated by regions rather than to and for regions". For the pre-industrial period this should, however, not give rise to objections.

study, the hinterland-foreland perspective helps to explain the fragmentation of functions formerly concentrated in the emporium. Combined with the concepts of gateway and dendritic network, it allows us to view closely linked ports in a chain of markets which extends further into the mainland hinterland: indeed, we shall see that for a number of commodities the price-setting market for Persian Gulf ports was the Gujarati port of Surat, on which also, in certain times, the majority of non-cash payments were drawn.

Figure 4: Hinterland-Foreland Relations of Port Cities⁴⁰



⁴⁰ Source: B.S. HOYLE / D. HILLING (eds.) (1984), *Seaport Systems and Spatial Change: Technology, Industry and Development Strategies*, Chichester, 2, and ID. (1989), *Maritime Perspectives on Ports and Port Systems: the Case of East Africa*, in: F. BROEZE (ed.) (1989), 188-206, 190.

The role of foreign traders as observed in XIXth century 'Umān has some parallels in the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area, although speaking of "colonial penetration" in our context would, of course, be grossly distorting. It has also emerged from the brief sketch of the role of merchants in a TMP-dominated society, that it would be misleading to define minority traders primarily as outsiders⁴¹ or as natural ancestors of XIXth century compradores. The term "trading diaspora"⁴², on the other hand, offers at best a descriptive category, which, sadly, sets apart, yet again, traders in a world of their own. Another concept, resulting from recent research in South-East Asia, has gained some currency in the historical sociology of that area: the concept of the "trader's dilemma" has grown out of the observation of "plural societies" in South-East Asia, where "ethnic groups maintain a separate identity but meet in the market place". It seems to offer a possibility to view traders against the backdrop of traditional peasant societies⁴³. Much as we had observed for the preoccupations of élites in a TMP-dominated society, the "trader's dilemma" has been described as the conflict between the "moral economy" of a peasant society, where economic relations are embedded in survival strategies of the community (which impose ethics based on subsistence - mutual help and just price), and the logic of market exchange. Instead of (however subtly) stigmatizing them, this model acknowledges merchants from distinct ethnic groups as "using cultural distancing as a strategy of solving the trader's dilemma": not sharing the socially anchored moral precepts of the majority "ingroup", those merchants could employ commercial techniques geared up to the market place with a potential to subvert the bases of the majority community. Both resident minority traders and periodical presence of truly external traders on local markets seem to be contemplated by the model, but in either case they are firmly placed outside the societies they serve. Perhaps because implicitly informed by the South-East Asian historiographical stereotype opposing coastal and inland states, the model suggests direct penetration of agrarian production by outsiders, which is a situation markedly

⁴¹ Thus for example a school of thought best represented by A. ASHRAF (1969) [and (1970)] on the Armenians of New Ġolfa.

⁴² P.D. CURTIN (1984), *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge, introduced the term which had been developed by economic anthropologists of West Africa,

⁴³ FURNIVALL's concept of the "plural society" has been amply discussed in H.D. EVERS (ed.) (1980), *Sociology of South-East Asia*, Oxford, 86ff., see also W.F. WERTHEIM (1964), *The Trading Minorities of South East Asia*, in: ID. (ed.) (1964), *East-West Parallels. Sociological Approaches to Modern Asia*, The Hague, 39-82. Evers developed the concept of the "trader's dilemma" in ongoing recent work, as ID. (1985), *Traditional Trading Networks in South East Asia* (=FSPentw LXVII), Bielefeld., ID. (1990), *Trading Minorities in South-East Asia. A Critical Summary of Research Findings* (=FSPentw CXXXIX), Bielefeld and ID. (et al.) (1991), *A Critical Evaluation of the Traders's Dilemma* (=FSPentw CLVI), Bielefeld. He has attempted to study the historical implications for the contact of "inner-directed peasant production based states" and "outer-directed" integration into the world market in ID. (et al.) (1986), *Trade and State Formation: Siam in the Early Bangkok Period* (=FSPentw LXXXII), Bielefeld.

different from what we find in the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area. Not only was a movement under way which was to integrate coastal and inland areas into larger political units; but while alongside the presence of Indian Banyans was an important feature of Safavid Iran's external trade, and foreign merchants were well represented in all Persian Gulf port cities, the peculiar structure of the area's export trade meant that they had few direct contacts with agrarian producers. In the fields of craft production, on the other hand, guild regulations⁴⁴ and the interference of state agencies as middlemen⁴⁵ (but also the small volume of this commerce) provided protection from unbridled market forces. Furthermore, powerful merchant houses operating from Šīrāz and Lār dominated trade in Iranian ports in the later XVIIth century. Europeans, the true outsiders, do not fit into the picture conjured up by the model either. For this study and all these difficulties notwithstanding (bearing in mind the distance in time and space between the two areas) the concept of "trader's dilemma" has proved useful as giving a social dimension to the merchants' operations. By the same token, one could argue that it provides a novel glimpse of the dilemma faced by the élites of TMP-dominated societies in their efforts to exploit the opportunities offered by access to wider markets. Research into the history of individual trading communities is a relatively recent field in Asian history⁴⁶, and this study will at best skirt the subject. The concept of the "trader's dilemma" alerts, however, to read the spatial organisation of markets at the same time as a product and a pillar of traders' networks, and of their problematic relationship with the societies (and polities) within which they operated. Before describing in greater detail trade through XVIIth century Persian Gulf port cities, however, it will be useful to sketch the setting against which this commerce was carried.

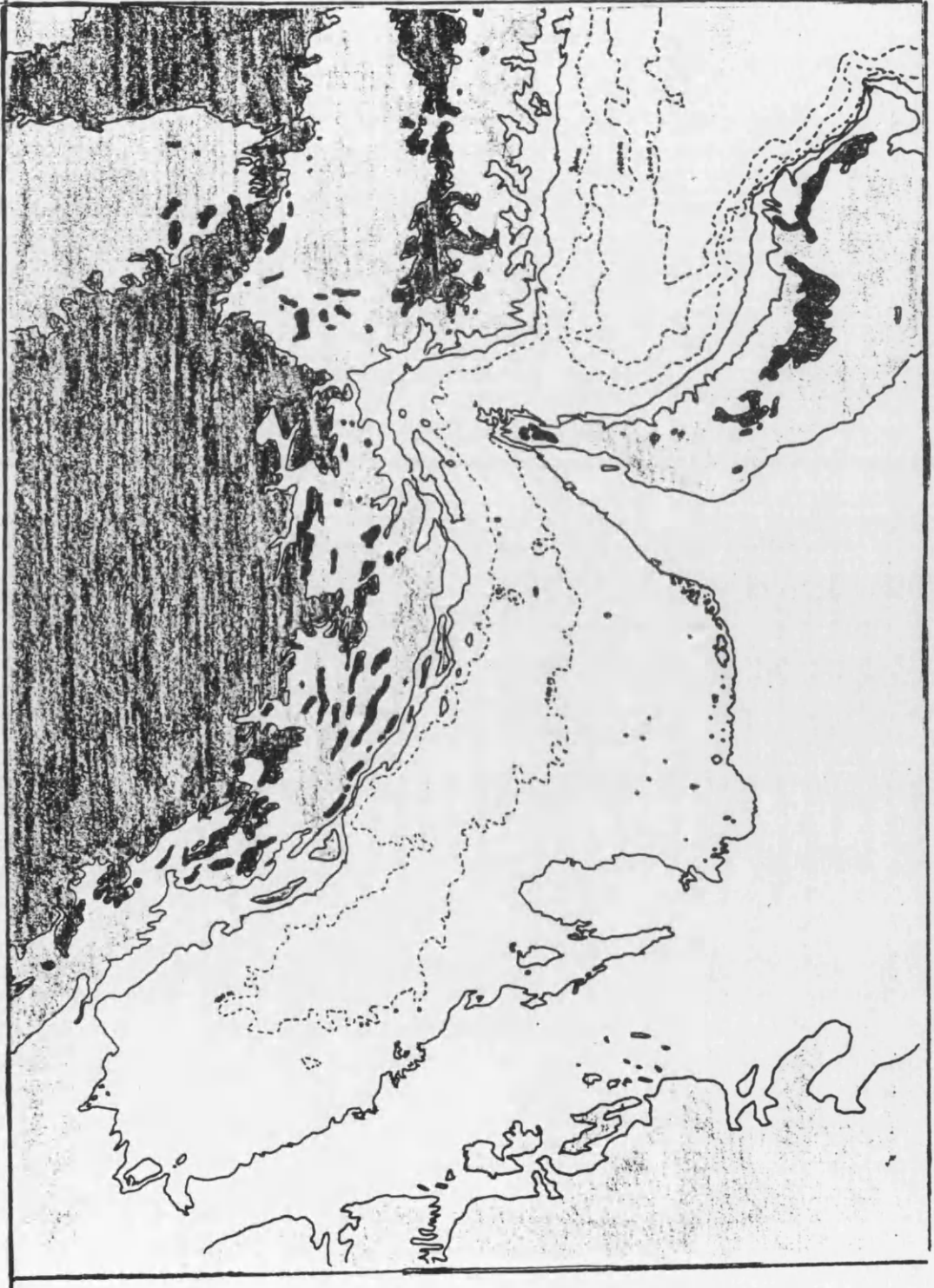
⁴⁴ For Safavid Iran see M. KEYVANI (1982), *Artisans and Guild Life in the Later Safavid Period* (=IU LXV), Berlin, but also M.H. GEIDAROV (1962), Ob organizacii i razvitii krupnykh remeslennykh masterskikh v gorodakh Sefevidskogo Irana XVII v., in: *O genezise kapitalizma v stranakh Vostoka (XV-XIX vv.)*, Moskva, 326-331, and ID. (1987), *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie otnosheniia i remeslennye organizatii v gorodkh Azerbaidžana v XIII-XVII vv.*, Baku, for the Ottoman Empire e.g. G. BAER (1970), Monopolies and Restrictive Practices of the Turkish Guilds, *JESHO* XII, 145-165 and ID. (1970), The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of the Turkish Guilds, *IJMES* I, 28-50.

⁴⁵ E.g. for Safavid Iran for the trade in Kerman wool see below, Pt.1, Introduction; for the trade of luxury fabrics see below, Pt.2, Excursus; similarly, for the 'Umānī sugar trade see below.

⁴⁶ For recent studies of historical examples see D.L. WHITE (1987), Parsis in the Commercial World of Western India 1700-1750, *IESHR* XXIV/2, 183-203, for the Bay of Bengal S. ARASARATNAM (1987), The Chulia Merchants in South East Asia 1650-1800, *MOOI* IV, 125-143 and D. RUDNER (1989), Banker's Trust and the Culture of Banking Among the Nattukottai Chettiars of Colonial South India, *MAS* XXIII/2, 417-458. For some recent surveys F. MAURO (1990), Merchant Communities, 1350-1750, in: J.D. TRACY (ed.) (1990), *The Rise of Merchant Empires*, Cambridge, 255-286, and for Indian trading communities (from a predominantly domestic perspective) I. HABIB (1990), Merchant Communities in Precolonial India, in: *ibid.* 400-422. For more general remarks on Iran and the Persian Gulf Area see also J. AUBIN (1988) and J. CALMARD (1988), on the Armenian trading network see K. KÉVONIAN (1975), Marchands Arméniens au XVIIe siècle. À propos d'un livre arménien publié à Amsterdam en 1699, *CMRS* XVI/2, 199-244; M. AGHASSIAN / K. KEVONIAN (1988), Le commerce arménien dans l'Océan Indien aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, in: D. LOMBARD / J. AUBIN (eds.) (1988), 155-181, and now E. HERZIG (1991).

Map 1

The Persian Gulf (physical)



Chapter 1

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING

Physical Geography

The identity of the Persian Gulf Area is made up of conflicting features, natural and historical alike. Physical geography does not immediately suggest the prevalence of elements of unity over those of disunity. It is true that the Persian Gulf forms a neatly circumscribed epicontinental sea, but oceanographic taxonomy sees the Gulf of 'Umān as a subunit of the Arabian Sea, part of the Indian Ocean and separated from the Persian Gulf proper, to which it gives access through the straits of Hormūz. Physical geographers would also distinguish between at least four widely diverging formations surrounding the Persian Gulf¹: in the North, the mountainous fold of the Zagros system rises high above a coastal strip, characteristically narrow, except where it widens for the coastal plains of Mōgostān and Daštēstān. In fact, geologically, the Gulf can be interpreted as synklinorium of the Zagros which accounts partly for the uneven depth of waters in its Northern and Southern parts. The head of the Gulf is formed, in the West, by the marshy alluvial estuaries of rivers descending from the more Westerly parts of the Zagros range and Anatolia, principally Euphrates, Tigris and Karūn. In the South, the coastline of Al-Ḥasā, the island of Bahrayn, the Qaṭar peninsula, and what later became known as the Pirate and Trucial Coasts, divides the low deserts of Arabia from the waters of the Gulf, which here become shallow and dangerous to negotiate for all but the very lightest crafts due to innumerable low islets, sandbanks, shoals and reefs. In the East, the distinctive Ġabal Aḥdār range, which can be interpreted as Southern extension of the Zagros system, forms the heart of 'Umān, flanked as it is by the Bāṭina coastal plain, which looks East onto the Arabian Sea, and, in the West, by the deserts of the Empty Quarter. Geologically, Iranian Makrān to the East of the plain of Mōgostān forms the Northern counterpart to the 'Umānī extension of the Zagros system².

¹ G. SCHOTT (1918), *Geographie des Persischen Golfes und seiner Randgebiete*, *MGeoGH* XXXI, 3-110 and ID. (1918), *Ozeanographie und Klimatologie des Persischen Golfes und des Golfes von Oman*, *AnnHMM* XLVI Suppl., Hamburg. For progress in the geography of Iran's coastal region see E. EHLERS (1980), *Iran* (=Wissenschaftliche Länderkunden XVIII), Darmstadt, *passim*.

² For the geography of the littoral see J.V. HARRISON (1941), *Coastal Makran*, *GJ* XCVII, 1-17 and for the Easterly section G.B. CASTIGLIONI (1960), *Appunti geografici sul Balucistan Iraniano*, *RGeol* LXVII, 109-152; 268-301. Politically, Makrān was of all the regions here discussed the one most removed from any centre of imperial decision-making; its integration into Iran can hardly be dated prior to 1921, see H. POZDENA (1978), *Die Erschließung des iranischen Südosten. Die Integration Persisch-Belutschistans und der Belutschen in Iran*, *Geographischer Jahresbericht aus Österreich* XXXVI (1975/76), 7-25, but also B. SPOONER (1969), *Politics, Kinship and Ecology in South-East Persia*, *Ethnology* VII, 139-152. In our period, the Makrān coast played next to no part in the commercial history of the Persian Gulf Area, except for rare episodes when naval warfare in the straits of Hormūz barred the progress of merchant shipping into the Persian Gulf: In 1622, when both seabound and overland routes were blocked because of the near contemporary conflicts over Hormuz and Qandahar merchants freighted vessels to "Cape Guadill", whence they would

These vastly different hinterlands present trade with equally different transportation problems to negotiate: mountainous, often desert, barriers need to be crossed to reach the interiors of Iran and 'Umān; navigable rivers open up the medium range hinterland of Mesopotamia to traders in Al-Başra, but the Great Desert creates a formidable obstacle for transit to the Levant. In many parts, the terrain imposes the choice of pack animals - camels, mules, donkeys, even oxen, but hardly ever horses (nor wheeled conveyance), with inevitable consequences for the speed of travel: from Lār to the Southern ports of Iran, merchants had to employ a different breed of pack animals, a constraint which the local governors turned to their advantage explicitly forbidding camel drivers from the North to travel any further and milking the merchants stranded who awaited transshipment of their goods on fresh animals³.

Climate and wind systems place the Persian Gulf proper (as well as the Western parts of the Gulf of 'Umān) at the outer periphery of the monsoonal régime dominating the Arabian Sea. Even off the Makrān coast, South-West and North-East monsoons are felt only lightly, summer rainfall is extremely rare. In fact, some factors of unity can be found among climatic conditions shaping life along the coasts of the Persian Gulf⁴. Local and regional wind systems are influenced more by both the continental high-pressure system over Central Asia and Eastwards moving Mediterranean depressions. While this sets apart the Persian Gulf Area as a distinct region, and while the wind system allowed all year round navigation between the 'Umānī coastline and destinations in the Persian Gulf proper, the monsoon régime of the Arabian Sea dictated the

entrust their goods to caravans which would cross Makrān, see A.v. Uffelen, Masulipatnam, to Batavia, dated 15/01/1623, in *COEN* VII-2, 1062-1071, 1066. The ruler of Kiš-o-Makrān liked the idea of establishing a new trade route through his territories to Kermān, but the expansion of the Safavids thwarted all such plans, see P. Della VALLE (1624), *De recentiori imperio Persarum subiectis regionibus*, in: *Studi iranici*, Roma 1977, 287-303; for losses on this route in 1624 see IOR E 3/10/1157, fl.115r: J. Purefey et al., Esfahān. Later on, the contributions of Bālūčī crews and soldiers to the successes of the 'Umānī navy are noteworthy. It is interesting to notice the close links between Iranian Bālūčestān, Makrān and Masqat, a factor which may have proved decisive in the latter's ascendancy on the coast later in the XVIIIth century.

³ J.B. TAVERNIER (1676-79), *Les six voyages ...qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, 3 vols., Paris [other ed. 1679-1682], vol.1, 674. In Safavid Iran, transport services were offered both by animal-breeding villagers and nomadic pastoralists. In many instances travellers tell us how the latter made their caravans leave the main route in order to spend some days at their home village. See e.g. N. De Orta REBELO (1605), *Relação da jornada que fez ~*, in: J. Veríssimo SERRÃO (ed.) (1972), *Un voyageur portugais en Perse au debut du XVIIe siècle. Nicolau de Orta Rebelo*, Lisboa, 59-226, 114, for a village "Teru" (Pārū?) "donde gastamos aquella noite e o dia Seguinte, a cauza, por serem os Mucurros donos das cavalgaduras daquelle Aldea, donde tinham mulheres e filhos". Thus linked to a home-base, carriers would rarely cover the entire expanse of the empire. Some groups seemed to have staked out exclusive claims over certain tracts, while in other areas topography and climate imposed a change of animals and hence limited their radius of action. Elsewhere, the breaking of bulk was caused by ecological barriers making the use of certain kinds of animals impracticable; for trains of oxen arriving at Qandahār see: J. Lewis et al., Esfahān, to London, 21/11/1649, *EFF* VIII, 270. For evidence on oxen as beasts of burden in Safavid Iran see R. KLEIN (in prep.).

⁴ E. EHLERS (1980), 74f., who, building on the observations and theorizations in H. BOBEK (1952), *Beiträge zur klima-ökologischen Gliederung Irans*, *Erdkunde* VI, 65-84, advocates the existence of a climatic region in Iran, "Garmsīr", comprising the plain of Hūzestān and the Iranian Persian Gulf coast.

Map 2

The Wind System in the Arabian Sea (January/August)

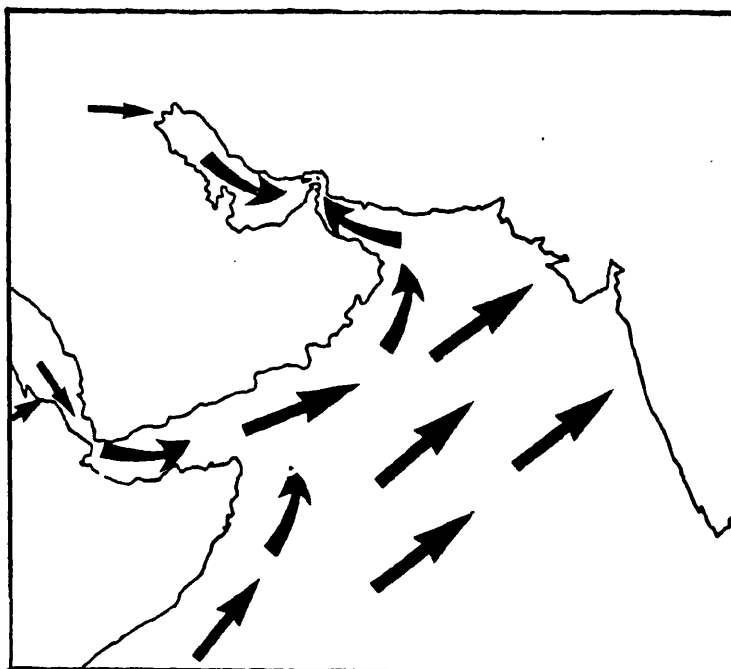
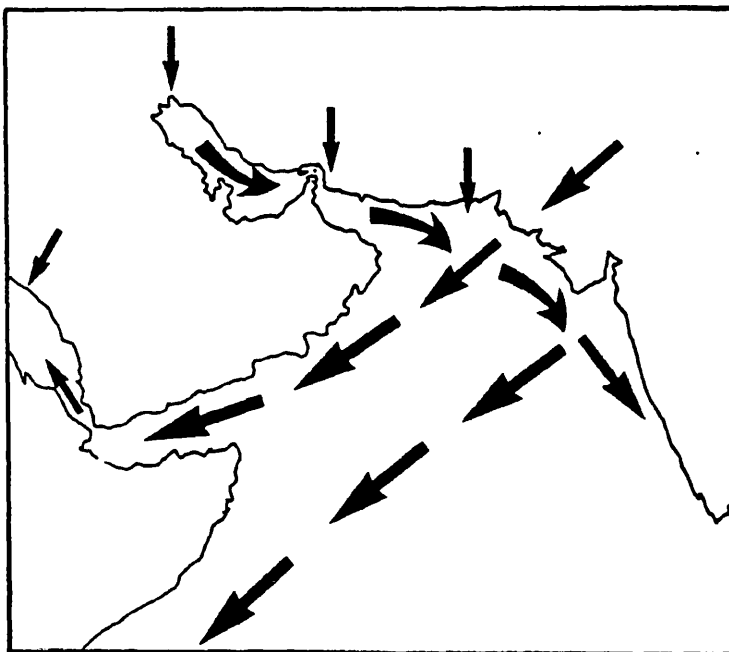
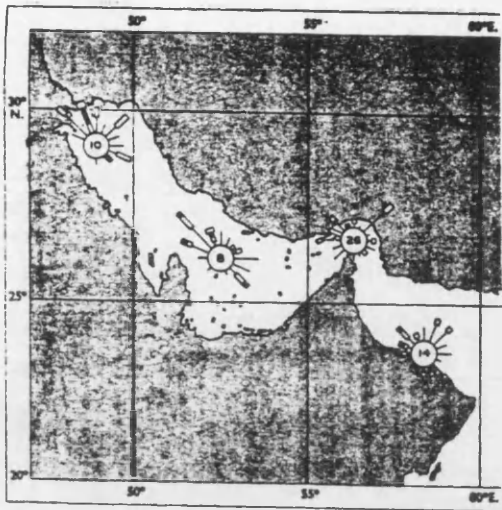
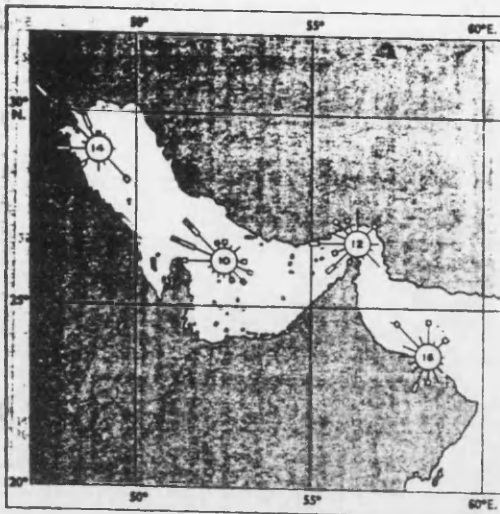


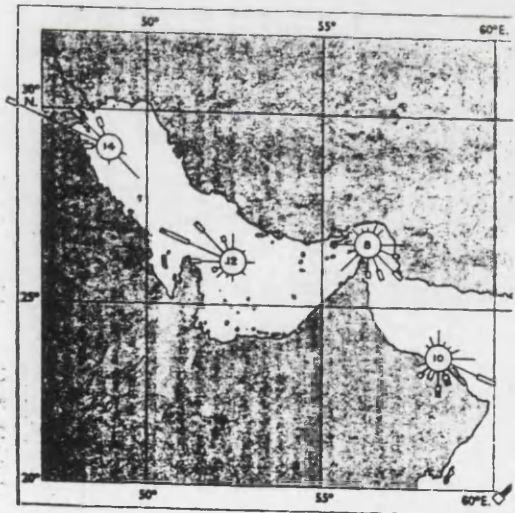
Figure 5
The Wind Frequency Distribution in the Persian Gulf⁵



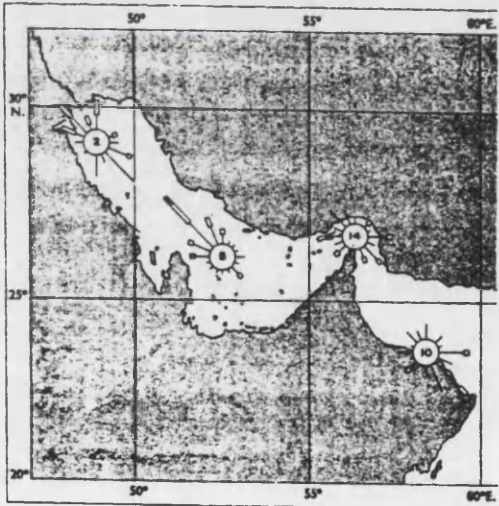
JANUARY



APRIL



JULY



OCTOBER

EXPLANATION. Arrows by wind rose.
The frequency of wind from any direction is
shown according to the scale—
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
This scale is further subdivided to indicate the
frequency of winds of different strengths from
according to the legend—
1-3 4-6 7-9 10-12
The number in the circle represents the
frequency of calm.

⁵ Source: G.S. RITCHIE (ed.) (1967), *Persian Gulf Pilot*, ¹¹London, figs.4-7.

rhythm of voyages to and from India, East Africa and beyond: dividing the year into two halves, the North East monsoon allowed voyages from East to West in winter, from October to March, with the South West monsoon permitting travel in the opposite direction in summer, except for the period between June and August when making port in India was rendered impossible due to the strong winds. Famously, Tomé Pires named the monsoon system as the root cause for the rise of the emporia trade in the Indian Ocean's three subunits (West and East of the Indian peninsula and North of the Malayan archipelago)⁶. But we shall suggest that if the rise of major port cities at the mouth of the Persian Gulf could potentially benefit from larger volumes of trade due to speedier turnover and lower transaction costs, the reason behind their rise and fall is to be sought not in natural constraints and economic rationalisation alone: rather, it was to a large extent determined by the political constellation in the Persian Gulf Area.

On the land side, high aridity combined with high atmospheric humidity make the area one of the more unpleasant places during the summer. Except for those districts of Hūzestān influenced by their vicinity to the Zagros range, frosts do not occur in the immediate hinterland of the Persian Gulf. Yet, once removed from the coast, especially in the North and West, conditions inland change swiftly, and extreme wintry conditions can be met with. More than once we find reports of connecting caravans on their way to and from Central Iran facing atrocious snow storms and losing part of their cargo with animals precipitated from slippery tracks into deep ravines, if, for whatever reason, they had to catch the first outbound ship from Persian Gulf ports. If at all possible, travel was preferred during the more moderate seasons, but in the merchant's balancesheet weeks if not months of storage costs in the port cities would inevitably show⁷. In Al-Baṣra, the imminent departure of long distance caravans to Aleppo⁸ would set the markets in motion, just as the need for ships to catch the last monsoon winds back to India would terminally depress prices for those goods not yet sold, unless a local shopkeeper or resident agent took upon himself the task to sell them, piecemeal and for a hefty commission.

⁶ T. PIRES, *A Suma Oriental*, in: A. CORTESÃO (ed.) (1978), *A Suma Oriental de Tome Pires e o livro de Francisco Rodrigues*, Coimbra, 129-444, q.i. K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), 103, from an English translation.

⁷ On the other hand, availability of forage lead to oscillations of freight rates in overland traffic. However, if animals were left grazing by the road travel speed was affected adversely.

⁸ For the Great Desert route see D. CARRUTHERS (1918), *The Great Desert Caravan Route, Aleppo to Basra*, *GJ* LII/3, 157-184 and F.D. HARTFORD (1918), *Old Caravan Roads and Overland Routes in Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia*, *The Nineteenth Century* (July), 97-113; for travelling schedules between Aleppo and Baḡdād see B. MASTERS (1988), *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East. Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo 1600-1750*, New York / London, 111f.

With seabound and overland traffic imposing strict seasonal regimes and with the summer heat turning permanent residence in places such as Bandar-e ‘Abbās into an unbearable trial, trade in Persian Gulf port cities took on a peculiarly seasonal character as well. Apparent apathy could exasperate traders keen to sell and buy quickly, only to give way to a flurry of activities by those who had the nerve to wait long enough to strike bargains. Repeatedly we come across cases in which importers tried to prevent this situation from arising by agreeing preemptively prices and quantities with wholesale purchasers, but just as often these contracts would unravel because better opportunities had been spotted elsewhere.

Human Geography

The barrenness of Hormūz is legendary, but should not detract us from highlighting the viability of forms of marginal agriculture in many places along the coasts. Vegetation, of course, follows climatic conditions and availability of water, and if the occasional (and/or historic) presence of the mangrove on the island of Qešm and the opposite coast indicates possibilities of tropical vegetation, it is the date palm which characterises all coasts as well as large areas of the *garmstr*’s and ‘Umān’s interior⁹. All inhabitable coasts of the Persian Gulf had some form of subsistence agriculture and much of it revolved around date cultivation. We shall see that in some parts seasonal migrations of labour occurred in the picking season. In places, one could find intensive production of a typically horticultural dimension, elsewhere only a rather low level of intensity could be achieved. Precipitations of almost universally below 250mm, and wide-spread high salinity of both ground and surface water due to the characteristic salt-diapirism, especially in South-East Iran, were among the chief obstacles. In many places, some small scale animal husbandry was practised, but, not surprising for littoral communities, fish represented most of the protein intake. The combination of seasonal ocean currents and high intensity of sunlight is responsible for giving the waters off the ‘Umānī coasts a reputation for being a particularly rich fishing ground. Off Masqaṭ and elsewhere, coastal fishing would utilize inflated skins, but larger vessels of different kinds were used, too¹⁰. In the reefs off the Southern shore of the Persian

⁹ For the Northward extension of date cultivation see below.

¹⁰ C. NIEBUHR (1774ff.), *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen anliegenden Ländern*, 3 vols., København, 87, who rectifies the yarn to be found in A. HAMILTON (1727), *A New Account of the East Indies*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 56ff. For the XVIIth century, we know nothing about the social organization of the maritime occupations of the villagers, e.g. about the ownership of the crafts or distribution of the catch. Fishermen were considered *miskīn* by šarī‘a law and exempted from taxation, see J. WILKINSON (1977), *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia*, Oxford, 147. It is likely that larger vessels and crafts such as *šauf*, *zambūq* or *zariq* were under the command of a local *šayḥ* doubling as *naḥoda* for the time of the haul. We have no reason to expect the existence of territorial claims on fishing grounds, since plentiful catches were granted by a generous sea. One finds it difficult to agree with R. BARENDSE (1991), *Traders and Port Cities in the Western Indian Ocean in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries*, *RCu* XIII/XIV, 105-128, 108, who

Gulf, fish-traps would be set. Wherever settled agriculture or fisheries yielded a regular surplus, some trade with the outside world can be expected and is sometimes recorded for the XVIth and XVIIth centuries¹¹.

It does not seem that much exchange took place, in our period, between coastal settlements and their immediate hinterland, except perhaps for animal products sold by nomadic pastoralists, and, at times, fuel. This was chiefly because, except for Al-Baṣra and, earlier, Hormūz, no major urban settlement existed on these coasts, that required food provisions on a large scale (or, generally, acted as a focus for exchange certain to generate some profits for whoever brought one's goods to market). The example Al-Baṣra shows that where such cities existed, the potential of surrounding areas to produce agricultural surplus was exploited successfully, much as Hormūz commanded access to supplies from Qešm and the Iranian mainland. On the other hand, shortages of basic food stocks which recurred in Bandar-e 'Abbās whenever larger detachments of Safavid army units were lodged in the settlement, illustrate how this capacity could easily be lost. As for craft production on the coast, much less information is available for the XVIIth century, but again it would seem that for most of the minor settlements, where no fall-out from transit trade could be counted on on a regular basis, production of clothes, pottery and tools was localised and relied on local resources and skills¹². Here, a *longue durée* of agricultural and craft production can easily be traced to geographical determinants.

If the population living along the coasts of the Persian Gulf was sparse, it was by no means homogenous. Whether because of easier communication to distant lands and between the shores of the Persian Gulf, or, conversely, because of the inevitable barrier erected by the need to cross the water, settlements could have a great variety of ethnic groups among their residents. Arabs were probably most numerous both on the Arabian and Iranian shore, but conversely very

claims fishing grounds off the 'Umānī coast were insufficient for feeding the littoral villages and goes on to see disputes over fishing rights at the root of clashes between the Ya'ariba and both Yemen and Mogadishu.

¹¹ Dried fish had been exported in large quantities from 'Umān to India during the XVIth century, but that sector of trade had seems to have somewhat declined during the XVIIth century, cfr. P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones de ~ d'el origen, descendencia de los Reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz, y de un viaje hecho por el mismo autor desde la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra [libro primero]*, Anvers, 137, who had visited Masqat in 1587, and the detailed Dutch reports of the 1670's, which do not mention any export of fish.

¹² For the continuity and change of basic manufacturing techniques see for Iran as a whole the admirable study of H.E. WULFF (1966), *The Traditional Crafts of Persia. Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilization*, Cambridge/Mass.; his study is weak on the Persian Gulf coast though, here see in particular for clothing R. Shahnaz NADJABADI (1992), s.v. Clothing of the Persian Gulf Area, *Elr* V, 849-850, and for pottery D. WHITEHOUSE (1977), Kangan: una fabbrica tradizionale di ceramiche nell'Iran Meridionale, in: *Atti del X° Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, Albisola 1977, 41-64.

small numbers of Persians could be found in some ports of the Arabian coast¹³. Descendants of African slaves added darker colours even in minor settlements, while Hindus and Gujarati Muslims, Armenians and Turks, Jews, a few Europeans and mestizos could be found in all trading places. Arabs and Persians were, of course, the chief ethnic components. But contrary to what has been observed for Persians and Turks in Iran, and Ottomans and Arabs in 'Irāq, we have few indications, for the Persian Gulf proper, of ethnic consciousness playing much of a part in shaping XVIIth century history. Characteristically, the ruling Tūrānšāhī dynasty of Hormūz was anxious to insist on their Arab ancestry¹⁴, while the kingdom's Persian élite was closely linked to families in small centres on the Iranian mainland. Linguistically, matters were only marginally less intricate. To take up, once more, the example of XVIth century Hormūz: the chancellery employed both languages alternately although it has been observed that generally their mastery of Persian was superior to their grasp of Arabic¹⁵. However, it must be remembered that of the Hormūzī documents known so far, virtually all relate to foreign affairs and one might conjecture that in the truly Arab territories of the kingdom (in 'Umān and Baḥrayn) the administration of revenue was conducted in Arabic. In the cosmopolitan (or babelic) environment of Persian Gulf port cities, interpreters were the lifeblood for trade negotiations, and in some sectors of trade a *lingua franca* developed¹⁶.

For the creation of distinctive group identity religious affiliation seems to have been more significant than race. This statement applies not only to Indian, Jewish, Christian and other trading minorities operating in the Persian Gulf Area. To an even greater extent, political and,

¹³ Geographical proximity rather than trade relations explains the Persianised settlement in Kumzār, near Ra's Musandam in Northern 'Umān, whose inhabitants long preserved an original dialect, compound of Arabic and a vernacular *fārsī* somewhat distantly related to modern literary Persian, see B. THOMAS (1929), *The Musandam Peninsula and Its People the Shihuh*, JRCAS, repr. in: P. WARD (ed.) (1987), *Travels in Oman*, Cambridge / New York, 454ff.

¹⁴ See e.g. G. Da CRUZ (1569), *Tractado em que se contam muito por extenso as cousas de China, con suas particularidades e assi do reyno dormuz*, Evora, new ed. C.R. BOXER (ed.) (1953), 228-239, 235f.

¹⁵ Similarly, P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, Antwerp, libro III, 18, says of the island population that "hablan todos la lengua Persiana aunque no muy limado".

¹⁶ For Armenian commercial terminology, borrowings from a number of languages have been traced see L. KHACHIKIAN (1967), *Le registre d'un marchand arménien en Perse, en Inde et au Tibet 1682-1693*, AECs XXII/2, 231-278, and ID. [L.S. HAČIKYAN] / H.D. PĀPĀZYAN (eds.) (1984), *Hovhannes Ter-Daut'yan Ġulayec'oy Hašvetumarē, Yerevan, and now E. HERZIG (1991), The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: A Study of Pre-Modern Asian Trade*, DPhil Oxford. For terms becoming part of a *lingua franca* see for example the use, by the Persian chancellery of Golkondā, of Portuguese *capitão-mór* to describe the position of the VOC governor of Coromandel. The reading in B. FRAGNER (1992), *Ein Privilegium aus Golkondā für die Niederländische Ostindische Kompagnie*, in: C. FRAGNER / K. SCHWARZ (eds.) (1992), *Osmanistik-Turkologie-Diplomatik. Festgaben an J. Matuz (=IU CL)*, Berlin, 57-76, 61 ["*Anūnt Bāviliyūn Kabānān Mūr* (Kapitān Anthoni Pavilioen Moore)"], needs to be corrected accordingly.

consequently, commercial history of the Persian Gulf Area as a whole were shaped by the rise and fall of political systems representing a number of Muslim sects, Sunnī (Ottomans, Tūrānshāhī, and Banū Ġabr), Šīʿī (Safavids and the sectarian Muṣāṣaʿ in Ḥūzestān), and Ībādī (Yaʿāriba). This is not to say that either of the sects would by definition offer an environment to a greater or lesser degree conducive to trade. Rather, it refers to effects on the continuity or the uprooting of local élites, landed aristocracy and religious establishment alike, who had stakes in and, in the case of the latter, often family bonds with the mercantile world and who could both supply capital or create local demand. It would go well beyond the scope of this study to examine these repercussions in detail. In fact, this is a field as yet little researched, which requires in depth study of biographical works. What pioneering work has been done points to a promising strand of investigation which is likely to yield new material enabling us to better understand implications of interregional and international trade on a local level¹⁷. In other respects, too, religious affiliation had a bearing on the trading potential of communities: Islamic orders had widespread networks of followers, and we now know that they engaged actively in commerce, not the least through offering credit facilities to travelling merchants¹⁸.

On a lower level (but, at the same time, one of more intensive ties), families were of course the embodiment of cohesion through group solidarity¹⁹. One often finds the development of legally formalised partnerships (especially limited partnership agreements) interpreted as a stage

¹⁷ For the waxing and waning fortunes of the Šīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*-merchant élite in the lands of Baḥrayn and Al-Ḥasāʾ under Banū Ġabr, Hormūz, Ottomans and Safavids see J.R.I. COLE (1987), *Rival Empires of Trade and Imami Shiʿism in Eastern Arabia, 1300-1800*, *IJMES* XIX/2, 177-204; for the resilience of the Sunnī élite in Lārestān see J. AUBIN (1965), *Les sunnites du Lārestān et la chute des Safavides*, *REI* XXXIII, 151-171, with some additional material in W. FLOOR (1984), *The Revolt of Shaikh Ahmad Madani in Laristan and the Garmsirat 1730-1733*, *StIr* XII, 63-93.

¹⁸ For the Naqšbandiyya in Central Asia see J. PAUL (1991), *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya in Mittelasien im XV. Jahrhundert*, Berlin; for Kāzerūnī and Neʿmatollāhī in Central and Southern Iran and as far as India see the remarks of J. AUBIN (1988), *Marchands de Mer Rouge et du Golfe Persique au tournant des XVe et XVIe siècles*, in: D. LOMBARD / ID. (eds.) (1988), 83-90, 86f. and, in greater detail on the clan itself ID. (1991), *De Kūhbanān à Bidar. La famille Niʿmatullāhī*, *StIr* XX/2, 232-261. The forthcoming study of M. GRONKE should contain information on pre-XVIth century Ardabīlī ("Safavid") association with the Westward silk trade out of North-West Iran.

¹⁹ There is an important literature on Medieval and early modern families and their role in the creation of trade networks for Western Europe, e.g. F.C. LANE (1944), *Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures*, *JEcH* IV, 178-196 [repr. in: ID. (1966), (1966), *Venice and History*, Baltimore, 36-55], and wider implications, e.g. J. HEERS (1974), *Le clan familiale au Moyen Âge*, Paris [Ital. transl.: *Il clan familiare nel Medioevo. Studi sulle strutture politiche e sociali degli ambienti urbani*, Napoli 1976]; for the Middle East, studies are less numerous, and, more often than not, concern trading minorities, see the important contributions for the Middle Ages in S. GOITEIN (1967-88), *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols., Berkeley etc., and on the Ġolfā Armenians recently E. HERZIG (1991).

on the way from the family firm to more complex firm structures, such as joint stock companies²⁰. In fact, family partnerships were not unusual in the Middle Ages²¹ and *commenda*-style agreements between the resident head of a trading house and his travelling agent combined elements of security for the former with incentives for the latter to capitalise on opportunities arising during the long stay abroad. The presence, in most centres on overland routes and sealanes, of "colonies" of kinsmen itself engendered and sustained trade networks, which enhanced the travelling merchant's chances for profitable ventures by ready access to local knowledge and provided moral and spiritual support in an otherwise foreign environment²². While cross-communal associations were known in domestic trade in the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area, trade beyond imperial borders was preferably conducted relying on established loyalties within the extended family, recommendations of the itinerant junior partner to distant relatives resident abroad or friendly offshoot-firms. Ownership of merchandise might well stay within one family firm, which could avail itself of agents posted abroad, or within a well-established network of partners²³. In addition, the organisational principles of the family firm helped to reduce to a minimum transaction costs resulting from the employment of middlemen²⁴.

²⁰ See for Europe F. BRAUDEL (1981-84), *Civilization and Capitalism. XVth-XVIIIth Centuries*, 3 vols., London, vol.2, 438f.; for the Middle East A.L. UDOVITCH (1970), *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam*, Princeton, 122f.

²¹ See e.g. S. GOITEIN (1967-88), vol.1, 180ff.

²² P. CURTIN (1984), who pioneered comparative research into "trading diasporas", describes the phenomenon, but fails to analyse the practical application of the guiding principles behind the commercial association of merchants in their colonies, and signally neglects the importance of kinship.

²³ The most illuminating document published so far on the pivotal importance of the community network as an underpinning of pre-modern international trade in Asia is, of course, L.S. HACIKYAN / H.D. P'AP'AZYAN (eds.) (1984); for a summary see L. KHACHIKIAN (1967); see now the study of E. HERZIG (1991).

²⁴ In the XVIIth century, Armenian merchants would not buy Indian cotton cloth on sale at Eṣfahān for reexport to the Ottoman empire, which had been imported by sea by European or other traders, as long as they could send it overland relying on their own network of kinsmen, see BGP 665ff., 670: N. Overschie, "*Verantwoordinge...*", dated 15/11/1638. Elsewhere I have suggested that the extra margin a middleman, the essential supplier of local knowledge in pre-modern non-local trade, would expect for his services could be sustained, at times, in sectors of the maritime trade with its virtual monopolies and economies of scale. Here, we come across veritable dynasties of brokers, who controlled the operations of a number of factories of the East India Companies: for the VOC see below, for the EIC see J.J. MODI (ed.) (1930), Rustam Manock 1635-1721 A.C., the Broker of the English East India Company, 1699 A.C., and the Persian Qisseh (History) of Rostam Manock. A Study, JBRAS N.S. VI, 1-220, 181-209 and P.S.S. PISSURLENCAR (ed.) (1933), *Portuguese Records on Rustamji Manockji, the Parsi Broker of Surat*, Nova Goa. The different distributional logic governing overland trade made the middleman an institution that could be dispensed with more easily. This may be among the reasons why only very few Europeans ventured into the complex world of Asian overland trade. Where they did, this step often followed intermarriage with one of the local (Christian) merchant families, to whose members they would consequently entrust part of their capital, see e.g. H. Visnich, the first VOC-director in Safavid Iran, who lived with an Armenian woman at Eṣfahān; his Armenian business partners travelled to Izmir, Tabriz, Aleppo and even exported silk to India, see BGP 390ff.: A. Del Court, Eṣfahān, to Batavia, dated 3/11/1632, and *ibid.* 295ff.: J.L. Hasselt, "*Remonstratie...*" (1629). However, see also the partnership of Italian and English merchants set up with the purpose of trading overland between Aleppo and Upper India, Th. ROE (1615-19), *The Journal of ~*, in: W. FOSTER (ed.) (1926), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-1619 As Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence*, Oxford, 300f.

Rather than positing an inherent conservatism of pre-modern Asian trade, we should acknowledge the internal logic of an optimizing use of available (human) resources, here reliance on a proven record of trustworthiness and mutual dependence, which worked as a subtle check on rapid changes of trade routes and deviation from habitual means of conveyance. Much of our knowledge of XVIIth century business practices is still restricted to non-Muslim minority trading groups, Armenians and Jews in particular²⁵. Yet, Persian merchants are mentioned again and again as trading between Eşfahān and Agra. But while some of the foremost Persian maritime trading houses can be shown to have operated from a strong local (i.e. South Persian) base, not much can be said about the provenance of Persian overland traders²⁶. Even when acknowledging ethnic, linguistic and religious heterogeneities, the historian cannot fail to appreciate the close and conscious ties that linked the two shores of the Persian Gulf, its hinterlands, and 'Umān²⁷. The historical survey below will focus on the ways political processes shaped the conditions for trade along sea lanes and connecting caravan routes in the area.

The Persian Gulf in the Middle Ages

The Persian Gulf had, of course, offered a convenient artery of communication and exchange from ancient times linking through its ports hinterlands and core areas of political

²⁵ See e.g. for the Armenian partnership law E. HERZIG (1991). For some notes on Jewish traders who had little, if any, part in Indo-Iranian overland trade, were active in Safavid Iran's maritime trade and in trade with the Ottoman empire, see R. KLEIN (ms.), *Jewish Merchants in Safavid Iran*, and below.

²⁶ The oft-quoted opinion of J.B. TAVERNIER (1676-79), vol.1, 604, that trade in Safavid Iran operated along the lines of an ethnically defined division of labour, with foreign commerce in the hands of the Armenians and domestic trade in those of the Jews and Persians, can no longer be credited. J. CHARDIN (1711), *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux d'Orient*, 10 vols., Amsterdam, vol.4, 268, has Persian merchants plying the domestic and Indian trade and Armenians engaging in exchange with Europe. For Persian merchants in the overland trade see H. von POSER und Groß-Nedlitz (1675), *Der beeden Erb-Fürstenthümer Schweidnitz und Jauer in Schlesien hochverordneten Landesbestellens, des Hoch-Edelgeborenen Herren ~ Lebens- und Todesgeschichte...*, Jena, who travelled from Qandahār to Multan in the company of a certain Ḥ'āḡa Moḥammad Šāhī(?), a trader from Yazd. The term "Persian" merchant, when found in Company sources, is not unequivocal as it may also refer to merchants with commercial interests in Iran and even to merchants of Iranian descent, but effectively based in India; for Khattri and Multani merchants participating in the Indo-Iranian overland trade see R. KLEIN (in prep.).

²⁷ These links may even have been stronger in the centuries leading up to and following the period dealt with in this study. At the mouth of the Persian Gulf virtually all attempts on the parts of rulers both of Iran and 'Umān to extend their power to the opposite coastline failed during the years here examined except for a short-lived Safavid occupation of the 'Umānī ports of Ġulfār and Šuḥār in the wake of the Portuguese expulsion from Hormūz. For earlier successful attempts see below; for the XVIIIth century see L. LOCKHART (1946), *The Menace of Muscat and Its Consequences in the Late XVIIth and Early XVIIIth Centuries*, *AsRev* XLII, 363-369 and ID. (1953/56), *Nādir Shāh's Campaigns in 'Omān 1737-1749*, *BSOAS* VIII/1, 157-171, also A. KROELL (1976), *Louis XIV, la Perse et Mascate*, Paris and J.R. PERRY (1979), *Karīm Khan Zand. A History of Iran 1747-1779*, Chicago / London, 158ff. From 1794, first control of Bandar-e 'Abbās, later also of sundry other sources of revenue in the area were farmed out by the Qāḡārs to Masqat, see M. ROSCHANZAMIR-DAHNKE (1980), *Die Lage am Persischen Golf während der Regierungszeit Fath 'Alī Šāhs am Beispiel von Bandar-e 'Abbās in den Jahren 1799-1805*, *ZDMG* Suppl. IV, Wiesbaden, 241-243; see also the description in L. PELLY (1863/64), *Remarks on the Port of Bunder Abass*, *TBombGS* XVII, 53-55 and ID. (1864), *Visit to Lingah, Kishm, and Bunder Abbass*, *JRGS* XXXIV, 251-258.

entities invariably located further inland. The destinies of port cities mirrored the histories of the hinterlands they served with the inevitable sequences of abundance and destruction documented in a steady stream of written testimonies from Hellenistic times onwards²⁸. After the rise of Islam²⁹ most prime port cities were to be found on the Northern shores of the Persian Gulf. Whether, as some have argued, this was principally due to navigational difficulties in the shallower waters on the Arabian side of the Gulf, or whether the sectarian "*Sonderweg*" taken by Eastern Arabia might also have played a role cannot be debated here³⁰. In the classical age of Islam, the rise and fall of the Iranian port of Sīrāf stands out, the great emporium which flourished in the IXth and Xth century, supplying the heart of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in 'Irāq in its period of greatest splendour, as well as, later on, Būyid Šīrāz³¹. The port's decline has often been imagined as heralding an interruption of long-distance trade through the Persian Gulf. Much

²⁸ A stimulating study for the earliest period is still A.L. OPPENHEIM (1954), *The Seafaring Merchants of Ur*, *JAOS* LXXIV, 6-17. Perhaps the most comprehensive survey is D.T. POTTS (1990), *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity*, 2 vols., Oxford. However see also H. SCHIWEK (1962), *Der Persische Golf als Schiffahrts- und Seehandelsroute in achämenidischer Zeit und der Zeit Alexanders des Großen*, *BNJbb* CLXII, 4-97 and now M. RASCHKE (1978), *New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East*, in: *ANRW* II/9/2, 607-1378; for the late antiquity / early Middle Ages see e.g. D. WHITEHOUSE / A. WILLIAMSON (1973), *Sasanian Maritime Trade*, *Iran* XI, 29-49 and A. WILLIAMSON (1972), *Persian Gulf Commerce in the Sasanian Period and the First Two Centuries of Islam*, *BŠHI* IX/X, 97-108, and further studies by the two authors in the bibliography. An early survey of harbour sites is A.W. STIFFE (1897), *Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf. III. Pre-Mohammedan Settlements*, *GJIX*, 309-314. A. EQTĒDĀRĪ (1348/1969-70), *Ātār-e šahrhā-ye bāstānt-ye savāhel va ġazāyer-e Ḥalīġ-e Fārs va Daryā-ye 'Omān*, Tehrān, is not yet superseded, but see also A. EQBĀL (1328/1959-60), *Moṭāla'āt-e čand dar bāb-e Bāhrayn va ġazāyer va savāhel-e Ḥalīġ-e Fārs*, Tehrān; for the wider context of East-West trade see also N.V. PIGULEVSKAJA (1951), *Vizantijska na putjakh v Indiju*, Moskva.

²⁹ In the absence of a satisfactory history of the Persian Gulf spanning the centuries since the rise of Islam, G.F. HOURANI (1951), *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, offers a much-needed "history of trade routes ...[but] the products carried as cargoes are mentioned only incidentally", *ibid.* p.VII, a statement which holds true for virtually all writing on pre-modern Persian Gulf trade. Much of the printed source material for the period 1000-1500 AD, especially where relating to the political history of the Iranian shores and the rise of Hormūz, has been used in V. FIORANI PIACENTINI (1975), *L'emporio ed il regno di Hormoz (VIII^o-fine XV^o secolo d. Cr.)* (=Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere; Classe di scienze morali e storiche, XXXV/1), Milano. EAD. (1982), *La rinascita dell'economia di mercato in Iran: l'emporio e il regno di Hormoz dal 1300 al 1622*, *RSIt* XCIV, 490-507, does not expand the argument of her earlier study, nor does the content bear out what the title promises. Her work supersedes A. FARROUGHY (1949), *Histoire du royaume de Hormuz*, Bruxelles, but it must be supplemented by the more detailed research of J. AUBIN, which draws on widely scattered Medieval manuscript material, see below and bibliography.

³⁰ In pre-Islamic times, Al-Hasā hosted the important emporia of Gerrha and Baṭn Ardašīr; for the Sasanian occupation of the coast see V. FIORANI-PIACENTINI (1984), *Haftādasht e Mihrak: la discesa sasanide al Golfo Persico tra leggenda e realtà*, in: R. TRAINI (ed.) (1984), *Studi in onore di F. Gabrieli*, Roma, 323-339 and EAD. (1984), *La presa di potere sassanide sul Golfo Persico tra leggenda e realtà*, *Clio* XX, 173-210. In the Islamic period, the "rebellious" Zangī and Carmatian movements both had their strongholds in Eastern Arabia. J.R.I. COLE (1987) seems to suggest that the area's religious tradition did not *per se* adversely affect its position in interregional commerce, while A.J. NAJI (1993), *Trade Relations Between Bahrain and Iraq in the Middle Ages: A Commercial and Political Outline*, in: *Bahrain Through the Ages*, London, 423-443, fails to address the issue. Bahrain's further medieval history, whether independent or subdued, was chequered, with its orientation characteristically alternating between the Iranian offshore islands and the Arabian mainland areas of Al-Qaṭīf and Ḥufūf.

³¹ See D. WHITEHOUSE (1971), *Siraf: a Medieval Port on the Persian Coast*, *World Archaeology* II, 141-158; the "Interim Reports" of the excavations at the site appeared from 1968 in *Iran*.

of this argument was predicated on the notion that the ships involved primarily carried luxury items which by necessity needed a prosperous court (Bagdād) as their ultimate destination, but it seems that some continuity of Indo-Middle Eastern maritime trade is now generally accepted³².

Shipping technology and navigational requirements meant bulky and not necessarily high-value ballast had always been needed to stabilise ships³³; even moderately profitable bulk goods, to be absorbed by a modest regional trade, were preferred over entirely uneconomic ballast to fulfill this function, and we can safely assume that even in its heyday maritime trade always served a two-tier market, not exclusively conspicuous consumers³⁴. Of the Medieval Persian Gulf trade, voyages to and from distant destinations have attracted most of the attention of researchers, notably contacts with China³⁵ and East Africa³⁶. A fuller picture of the

³² The classic formulation is in J. SAUVAGET (1948), *Sur d'anciennes instructions nautiques arabes pour les mers de l'Inde*, *JA* CCXXXVI, 11-20. See also the position of B. LEWIS (1949-50), *The Fatimids and the Route to India*, *IkFM* XI, 50-54, who believes that, in the aftermath of the Fātimid conquest of Egypt in 969, an upsurge of Red Sea transit trade to the Mediterranean occurred at the expense of the Persian Gulf route. Against this, see the evolving thought in J. AUBIN (1959), *La ruine de Siraf et les routes du Golfe Persique aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, *CCM* II/3, 295-301, ID. (1963), *Y a-t-il eu interruption du commerce par mer entre le Golfe Persique et l'Inde du XIe au XIVe siècle?*, *Studia* XI, 165-171 and ID. (1969), where he gradually came to argue for the continuity of Persian Gulf trade. On the basis of archaeological finds M. TAMPOE (1989), *Maritime Trade Between China and the West. An Archaeological Study of the Ceramics from Siraf (Persian Gulf), VIIIth-XVth Centuries A.D.*, Oxford, 82, now argues a periodisation by which a "very gradual decline" of the trade-based settlement of Sirāf stretching from ca.1000-1300 was followed by another two centuries of survival of the port based on local agricultural potential; see also T.J. WILKINSON (1979), *Agricultural Decline in the Sirāf Region, Iran*, *Palaeorient* II/1, 123-132.

³³ This is, of course, a fact well known to students of the dhow trade; its implications for trade flows, however, have been stressed particularly in K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), 184.

³⁴ H. GAUBE (1977), *Ein Abschnitt der safawidischen Bandar-e 'Abbās-Širāz Strasse: Die Strecke von Seyyed Ġemāl ad-Dīn nach Lār*, *Iran* XV, 33-47, while arguing a steep decline in the fortunes of Sirāf much along the lines sketched above, also quotes Ibn Balhī's *Fārs-nāma* on continuing trade in common manufactures, leatherware and pottery, *ibid.* 34. Excavations at Sirāf have identified, for the pre-ʿAbbāsīd period, "local" (as opposed to Chinese) glazed pottery showing parallels with glazed wares found in Islamic sites in Irāq, see D. WHITEHOUSE (1979), *Islamic Glazed Pottery in Iraq and the Persian Gulf: the IXth and Xth Centuries*, *AIUON* XXIX, 45-62, ID. (1980), *Siraf III. The Congregational Mosque*, London and ID. (198), *Siraf XI. Sasanian and Islamic Glazed Pottery*, London, but evidence for distribution patterns and regional exchange networks appears to be, as yet, inconclusive. A. WILLIAMSON (1988), *Regional Distribution of Medieval Persian Pottery in the Light of Recent Investigation*, in: *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* IV, 11-22, 22, proposes a model viewing, in an inner-Iranian context, the spread of fashion or taste as the major factor determining pottery distribution. On the decline of Sirāf see also the observations in J. AUBIN (1969), *La survie de Shilau et la route du Khunj-o-Fāl*, *Iran* VII, 21-37, but see for a different interpretation of the data H. GAUBE (1977) and ID. (1980), *Im Hinterland von Sirāf. Das Tal von Galledār / Fāl und seine Nachbargebiete*, *AMI* N.S. XIII, 149-167; T. 30-37. N.M. LOWICK (1974), *Trade Patterns in the Persian Gulf in the Light of Recent Coin Evidence*, in: D. KOUYMJIAN (ed.) (1974), *Near Eastern Numismatics. Fs. G.B. Miles*, Beirut, 319-333, does not deliver what the title promises, but presents valuable data on minting activity in Medieval Persian Gulf port cities.

³⁵ For the classical Islamic period much of the evidence has been concisely presented in G.F. HOURANI (1951), esp. 61ff.; see for the later period R.R. Di MEGLIO (1966), *Il commercio arabo con la Cina dall'avvento dei Mongoli al XV° secolo*, *AIUON* N.S. XVI, 137-175. For the XVth century see also P. PELLIOTT (1933), *Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XVe siècle*, *TP* XXX, 237-452, and ID. (1935), *Notes additionnelles sur Tcheng Houo et ses voyages*, *TP* XXXII, 274-313. More recently research on the China trade has advanced especially thanks to the work of archaeologists, see below. H. GAUBE (1980) contains data on the distribution of Chinese sherds in Southern Fārs.

composition of goods exchanged through these commercial contacts has now been gained largely thanks to the work of archaeologists, covering not just the classical age of Islam, but gradually advancing closer to the period we shall be concerned with primarily³⁷. If ample finds of sherds of South-China provenance seem to confirm the prominence of Sino-Arab trade, it must be borne in mind that much of India's exports to the Middle East were less likely to survive in a recognisable form for a millenium and more. Our understanding of Medieval regional and interregional trade is as yet too poor to permit well-founded conclusions on the area's maritime commerce with India, but it is quite inconceivable that mariners and merchants capable of mastering the long haul to Canton should have overlooked less risky gains to be reaped from travelling the sea lanes of the Arabian Sea. No one would deny that the undoing of the urban texture in large parts of Iran by successive waves of Mongol and Timurid conquests, succession struggles and further population losses inflicted by the plague³⁸ reversed the earlier expansion of trade. But it would be hard to explain why exchange between the Persian Gulf and India should have withered to the point of extinction after what was a now well attested flowering following

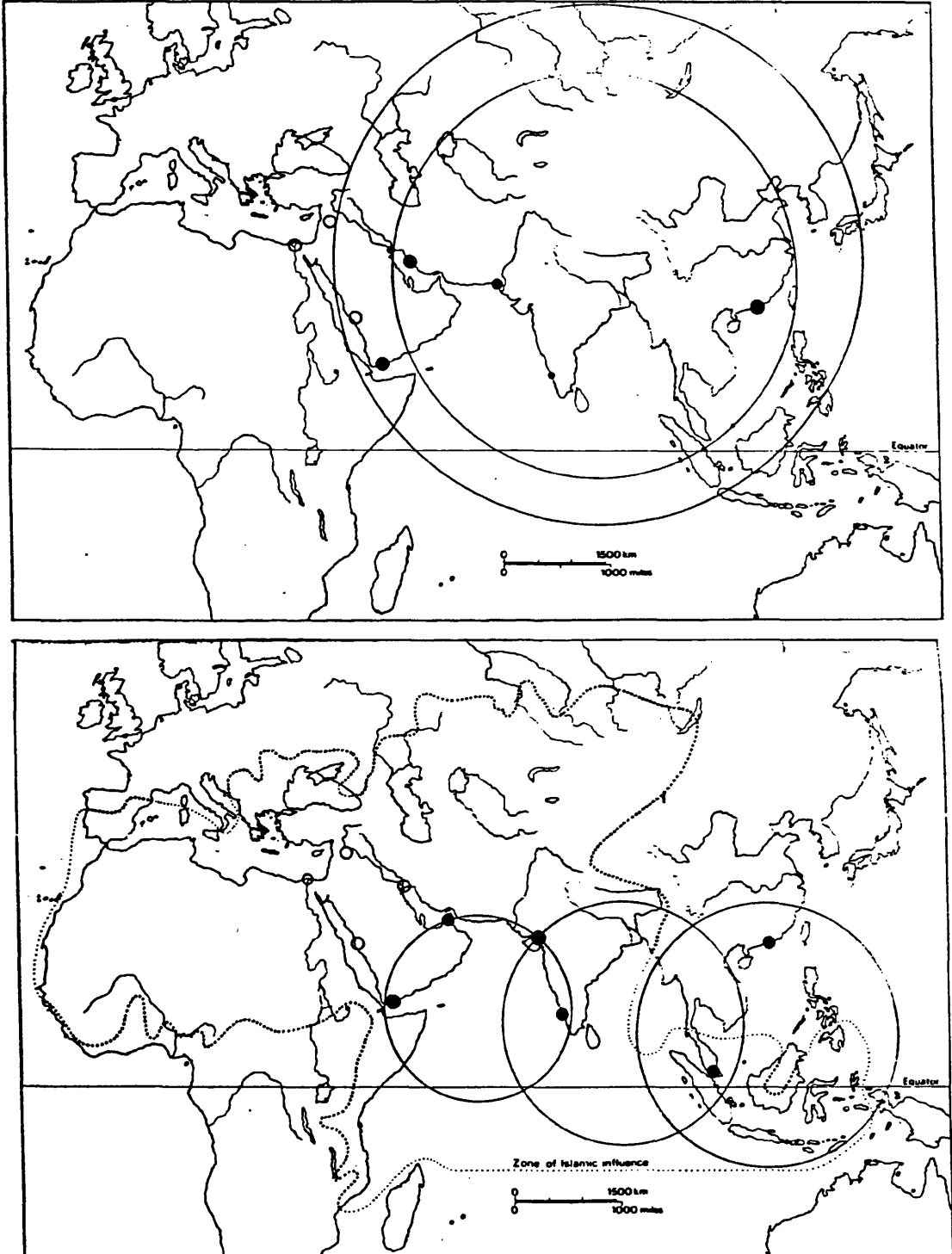
³⁶ The favourite topics studied are traditionally the enigma of the Šīrāzī traders and the expansion of "Umān in East Africa, see e.g. N. CHITTICK (1965), The "Shirazi" Colonization of East Africa, *JafH* VI, 275-294, ID. (1970), East African Trade with the Orient, in: D.S. RICHARDS (ed.) (1970), 97-104 and ID. (1975), The East African Coast and the Persian Gulf, in: *Memorial Volume. Vth ICIAA*, vol.2, 292-295, also T. RICKS (1970), Persian Gulf and East Africa: IX-XIIth Centuries, *African Historical Studies* III/2, 339-358 and J. KIRKMAN (1983), The Early History of Oman in East Africa, *JOMS* VI/1, 41-58.

³⁷ See the recent monographs for Šīrāf M. TAMPOE (1989), for Ġulfār J. HANSMAN (ed.) (1985), *Julfār. An Arabian Port, Its Settlement and Far Eastern Economic Traces from the XIVth to the XVIIIth Centuries*, London, esp.25ff., for Old-Hormūz: P. MORGAN (1991), New Thoughts on Old Hormuz: Chinese Ceramics in the Hormuz Region in the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries, *Iran* XXIX, 67-83; for Hormūz: L. CATERINA (1974), Frammenti Cinesi a Hurmuz, in: *Atti del VII° Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica. Albisola*, 31-42, and U. WIESNER (1979), *Chinesische Keramik auf Hormoz. Spuren einer Handelsmetropole im Persischen Golf*, Köln, as well as further studies listed in the bibliography. H. GAUBE (1973), *Die südpersische Provinz Arraġān-Kūh-Gīlūyeh von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Safawidenzeit* (=ÖAkWiss phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften CVII), Wien, on the other hand, which includes survey material regarding areas closer to the head of the Persian Gulf, focuses on historical topography and settlement diffusion.

³⁸ On the history of the plague in the Middle East see M.W. DOLS (1977), *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton, and ID. (1979), The Second Plague Pandemia and Its Recurrences in the Middle East, 1397-1894, *JESHO* XXII, 162-189, both with only little data on population losses; difficulties in arriving at reasonable guesses for demographic figures for the Middle Ages are discussed in D. AYALON (1985), Regarding Population Estimates in the Countries of Medieval Islam, *JESHO* XXVIII, 1-19, and, for Iran J. AUBIN (1986), Chiffres de population urbaines en Iran Occidental autour de 1500, *MOOI* III, 37-54.

Figure 6

The patterns of the direct Sino-Arab voyages (ca.700-950) and
the emporia trade in the Indian Ocean³⁹



³⁹ Source: K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), 40f., maps 8 and 9.

the Muslim expansion of Sind⁴⁰, and in a time when the commercial potential of the Dehli Sultanate and Muslim Gujarat began to burgeon⁴¹.

In fact, contrary to the scenario of relentless decline, there was a plethora of minor Persian Gulf ports, often little more than pirate coves, which, in the face of political fragmentation in mainland Iran during the later Middle Ages, were able to sustain this trade although they served inevitably more restricted hinterlands⁴². It would be mistaken to view the cessation of direct single voyages of Arab vessels to China as inaugurating a system of tripartite trade circuits covering the expanse of the Indian Ocean, with the Westernmost circuit comprising Persian Gulf, Red and Arabian Seas⁴³. Rather, the two represent two types of voyages of which the smaller scale circuits had borne the seeds for an integration of commercial regions that was to materialise only later on. Less spectacular, perhaps, than the (earlier and later) China voyages, but likely to have been of greater aggregate volume, this interregional trade suffered no mortal blow during the centuries between the heyday of Sīrāf and the glory of Hormūz.

The Kingdom of Hormūz

Among the regionally defined ports, which rose to prominence in the later Middle Ages, Old-Hormūz in Moġostān soon asserted itself to be the principal point of transshipment for Kermān and beyond⁴⁴. If on the one hand we cannot now gauge adequately whether it had been propelled by the effects of the Seljuq unification of the ʿUmānī and Moġostānī littorals in the

⁴⁰ B.N. MACLEAN (1989), *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*, Leiden, 69ff. The case for closer links between the Persian Gulf and India has contemporarily been made in A. WINK (1990), *Al-Hind. The Making of the Indo-Islamic World, vol. I: Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam*, Leiden/Dehli, *passim*, who otherwise subscribes to the "steep-decline" paradigm.

⁴¹ See M.J. MEHTA / S. MEHTA (1991), The Gujarati and the Arab Merchants AD 942-1500: Some Observations Based on Contemporary Sources, *Al-Waṭṭa* IX/18, 199-217, and for a wider panorama M.A.P. MEILINK-ROELOFSZ (1962), *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago Between 1500 and About 1600*, s'Gravenhage, 19ff., 61ff. and M.N. PEARSON (1976), *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat. The Response to the Portuguese in the XVIth Century*, Berkeley etc., 10ff.

⁴² For a survey of ports see A. WILLIAMSON (1973), Hormuz: the Trade of the Gulf in the XIVth and XVth centuries, *PrSArSt* (VI), 52-68, 56, Map 3. For a similar but more complex relationship of piracy and trade see G. BOUCHON (1975), L'évolution de la piraterie sur la côte malabare au cours du XVIe siècle, in: *Course et piraterie (=XVe Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime)*, San Francisco, 744-765 (Mimeo).

⁴³ Such a chronological succession appears not to be implied in the maps in K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), 40f., here reproduced as Figure 6, despite their captions.

⁴⁴ For the location of the settlement-site see H.G. CARLS (1982), *Alt-Hormoz. Ein historischer Hafen an der Straße von Hormoz (Iran). Retrospekt und Prospekt zu einem ungelösten archäologischen, geographischen und orientalistischen Problem*, München, who offers a compilation of survey data to supplement evidence from historical and archaeological accounts and studies mentioned. See now also P. MORGAN (1991).

XI/Ith centuries, it seems certain that, on the other hand, Šabānkārā'ī depredations in Fārs must have stifled aspirations of places in the upper Persian Gulf to grow into emporia for Iran. Some trading ports on the Northern shore of the Persian Gulf escaped the turmoil of Iran's internal history by moving to comparatively safer island locations, notably Kīš (Qays) until 1229 and Ġārūn from the XIVth century, the latter to become known under the name of the previous mainland settlement of Hormūz⁴⁵. The two island ports successively seem to have dominated maritime trade in the Persian Gulf. Their commercial function was to operate as centres of transshipment for goods carried along the sea lanes to and from minor ports on both shores of the Persian Gulf and along Iran's caravan tracks to their respective mainland ports, Hozū and Gomrūn. However, the origin of their ascendancy was not primarily mercantile expertise: rather it was their rulers' ability to enforce control of shipping movements through the straits of Hormūz and along the major Persian Gulf sealanes. Ġārūn, easily dominating the straits, served the princes of Old-Hormūz as a military base for precisely this purpose, even before their main settlement was transferred to the island⁴⁶. Just how the suppression of piratical activity and the enforcement of the Hormūzī customs régime was achieved is not evident for the period prior to the XVIth century. The geopolitical constellation however suggests as a not unreasonable assumption that organised violence (or the threat thereof) and/or the provision of armed escorts through known troublespots and past pirates' lairs may have played a part in it. In this case the well known paradigm of protection-rent extraction would apply, allowing for a swift and logical passage from corsair to respected regional power⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ The most comprehensive accounts are J. AUBIN (1953), *Les princes d'Ormuz du XIIIe au XIVe siècle*, *JA* CCXLI, 77-137, ID. (1973), *Le royaume d'Ormuz au debut du XVIe siècle*, *MLI* II, 77-179 and also below and bibliography. For the island of Kīš (Qais) see D. WHITEHOUSE (1976), *Kish, Iran XIV*, 146-147, H. BAKHTIYARI (1979), *Ġoġrāfiyā-ye tāriḫi-ye ġazīre-ye Kīš*, *ICIAA*, 600-611. On trade and politics see also S.D.N. GOITEIN (1954), *Two Eyewitness Reports on the Expedition of the King of Kish (Qais) Against Aden*, *BSOAS* XVI, 247-257, N.M. LOWICK (1974), and H. YAYIMA (1976), *Indian Ocean Trade at the Time of the Mongols Empire: Trading Activity of the Kish Merchants*, *The Toyogaku-ho* LVII/3-4, 1-40 [in Jap. with Engl. summary].

⁴⁶ See J. AUBIN (1953), 95.

⁴⁷ For the notions of organised violence and, thence derived, protection rent, see the studies of F.C. LANE and N. STEENSGAARD discussed below. The likelihood of such arrangements, combining violence monopoly and trade, make it desirable to take a fresh look at the orthodox credo of an idyllic *pax ante-Gamensis* in Asian waters which sees the notion of armed trade imposed on the Indian Ocean by the Europeans. Apart from the truly European, if rather chimerical, ideas of ruling the waves, plenty of examples throughout Asia testify to attempts not only to establish some sort of hegemonical authority over maritime forelands, but, logically, to enforce, through a variety of not always peaceful means, commercial success as a corollary of the monopoly of violence thus achieved. Clearly, typological categories would need some redrafting. A comparative analysis which might point the way to the deconstruction of yet another Indian Ocean myth, would have to include, besides pre-Portuguese Hormūz and post-Portuguese Masqat in our area, the notorious Malabari "pirates", many instances recorded for the Indonesian archipelago, as well as, lately, for the South China Sea, according to Kwan-wai SO (1975), *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the XVIth Century*, Ann Arbor. Even now, however, it must count as an inadmissably crass misrepresentation of conditions both outside and perhaps even more inside Europe to speak of "the combination ...of state power and trading interest" as "characteristically, if nor uniquely

Eventually, and coinciding with the disintegration of the Timurid empire, the XVth century witnessed a new development in the Persian Gulf: bought, subjected by military might or attracted by gravitational force to the newly emerging regional centre of power, the islands of the Persian Gulf, including Bahrayn and its mainland coastline, the littorals of Moğostān and 'Umān, *savāhel va ġazāyer*, became all united under the rule of the kings of Hormūz⁴⁸. Hardly anywhere did their territory extend beyond the first range of coastal hills. In fact, the kingdom's ruling élite, chiefly composed of the royal Tūrānšāhī family and the viziral clans⁴⁹, derived the most substantial part of their revenue from the island's customs house⁵⁰, and were all, in one way or another, associates in trading operations. Yet if the rationale of this thalassocracy was characteristically based on trade passing through its waters, it would be misleading to speak of a mercantile state of the kind one might have encountered on the coasts of India⁵¹; for while Hormūz's unique independence could only have been achieved against the strong commercial background of the island, this causality did not open avenues into political participation for merchants⁵².

European", see J.D. TRACY (ed.) (1991), 19 (Introduction).

⁴⁸ Of the studies mentioned so far J. AUBIN (1953), ID. (1973) and V. FIORANI-PIACENTINI (1975) offer the most comprehensive accounts of the rise of Hormūz, as well as full references to Middle Eastern, Indian, European and Chinese sources.

⁴⁹ In the late XVth and XVIth century most prominent among them were the Fālīs. Information on the background of these families can be found in the aforementioned studies of J. Aubin, who also discusses the significance of the kings' claiming descent from Arab ancestors and the integration of the viziral clans' into the familial politics of Southern Iran.

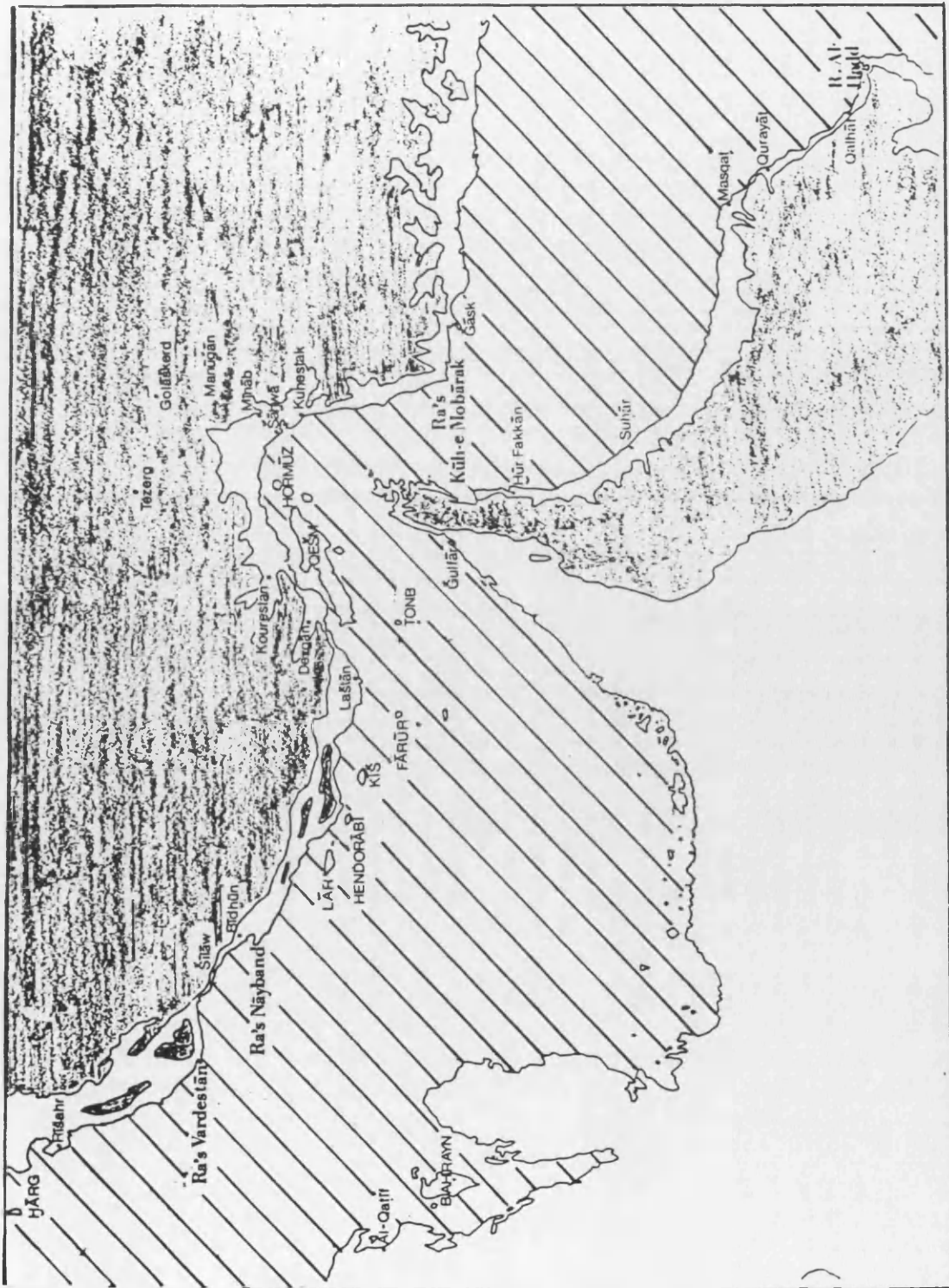
⁵⁰ J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente*, Lisboa, 1777, II-10-7, claims to base his data on the Hormūzī revenues on first-hand knowledge of an original (early XVIth century) register; see also J. AUBIN (ed.) (1973b), O título das remdas que remde a Ylha d'Oromuz, *MLI* II, 1973, 217-237.

⁵¹ Cfr. for the oft-quoted, particularly striking example of Basrur see D. De COUTO (1778-88), *Da Ásia de ~. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram na conquista e descobrimentos das terras e mares do Oriente, Décadas IV-XII*, 8 vols., Lisboa, VIII-22, 279 ("os Chatins de Barcellor, que ...se governam como Republica") and F. Mendes Da LUZ (ed.) (1960), *Livro das cidades, e fortalezas, que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India...*, facs. ed. Studia VI, Lisboa, fl.42 ("terra franca governada em modo de Republica"). Evidence for these "maritime republics" thus stems from the pen of European observers; for textual problems regarding the Portuguese chronicler see A. COIMBRA MARTINS (1971), Sobre as Décadas que Diogo Do Couto deixou inéditas, *ACCP* III, 283-307 and ID. (1974), Sobre a génese da obra de Couto 1569-1600 - Uma carta inedita, *ACCP* VIII, 131-174, but especially M.A. LIMA CRUZ (1982), Para uma edição crítica da Decada VIII de Diogo do Couto, *ACCP* XVII, 93-114. Basrur rendered an annual tribute to Vijayanagara which may correspond to the *muqarrariya* paid by Hormūz to whoever held sway over the neighbouring Iranian mainland regions, see below. For the self-governing community of Cannanore see G. BOUCHON (1988), *Regent of the Sea. Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion 1507-1528*, Delhi, and for a survey of the history of the Mappila community S.F. DALE (1980), *Islamic Societies on the South Asian Frontier: the Mappila of Malabar, 1498-1922*, New York.

⁵² See J. AUBIN (1953), 126, and, more explicitly, ID. (1973), 145: "fonction économique et fonction politique sont des états conçus [*scil.* à Ormuz comme ailleurs dans l'Orient islamique médiéval] comme hétérogène..."; differences to developments in contemporaneous Islamic India are acknowledged. The case for separate spheres of action for merchants

Map 3

The Kingdom of Hormūz in the XVth century

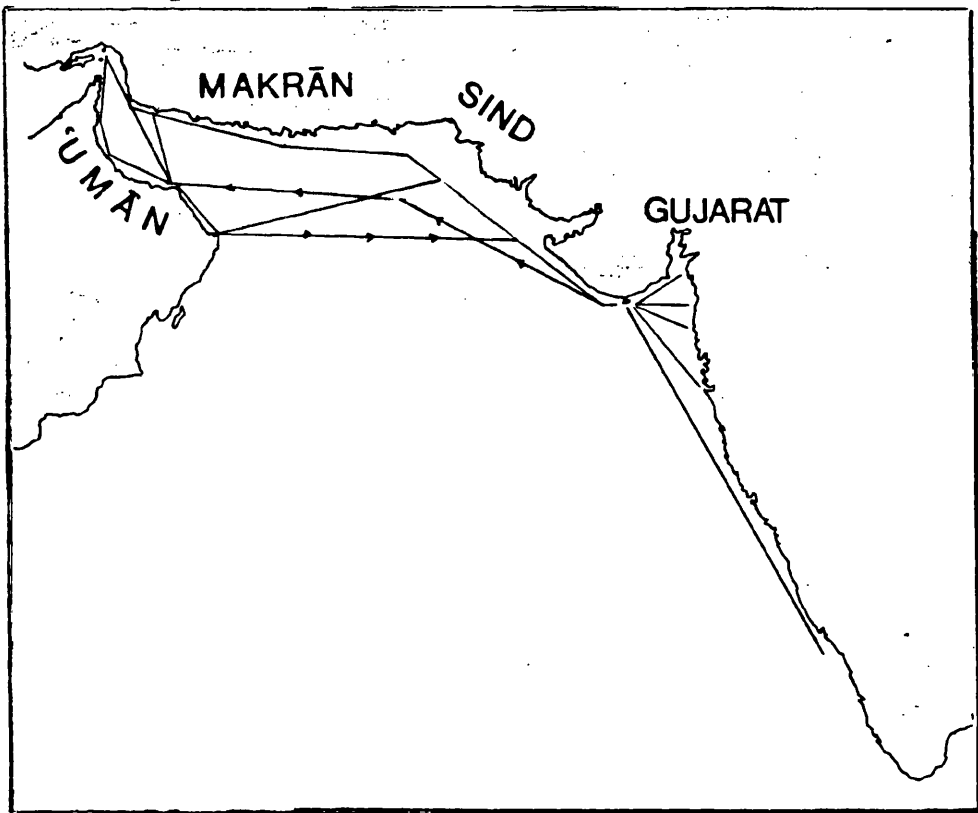


and rulers has been argued strongly for Gujarat in M. PEARSON (1976). From more recent studies it emerges that over the years the author has moderated his earlier radical stance.

The gradual relocation of the main emporia closer to the mouth of the Persian Gulf seems to have triggered two changes in the spatial organisation of regional markets in ‘Umān and Iran: first, the decline of ‘Umān’s chief Medieval port Sūhār, which was robbed of its function of being the first port of call on the Western shores of the Arabian Seas offering all year round sailing opportunities into the Persian Gulf proper⁵³. It is interesting to observe how the gradual Eastwards drift of the main trading centres in the Persian Gulf proper was mirrored by a similar, if less linear, movement along the waterfront of ‘Umān, where Sūhār, Qalhāt, Ġulfār and Masqat all were to have their share of prominence over the centuries. In the XVth century Qalhāt, which had given Hormūz one of the forefathers of its ruling dynasty, was considered the second city of the kingdom, but from the XVth through to the XVIIth century the ‘Umānī coastline developed almost constantly as a function of events revolving around Hormūz or, later, Bandar-e ‘Abbās.

Map 4

Arab navigation between the Persian Gulf and the West Coast of India



⁵³ The early Ibādī government had conceived Sūhār as the buffer-zone envisaged by K. Polanyi, the only port where foreign, chiefly Indian merchants, were permitted to reside, see J. WILKINSON (1987), 69; in greater detail see also ID. (1979), Sūhār (Sohar) in the Early Islamic Period: the Written Evidence, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Napoli, 887-907, and ID. (1964), A Sketch of the Historical Geography of the Trucial Oman Down to the Beginning of the XVIth Century, *GJ* CXXX/3, 337-349; see also S. NADVI (1933), Commercial Relations of India with Arabia, *IC* VII, 281-308. For recent archaeological studies see P. COSTA / T.J. WILKINSON (1987), *The Hinterland of Sohar* (=JOMS IX), Masqat.

The rich pickings from Hormūz's customs house had always coveted by rulers on the Iranian mainland, but with the safe location defending the island against potentially dangerous expeditions⁵⁴, its relationship with the powers-that-be on the Iranian mainland was formalised in a seemingly fixed tribute (*muqarrariya*) to be rendered annually by the Tūrānšāhīs. For at least 200 years⁵⁵, payment of the *muqarrariya* acknowledged on the one hand the suzerainty of rulers in Iran over Hormūz; more importantly, it was a means to acquire safe passage for the caravans converging on the island's mainland harbours, without which the prosperity of Hormūz would have been doomed⁵⁶.

Iran and Persian Gulf Trade (XVth-XVIth centuries)

On the Iranian mainland, The symbiosis of caravan and maritime trade generated long-term redirections of trade flows between ports and the highlands⁵⁷. For if the XVth century saw

⁵⁴ Four attempts have been counted for the XVth century. For Timurid expeditions just before 1400 and in 1429 see J. AUBIN (1953), 112ff.; the relevant passages from *Tārīḫ-e Ġāʾfarī* are given in V.V. BARTOL'D (1935), *Novy istočnik po istorii Timuridov*, *Zapiski Inst. Vostoka AN SSSR* V, 5-42 and W. HINZ (1936b), *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Timuriden*, *ZDMG* XC/2, 357-398; J. AUBIN (1955), 498 mentions a further Timurid expedition against Lār in 1411/12, which D. SCHÖN (1988), *Zur Geschichte Laristans*, Wien, non-pag., claims was chiefly directed against Hormūz. For a campaign of Ebrāhīm Soltān b. Šāhrūh, governor of Fārs, in 1429, see J. AUBIN (1953), 114. For an attempt of the ruler of Lār to launch an expedition against Hormūz in 1498/99, see J. AUBIN (1971), *Cojéatar et Albuquerque*, *MLI* I, 99-134, 102f.

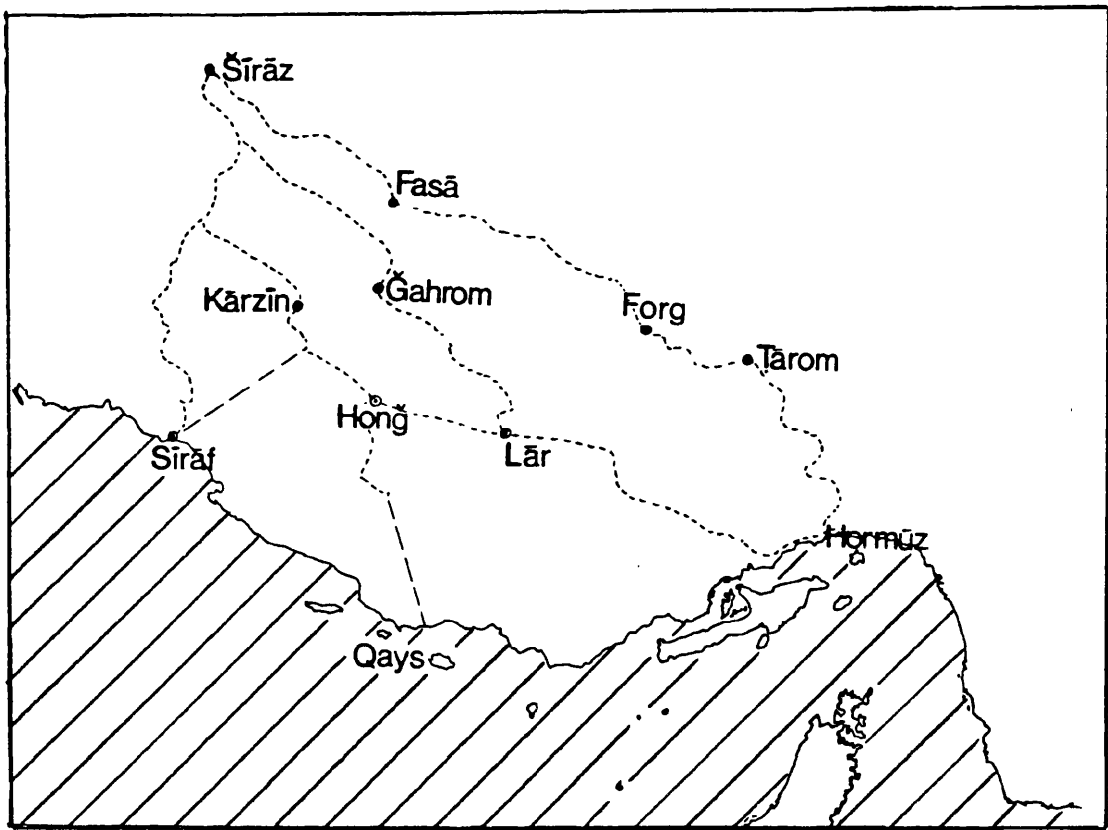
⁵⁵ For the origins of the *muqarrariya* in actual tributes paid as *ḥarāḡ* to the Mongol Īl-Hān's of Iran see J. AUBIN (1953), 122ff. From the Timurids onwards, the payment more closely resembled in form what we find in the XVIth century. For disputes in the mid-XVIth century see "Estado da Índia e aonde tem o seu principio", in: *DUP* I, 197ff., 208ff. After the Safavids had occupied Lārestān, the Portuguese administration ceased to comply with this time-honoured payment, see A. BOCARRO, *Decada XIII da história da Índia*, ed. R.J. De Lima FELNER, 2 vols., Lisboa 1876, 346. A sketch of the events in 1607/08, when inept diplomacy and crass misjudgement of their own position led the Portuguese to openly break with this policy, thus sparking off the first of a series of premonitory military engagements with the Safavids which were to seal the fate of Hormūz before long, can be found in N. STEENSGAARD (1973), 249f. It is worth noting that the Hormūzī King Farrūh-Šāh had expressed his anxiety at this in his eyes foolish course of action in a letter to King Philip II of Portugal prior to the correspondence with Portuguese officials on which Steensgaard bases his account, see the indignant reaction of King Philip in a letter to his Indian Viceroy D. Martim Affonso de Castro, dated Lisboa 3/1/1607, *DRI* I, 51-57, 53, in ... where he speaks of "o pagamento das mocarrarias, a que diz [*scil.*: o rei de Ormuz] tenho obrigação pelo contracto feito pelos reys seus predecessores na entrega da alfandega". Perceptively, Pietro Della VALLE (1650 ff.), *Viaggi di ~ il Pellegrino*, 3 vols., Roma; new partial ed. F. GAETA / L. LOCKHART, Roma 1972, remarked that Hormūz was lost when relations with Safavid Lār broke down.

⁵⁶ This nexus is most clearly expressed in a letter of the Goan Viceroy D. Martim Affonso de Castro to King Philip II of Portugal, as summarized in the latter's reply, *DRI* I, 218-221, 218: "o sultão de Lara começara logo a tentar novidades contra Ormuz pedindo se lhe desse a elle certa pensão, que na alfandega se dava aos reys de Lara por franquearem as cafilas, a que chamam mocarrarias e que cessaram ha pouco com a morte do ultimo rey de Lara, que o Xá matou...". However, earlier letters suggest that cessation of these payments was considered whenever passage of Hormūz bound caravans was obstructed by Lār, see APO¹ III, 137 (dated 1/3/1588).

⁵⁷ Comments on written evidence for the gradual eastward shift of trade routes can be found in J. AUBIN (1969), *ID.* (1971), *Pour une étude critique de l' "Itinéraire" d'Antonio Tenreiro*, *ACCP* III, 238-252 and *ID.* (1985), *Témoignage et oui-dire dans la relation sur la Perse de Josafa Barbaro (1487)*, *MOOI* II/1, 70-84. For corresponding archaeological evidence, especially in the Hōng area, see G. GROPP (1970), *Bericht über eine Reise in West- und Südiran*, *AMI* N.S. III, 187ff.

Map 5

Trade Routes between the Persian Gulf and Šīrāz (IXth-XVIth Centuries)



the unification of *savāḥel va ḡazāyer* under the Tūrānšāhī, it also witnessed for the first time the convergence of goods from and to Western, Central and Eastern Iran on one major point of transshipment⁵⁸. This development has been interpreted as one reason behind the growth of new urban centres, most notably Lār⁵⁹, which was connected to Hormūz by a caravan track across

⁵⁸ As early as the XIVth century Ibn Baṭṭūta described the position of Hormūz in the distributional network of the Western Indian Ocean: "...it is the port from which the wares of India and Sind are despatched to the Iraqs, Fars and Khurasan", see IBN BAṬṬŪTA, *Tuḥfa an-nazzār fī ḡarā'ib al-amsār* (=Rihla. Voyages), ed. C. DEFRÉMERY / B.R. SANGUINETTI, 4 vols., Paris 1854-59, Engl.transl. q.i. E. HERZIG (1985), 7. For the early XVIth century see also the letter of *capitão* Pero D'Albuquerque to King Manuel I of Portugal, dated Hormūz 5/8/1516, CAA VII No.CCLXXIX, 163-167, 164 [ANTT CC II-65-156, also in: J.R. COELHO (ed.) (1892), *Alguns documentos do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas*, Lisboa, 388-391, 389]: "O trato doromuz he muy grosso; de toda las partes da India vem a ele pela niseçidade que tem toda a persia e arabia das mercadarias da India - a saber - roupa pera vestir, e açuquere, e fero, e aroz, e especiarias he ho mais pouquo; ha India ha mister caualos, seda, pedra vme e aljofre, estas sam doromuz...".

⁵⁹ For the rise of Lār see J. AUBIN (1955), *Références pour Lar médiévale*, JA CCXLIII, 491-505, who sees the rise of Lār in the context of Persian Gulf trade (most outspokenly perhaps in ID. (1969), and now also the surveys in J. CALMARD (1986), s.v. Lār, Lāristān, *Et* VI, 670ff. and D. SCHÖN (1988). For an earlier period, Sīrḡān had been linked to the resurgence of the route between Yazd and Hormūz, see J. AUBIN (1977), *La question du Sīrḡān au XIIIe siècle*, *StIr* VI, 285-290.

one of the harshest and most inhospitable mountain ranges South Iran has to offer. The development of what was to grow into one of the busiest trunk routes of the area can be traced fairly well, reflected as it is in the mushrooming of *kārwānsarāis* catering for the more and more frequent caravan trains: epigraphical evidence allows us to date two of the surviving buildings en route from Hormūz to Lār to 1461/62⁶⁰. Within two generations a fully-fledged network of halting places and cisterns was in place⁶¹. Then as later, much of the investment in infrastructure stemmed from bequests left by prominent Lārī and Hormūzī merchants, although there are also examples for initiatives on the part of Hormūzī and, possibly, Lārī rulers⁶². Interestingly, it is only after the incorporation of Lār into the Safavid empire that our accounts allow us to trace an ever tightening chain of *kārwānsarāis* along the routes leading North of Lār⁶³. The XVIIth century development of this route must be seen in conjunction with the establishment of Eṣfahān as a new capital which certainly marked a new stage in the unfolding of Iran's route network, but can hardly be read as the outcome of a premeditated blueprint for fostering trade, as the familiar

⁶⁰ A. WILLIAMSON (1973), 61, on the basis of a survey in 1969/70, on a building probably near Gāčīn, bearing an inscription which dates it to 1461/62 and names King Fahr od-Dīn Tūrānshāh as the founder; for a description see also Don García De SILVA Y FIGUEROA (1703-05), *Comentarios de la embajada que de parte del rey de España Don Felipe III hizo al rey Xa Abas de Persia*, Madrid, new ed.: 2 vols., Madrid 1903, vol.1, 275; further west see H. GAUBE (1977), 41.

⁶¹ M. MEMBRÉ (1542), *Relazione di Persia*, ed. G. SCARCIA, Napoli, 54, reports on the route between Lār and Gomrūn: "ogni due leghe aveva una cittadella [scil. de acqua; i.e. cistern] e carvassarà". It is interesting, however, that in 1523 A. TENREIRO (1560), *Itinerario em que se contem como da Índia veio por terra a estes reynos de Portugal...*, Coimbra [new ed. in: A. BAIÃO (ed.) (1923), *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra* (=SRL B.2), Coimbra, 1-127, 8, should mention only one important *kārwānsarāi* (in Kourestān). The building can also be found on the maps accompanying D. KRAWULSKY (1977), *Iran. Das Reich der Ilkhane. Eine topographisch-historische Studie* (=TAVO Beih. B XVII), Wiesbaden, but is not discussed in the volume itself. Puzzlingly, J. NEWBERIE (1578-82), *The Voyages of Master ~, One into the Holy Land, the Other to Bassora, Ormus, Persia and Backe throu Turkie*, SPHP VIII, 449-481, 460, who travelled the same track as Membré, also has only one *kārwānsarāi* in "Cawrstan". On A. Tenreiro and problems presented by the text see F.G.PERRY VIDAL (1938/40), *Uma nova lição da "Viagem por terra" de Antonio Tenreiro*, CHEP vol.2, 109-128; A. LOSA (1967), O "Itinerário" de António Tenreiro - o islão visto por um português de quinhentos, in: *Atti del III° Congresso di studi arabi e islamici*, Ravello 1-6/9/1966, Napoli, 467-481, L. RIBEIRO (ed.) (1959), *A viagem da Índia para Portugal por terra feita por Antonio Tenreiro*, *Studia* III, 110-123, and J.L. BACQUE-GRAMMONT (1976), *Un rapport ottoman sur Antonio Tenreiro*, *MLI* III, 161-176, but especially J. AUBIN (1971).

⁶² However, the conclusion of A. WILLIAMSON (1973), 61, that all similar buildings along the road must be attributed to the munificence of the rulers of Hormūz is mistaken. Not only did their territory hardly extend much beyond Kourestān; but the building in H. GAUBE (1977), 41, equally dating from 1461/62, cannot be linked to the Hormūzī kings. For examples from the XVIth century see e.g. M. MEMBRÉ (1542), *Relazione di Persia*, loc.cit., 54, and Don García De SILVA Y FIGUEROA (1703-05), loc.cit., vol.1, 282f., who speaks of two large cisterns and an aqueduct serving the *kārwānsarāi* at Tang-e Dalān built "por un legado y obra pio que dexó un ciudadano rico de Lara". H. von POSER (1675), fl.72b, identifies the "mercador de Lara" as "Hoggia Mehemet bonde".

⁶³ See N. De Orta REBELO (1605), *Relação ...*, loc.cit., 110, on a place between Lār and Ġahrom, "donde se andava edificando hum Sumptuoso Carabansera, o qual mandava fazer o Governador de Lara por nome Cambarabeque". M. MEMBRÉ (1542), *Relazione...*, loc.cit., mentioned no such buildings between Eṣfahān and Lār.

mixture of private munificence and official intervention continued to obtain⁶⁴. From the XVth century on, secondary tracks between Moğostān and Central Iran which sometimes had a long history as trade routes but which now by-passed Lār did not attract the same kind of investment⁶⁵. Still they continued to carry some traffic: would it be conceivable to envisage a conscious policy on the parts of late XVth century Lārī rulers to remit all transit taxes on caravans passing through their territory - for that is what they did if Girolamo di S. Stefano can be depended upon⁶⁶ - in order to capture a larger share of the trade between Indian Ocean networks and Inner Iran?

What is indisputable is that the prosperity of Hormūz' entrepôt depended as much on safe inland trading routes as it did on the security along the sealanes. But if, towards the end of the XVth century, on a wider level and beyond local politics, the demise of Timurid successor states in Iran appears to have hastened the decline of overland trade over wide expanses, did, by the same token, the demise of Herāt and the southward thrust of the Özbeqs deal a blow to interregional overland trade between Northern India and Central Iran⁶⁷? Is it possible that maritime trade through the Persian Gulf gained from this decline, if not newly forging then certainly strengthening ties between commercial regions in the Middle East and India, possibly reduced in size, but linked more closely and more regularly by relying on the distributional services of port cities⁶⁸?

⁶⁴ Infrastructural improvement of trade routes in XVth and XVIIth century Iran have been discussed in detail in R. KLEIN (in prep.), see also ID. / H. GAUBE (1989/92), *Das Safawidenreich*, TAVO B VIII 20, Wiesbaden.

⁶⁵ However, for the XVth century see Mestre AFONSO, *Ytinerario de ~ , solurgido mor que foi da India... , da viagem que fez da India por terra a estes reinos de Portugal*, in: A. BALÃO (ed.) (1923), 131-319, 137ff., and P. DELLA VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 308ff., in 1621, on the lack of *kārwānsarāis* and bridges on his journey from Šīrāz via Fasā and Tarom to Gomrūn, where he only saw a derelict building at "Giganli", just outside Šīrāz. The impression of a declining route is confirmed by the fact that only on its Southern leg where it coincides with the main Gomrūn-Sīrghān(-Kermān) route *rāhdār* stations were found, see *ibid.*, vol.3, 319ff. For the route's earlier importance and the cities it connected see G. LE STRANGE (1905), *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, Cambridge, 288ff. Similarly no infrastructural improvements have been recorded in the earliest years of the XVIIth century west of Šīrāz, see J. De COUTRE (1640), *Vida de Jaques de Coutre, natural de la ciudad de Brugas*, ed. E. STOLS / B.N. TEENSMA, Madrid, Dutch transl.: J. VERBERCKMOES / E. STOLS (eds.) (1988), *Aziatische omzwervingen. Het leven van Jaques de Coutre, een Brugs diamant handelaar 1591-1627*, Berchem, 138.

⁶⁶ See Girolamo Di Santo Stefano, *Viaggio*, in: M. LONGHENA (ed.) (1905), *Il testo originale del viaggio di Girolamo Adorno e Girolamo da S. Stefano*, *Studi Filologici Indo-Iranici* V, App.1-56, 47 [also in: M. LONGHENA (ed.) (1929), *Viaggi in Persia, India e Giava...*, Milano ²1962, 215-240].

⁶⁷ For details on the development of overland trade between Northern India and Central Iran see R. KLEIN (in prep.).

⁶⁸ On the other hand, there is the vexed question of the continuity and intensity of exchange between Ḥorāsān and

It is as yet open to question just how the expansion of trade through Lār can be linked to developments in Iranian history at large. It might also be possible that Lār benefitted from the massacre of 4.000 Kāzerūnī *ḥaṭṭbs* at the behest of the first Safavid Šāh Esmāʿīl I in 1504: lodges of the Kāzerūnī order had formed a useful backbone for a Persian trading network in the region and beyond, offering credit facilities for travelling merchants, but it would seem that the Safavids feared them as a potential fulcrum of opposition to their religious policy for Iran⁶⁹.

The Lārī Jewish community⁷⁰, which A. Tenreiro described in 1523 as "gente pobre, naturaes da mesma terra"⁷¹, grew more numerous and richer in the first half of the XVIth century thanks to the influx of Sephardi co-religionists, attracted via Hormūz⁷² both from the

Hormūz. J. AUBIN (1953) and (1955), has argued the case for undiminished links. However, the evidence is not unequivocal: for while in the 1440's 'Abd Ar-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭla' os-sa'dayn va maḡma' ol-baḥrayn*, ed. M. Saḡī, 3 pts., Lahore 1941-49, 766ff., 775ff., 842ff. [see also Engl. ed. in: R. MAJOR (ed.) (1857)] mentions Ḥorāsānī and Central Asian merchants heading for Hormūz, for the 1470's, A. Nikitin's, *Khoženie za tri morja*, ed. N. Vodovozov, Moskva / Leningrad 1950 [German ed. K. MÜLLER (ed.) (1986), *Itineraria Rossica*, Leipzig, 149-172] speaks of the severance of communication between Hormūz and Central Asia. It is true, 'Abd ol-Karīm b. Moḥammad Nīmdihī's *Ṭabaqāt-e Maḥmūd Šāh* refers to customs regulations for goods from "Ḥorāsān", see J. AUBIN (1973), 172, and N.573; but quite apart from the problem of making sense of the concept of "customs" in the context of Islamic taxation, since the work was composed in Gujarat [on author and work see J. AUBIN (1966), *Indo-Islamica I. La vie et l'oeuvre de Nīmdihī* [ms. BM Or. 5745], *REI* XXXIV, 61-81] the comment may well reflect Persian usage in Hendostān, where the term can designate the Iranian mainland as a whole, see Zāhīr od-Dīn Moḥammad Bābur, *Vaqī'āt-e Bāburī* (= *Bāburnāme*), ed. facs. A.S. Beveridge, London/Leiden 1905 [German ed.: W. STAMMLER, Zürich 1988, 347]. For the turn of the XVIth century we have a reference to caravan trade with Samarqand in a letter by Afonso De Albuquerque to the Portuguese vice-roy D. Francisco De Almeida (1505-09), published in R.B. SMITH (1972a), *Afonso de Albuquerque, Being the Portuguese Text of an Unpublished Letter of the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra Relating the Portuguese Conquest of Ormuz in 1507*, Bethesda, 5-10, 8. Contrary to what has been suggested in J. AUBIN (1973), 172 and N.574, the Italian version of the letter, published by ID. in *MLI* I, 1971, 139-144, contains no reference to trade with Herāt: "il Arion" of the Italian text can now be corrected on the basis of the original Portuguese "Lara", which although reasonably close to what are believed to be contemporaneous Portuguese [T. PIRES, *A Suma Oriental*, 162: "Ara"] and Italian [L. VARTHEMA (1510), *Itinerario...*, Roma, 37b] renderings of Herāt, customarily stands for Lār. J. AUBIN (1988), *L'avènement des Safavides reconsideré* (=ETS III), *MOOI* V, 1-130, 82, mentions dangerous routes North of Yazd. A letter of Tūrānšāh III of Hormūz to King Manuel I of Portugal, probably dating from August 1516, alludes to a formerly regular caravan trade from Ḥorāsān, see Ğ. QĀ'EM MAQĀMĪ (2536/1977-78), *Asnād-e fārsī*, 'arabī va torkī dar aršīw-e mellī-ye Portagāl dar bāre-ye Hormūz va Ḥalīḡ-e Fārs, *BT* XII/2, 123-164, 153ff.

⁶⁹ See J. AUBIN (1959), *Shāh Isma'īl et les notables de l'Iraq persan* (=ETS I), *JESHO* I, 37-81, 58f., and ID. (1988), 86f.; see also above; cfr. also E. (NIEWÖHNER-)EBERHARD (1970), *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im XVI. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften* (=IU III), Freiburg/Br., 109, N.1. Whatever the reasons, the effects of the extermination were lasting: XVIIth century observers found the city a mere shadow of its former self, see J. THEVENOT (1664-84), *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant...* [and: *Suite du Voyage du Levant*], 3 vols., Paris, vol.2, 294, and J.B. TAVERNIER (1676-79), vol.1, 144.

⁷⁰ For more details on the history of Iranian Jewry under the Safavids and a critique of recent studies and publications see R. KLEIN (ms.), *Jewish Merchants in Safavid Iran*.

⁷¹ See A. TENREIRO (1560), *Itinerario...*, loc. cit., 10. W. FISCHER (1950), *The Region of the Persian Gulf and Its Jewish Settlements in Islamic Times*, in: *The Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*, New York 1950, 203-230, 219, mistakenly dates the journey to 1560, and has a slightly erroneous quotation.

⁷² A separate Sephardi synagogue may have existed in mid-XVIth century Hormūz, see "P. Balthazaris Gago S.I. excerpta ex litteris P. Gasparis Barzaei socii Goanis", Sept. 1549(?), *DInd* I, 500-507, and "P. Gaspar Barzaeus S.I. socii

Levant and, after the establishment of the inquisition in Goa, from the *Estado da India*. They brought with them commercial contacts and soon contributed to the fame of Lār as a seat of wealthy merchants. In the 1540's, a Jewish merchant was known to buy up regularly the kingdom's strategically important export commodities⁷³ and Jewish traders are frequently mentioned in XVIth century sources as traversing Fārs on their way from Hormūz to Eṣfahān. Prosperity was reflected in cultural achievements of the community, and it was here that the Italian diplomat and erudite G.B. Vecchietti (1536-1614) collected and copied a number of Judaeo-Persian manuscripts⁷⁴. A colophon to a Judaeo-Persian translation of the Psalms describes in some detail the process of transcription: on May 12th, 1601, "Scems scrittore persiano" completed the transcription of the 150 Psalms in Persian characters as dictated by Vecchietti, who was collating two texts copied at Lār with another from Šīrāz. He could avail himself of "l'aiuto di piu maestri hebrei et persiani, sendomi stato mestieri (*sic*) per poter cio meglio fare apprendere di legger hebreo, accorgendomi io che si faceva molti errori n. sapendo il maestro hebreo legger persiano ne io hebreo, et come appresi l'hebrei cosi divenne ogni cosa agevole e piana"⁷⁵. Although the transcription had been accomplished at Hormūz, it was a Lārī Rabbi who assisted in the completion of the task: a note in another copy preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Naples pays tribute to "R. Abraham Zabūlūn-e Lārī az ahl-e banī Isrā'īl", an educated man with

S.I. *India et Europa degentibus*", dated Hormūz 1/12/1549, *ibid.* I, 595-638, 626f. Fr. GASPARD De São Bernardino (1611), *Itinerário da Índia por terra até este reino de Portugal*, Lisboa, 1953: ed. A. REIS MACHADO: *Itinerário até a ilha de Chypre*, Lisboa, 128, lists "cinco igrejas, duas mesquitas de Mouros com um soberbo alcorão [i.e. minaret] que quase fica no meio dela, e uma (!) asnoga de Judeus". The fifty years separating the two visits saw the establishment of the inquisition in the *Estado da India*, entailing various restrictive rules concerning places of non-Catholic worship.

⁷³ ANTT COC 41: B. Lopes Lobato, Hormūz, to Viceroy D.J. De Castro, dated 15/1/1546; a summary in: *OJC* III, 118ff.; the document has "Laca", which could be read for Al-Ḥasā, but the reading Lār is confirmed on the basis of A. De Almeida CALADO (ed.) (1960), *Livro que trata das cousas da Índia e do Jappão*, in: *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* XXIV, 1-138, Ch.XX and 118.

⁷⁴ The vicissitudes of some of the manuscripts have been traced in W. FISCHER (1952) *The Bible in Persian Translation. A Contribution to the History of Bible Translations in Persia and India*, *HarvThR* XLV, 1-45 and F. RICHARD (1980), *Les manuscrits persans rapportés par les frères Vecchietti et conservés aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, *SiIr* IX, 291-300. For Judaeo-Persian manuscripts in other collections see for the Biblioteca Estense of Parma, J. von HAMMER (1830), *Lettere sui manoscritti orientali e particolarmente arabi che si trovano nelle biblioteche d'Italia*. VIII, *Biblioteca Italiana* LIX, 186-189 and G.B. De ROSSI (1803), *Manuscripti codices hebraice ... accurate descripti et illustrati*, Parma, vol.3, 167-169. For the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli see below.

⁷⁵ This quote from a manuscript now in the BNP is given *in extenso* in F. RICHARD (1980), 295f., who identified the copyist as Šams od-Dīn b. Qoṭb od-Dīn Qalāṭī Ḥongī, see *ibid.* 297. The same method of transcription was employed by P. Giovanni Taddeo, head of the Carmelite mission at Eṣfahān, some years later when preparing a new Persian version of the Psalms, "in which I particular have taken especial pains, because over this translation I have had three Persian Mullas and one Jewish Rabbi, a native of Persia, employed; the last mentioned interprets from Hebrew text, which I correct in the Latin. The two Persians go on writing it down...", see H. CHICK (ed.) (1939), *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Missions of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols., London, vol.1, 231ff., 241 and vol.2, 992. The Ms. Vat.Pers. 42, a Persian translation of the Psalms, names "padrī ḡovān" as translator, see E. ROSSI (ed.) (1948), *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Roma, 72f.

a remarkable library and well versed "ci dar 'elm ci dar zabān ci 'ebrī ci fārsī"⁷⁶. In 1602, A. De Gouveia found a Sephardic Rabbi in Lār, "hum Iudeu Rabino chamado Iuda" who told him "que seus Auos eram naturaes do Reyno de Leam & que no tempo que os judeus foram lançados de Hespanha, se foram pera Galilea, & que ainda entre elle perseueraua a lingua Hespanol"⁷⁷. Of the many travellers who describe the city in the first quarter of the XVIIth century, it is perhaps Th. Herbert who most expressly points to a conspicuous Jewish minority in Lārī urban society⁷⁸, but in the course of the century important parts of the Jewish merchant community moved to the new Safavid capital Eṣfahān⁷⁹.

Muṣā'ṣā', Muntafiq, Banū Ġabr

If during the XVth century much of the Persian Gulf littoral was governed from Hormūz, there were some parts which escaped its rule. In fact, in the latter part of the century, when internal conflicts were weakening the kingdom from within, these were the external areas from which it was menaced: while the last two decades of the century saw significant shifts of power especially in the kingdom's Arabian territories, Hormūzī authority had been virtually non-existent throughout the XVth century, at the head of the Gulf. It is true, Hormūz controlled the island of Hārg, whence naval activity off the coast of Daštēstān could be checked and vital foodstuff imports could be safeguarded. The island's seafaring population sold their services as pilots into the dangerous estuarial waters of the Šaṭṭ al-'Arab⁸⁰. But in Hūzestān the statelet of the sectarian

⁷⁶ A. PIEMONTESE (1988), *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle biblioteche d'Italia*, Roma, 199ff: Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. III. G.34: "I salmi di Davide; copista Šams od-Dīn Ḥongī".

⁷⁷ A. DE GOUVEIA (1611), *Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras e grandes victorias que alcançou o grāde Rey da Persia Xā Abbas do Grāo Turco Mahomette e seu filho Amethe*, Lisboa, 22ff. The presence of R. Yehūda may point to links with Safed, the venerated seat of halakhic learning; Safed's ascendancy had been brought to an end by political turmoil, a number of harvest failures [for a pamphlet of the Safed bookseller Ya'qūb b. Yehūda Aškenazī, see J. LEVEEN (ed.) (1948), *An Eyewitness of the Expedition of the Florentines Against Chios in 1599*, BSOAS XII, 542-554: "Now these two years has the famine raged in the land", which the editor understands as referring to 1597 and 1598], and the structural crisis of its textile industry [see S. SCHWARZFUCHS (1962), *La décadence de la Galilée juive du XVIe siècle et la crise du textile au Proche Orient*, REJ CXXI, 169-179], a process which prompted many to emigrate. In 1618, P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed. 144, met in Kāšān "un Ebreo, natural de Sciraz, ma originario di Safet, che in Palestina è hoggi il seminario de' più dotti e de' più, nella lor setta, religiosi Ebrei. Si chiama Mulla' Messih [and says that] ...è stato condotto in Cascian dal Re, per esercitare in quella città la medicina...".

⁷⁸ See Th. HERBERT (1634), *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile, Begunne Anno 1626...*, London, 52. Herbert speaks of "miserable Jewes", which is not necessarily a comment on the community's material welfare. Studies on the author such as M.H. BRAAKSMA (1938), *Travel and Literature. An Attempt at a Literary Appreciation of English Travel Books About Persia from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, Groningen/Batavia or R.W. FERRIER (1977), *The First English Guide Book to Persia: A Description of the Persian Monarchy, Iran XV*, 75-88 do not help to clarify the passage.

⁷⁹ For more details see R. KLEIN (ms.).

⁸⁰ For the early XVIth century see A. TENREIRO (1528), *Viagem por terra q ~ ...fez de Hurmus a Portugal*, see: L.RIBEIRO (ed.) (1959), *A viagem da Índia a Portugal por terra feita por A. Tenreiro*, *Studia* III, 110-123, 117, who

Šīrī Muša'ša' movement never came into Hormūz' orbit. Its leaders were first endorsed by the Āq-Qoyunlū, only to reassert their full independence when the latter attempted to oust the sect's leaders. The Safavids occupied the area in 1508 and installed Qızılbaş governors, but before long and after converting to Twelver Šīrism, the local dynasty returned to rule the province, to some extent autonomously, as *vālīs* of Hoveize⁸¹.

In 'Umān's interior, rivalling clans and tribal federations, often hinging on the larger urban centres⁸², had been engulfed in repeated cycles of civil strife. The main line of conflict ran between local Nabāhina dynasts and equally localised attempts to reestablish some sort of Imamate rule. This discord saved the precarious hold of Hormūz over the 'Umānī coastline, where local *šayḥs* were easily subdued, and the Hormūzī king Salgūr Šāh wisely refused to get embroiled in the contests of the interior surrounding the foiled aspirations of his father-in-law, the Nabāhina leader Sulaymān b. Suleymān, to reunite the country. A greater danger came from the Sunnī bedouin tribe Banū Ġabr who had their base further West. Some of their branches pushed East, extorting tributes from 'Umān *citra* Ġabal Aḥḍār⁸³ but also threatening coastal towns as far South as Qalhāt⁸⁴. Eventually, the Banū Ġabr won access to the Ocean when

also mentions the sanctuary. On the archaeology of the island see R. GHIRSHMAN (1959), L'île de Kharg dans le Golfe Persique, *Révue Archéologique* LI, 70-77, but see also O.F.A. MEINARDUS (1986), Eine nestorianische Klosteranlage auf der Insel Kharg, *Ostkirchliche Studien* (Würzburg) XXXV/1, 37-40. In the XVIIIth century, just as the EIC moved from Bandar-e 'Abbās to Būšehr, the VOC wanted to concentrate their operations in a new factory founded on the island, see M.A.P. MEILINK-ROELOFSZ (1967), Een Nederlandse vestiging in de Persiaense Golf, *SpH* II-9, 480-488, and W. FLOOR (1992), The Dutch on Khark Island: A Commercial Mishap, *JMES* XXIV, 441-460.

⁸¹ See for the XVth century W. CASSEL (1931), Ein Mahdi des XV. Jahrhunderts: Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāh und seine Nachkommen, *Islamica* IV, 48-93, M.M. MAZZAOUI (1981/84), Musha'asha'yān. A XVth Century Shi'i Movement in Khuzistan and Southern Iraq, *FOr* XXII, 139-162, G.R. SCARCIA (1971), Annotazioni Muša'ša', in: *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Roma 1971, 633-637. For the later period see W. CASSEL (1934), Die Wālis von Huweseh, *Islamica* VI, 415-434, and for administrative geography K. RÖHRBORN (1966), *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 78.

⁸² For the turn of XVIth century see the information reported in J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia...*, loc.cit., II-3-2, 237f.

⁸³ See J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia...*, loc.cit., II-3-2, 238: "o que faz a estes Cidades [*scil.*: Manh, Nizwā, Bahlā'] ás vezes conformarem-se em paz, he serem commettidos per humas cabildas ...Bengebra..., os quaes Alarves no tempo da novidade das tamaras e de outros mantimentos da terra os vem a inquietar; e por não receberem tal oppressão, este seu Ymamo dos dizimos que ha, por concerto, paga a este Bengebra hum tanto por anno".

⁸⁴ With splinter groups periodically ransacking areas all along the 'Umānī coast, Qalhāt had braced itself for the worst by erecting a protective mound, see Braz De ALBUQUERQUE (1557), *Commentarios do Grande Afonso d'Albuquerque*, Lisboa, new ed. A. BAIÃO, 2 vols., Coimbra 1923 (=SRL B III), vol.1, 64: "...da banda do sertão, hum pouco afastado da Cidade, tinha [*scil.*: Calayate] hum muro de altura de huma lança, que sae do ceo da serra, e vem ter o mar: fizeram isto os moradores por amor dos mouros do sertão, porque os vinham muitas vezes afrontar, que he do senhorio de hum rey, que se chama o Benjabar...".

Hormūz rose in rebellion against the Portuguese in the early 1520's and a Banū Ġabr detachment under Šayḥ Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd ["Xec Hocem Bencaide Capitão do grande Bengebra"] succeeded in capturing Šuḥār with Portuguese approval⁸⁵.

More portentous was the Banū Ġabr expansion elsewhere: in the 1480's, they gained control over the lands of Bahrayn through military means and by intermarriage with the Tūrānšāhī; their monopoly over the lucrative pearl beds and date groves was only checked by a notional tribute paid to Hormūz from 1485 to 1507⁸⁶. Having effectively emancipated himself from Hormūzī suzerainty and having tasted the easy gains to be made from preying on defenseless Persian Gulf merchant fleets, the Ġabrid Amīr Muqrīn had taken craftsmen back from his ḥāḡḡ-pilgrimage with the explicit aim of building and fitting out a fleet of his own⁸⁷, a scheme promptly foiled in 1521 by military intervention on the part of the new patrons of Hormūz, the Portuguese⁸⁸. The Arabian mainland, Al-Ḥasā and Al-Qaṭīf, fell to Al-Bašra's Muḡāmis dynasty in 1525, which eventually facilitated the passing of the lands under Ottoman domination. On the opposite coast of Kūh-Gilūye, "Mirbuzaca", a Safavid-appointed or endorsed official in Rīšahr⁸⁹, was tempted much in the same way to exploit the temporary collapse of Hormūzī authority, taking prize 20 *terradas* travelling between the island and Al-Bašra⁹⁰. The history of the Banū Ġabr still

⁸⁵ See J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia...*, *loc. cit.*, III-7-5, 164ff.

⁸⁶ See J.R.I. COLE (1987), 181.

⁸⁷ See e.g. J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia...*, *loc. cit.*, III-6-3, 27f.: "...Moerim tinha feito alguns navios de remo per industria de alguns Turcos, que per isso tinha, com os quaes começava roubar alguns navios, que hiam, e vinham de Basçora pera Ormuz, da qual soltura podia depois tomar tanta licença, que occupasse todo aquelle estreito com navios."

⁸⁸ The military history of the occupation of Bahrayn is told by all Portuguese chroniclers; for some new data on the career of the Portuguese commander see now R. Bishop SMITH (1977a), *Antonio Correa Baharem*, Lisboa, and L.F. THOMAZ (1976), *A viagem de Antonio Correa a Pegu, Bracara Augusta XXX/1 (=69/81)*, 289-368.

⁸⁹ K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 10f., has Kūh-Gilūye as a governorship regularly given to the Afšār from the times of Šāh Tahmāsp I, but admits to have "für die frühe Zeit keine Nachrichten"; his first reference is to 1530/31. BNL FG 7638, fl.59v. is a letter from "Mirabuca, capitão geral do Xequê [scil. Esmā'īl]" to Afonso De Albuquerque. The *mandado* of Pero d'Alpoim to Manuel da Costa, *feitor* at Hormūz, dated 4/10/1515, has "mira buçaca Senhor de Rexer e capitã de xeqismaell". F. Lopes De CASTANHEDA, *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, new ed. M.L.De ALMEIDA, 2 vols., Porto 1975, III-103, 857f., has "Mirabuçaca capitão geral do Xeq. ismael na frontaria de Arabia muyto grande senhor", see also below. I have as yet been unable to identify him. On Rīšahr in the early XVIth century see also A. TENREIRO (1528), *Viagem...*, *loc. cit.*, 117.

⁹⁰ See Braz De ALBUQUERQUE (1557), *Commentarios...*, *loc. cit.*, vol.2, 307f. See also letter Afonso De Albuquerque to King Manuel I, dated Cananore 27/11/1514, in: CAA I, No.LXXXIX, 345-349, 347 [ANTT CC I-16-122]: "mirabuçaqa, capitam de xequesmaell, que està em Rexer, Ribeira do mar da persya, começa de picar com guerra a vrmuz; e pero dalbuquerque com suas naos chegou a esta terra omde ele estava, e tynha tomado a vrmuz vinte terradas darnada, e fez lhas tornar."

awaits its author⁹¹, but from the above it would seem as if this tribal confederation represented just as alarming a danger to the maritime rule of Hormūz as did the almost contemporary expansion of the Safavids in Iran. As it was, the danger of mainland powers interfering with trade was less pronounced in Baḥrayn and ʿUmān, whose ports continued to operate within the kingdom of Hormūz under Portuguese rule.

The XVIth Century in the Persian Gulf Area

In the event, change in the XVIth century came from two different quarters, one of which was altogether unexpected. On the Iranian mainland had risen what was to grow into the Safavid Empire. By 1503 Šāh Esmāʿīl I's dominions included Šīrāz; a year later he marched on Yazd; by 1508 he ruled over ʿIrāq-e ʿArab and the former Muṣaṣṣa territories. In the same year he received the submission of Lār and Hormūz⁹². Although Amīr Hūrān of Lār was nominated *amīr-dīvān* by Šāh Esmāʿīl I⁹³, neither territory was formally integrated into the empire. Following old customs, Hormūz continued paying *muqarrariya* to the new rulers of Fārs for some time, but, in 1507/08, Safavid envoys sent to collect the tribute met on the beaches opposite the island a new contender for regional power, the Portuguese, who forced them to return empty-handed⁹⁴: Afonso De Albuquerque, striving to realise King Manuel I's vision to become Emperor of the East⁹⁵, derived from the earlier pledge of Hormūz to render a *párea* the notion of the island's territorial subjection⁹⁶, a complete misunderstanding of the nature of the payment made.

⁹¹ But see, in the meantime, W. CASSEL (1949), Eine 'unbekannte' Dynastie in Arabien, *Oriens* II, 66-71 and A. ABĀ ḤUSAYN (1983), Juboor - were they the Arabs of Bahrain or the Arabs of the East?, *Al-Waṭṭa* III, 39-58, J. AUBIN (1973), 123ff., especially on relations with Hormūz, and miscellaneous references in J. WILKINSON (1987), as well as the latter's forthcoming study in the second volume of conference proceedings *Baḥrayn Through the Ages*.

⁹² See R.M. SAVORY (1965), The Consolidation of Šafavid Power in Persia, *Der Islam* XLI, 71-94.

⁹³ His successors, and even Safavid governors after Lār's annexation under Šāh ʿAbbās I, carried the title *dīvān-beḡi-bāšr*, see K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 87f.

⁹⁴ In anticipation of the in-depth study of early Safavid policy regarding the Persian Gulf and Arabian Seas promised in J. AUBIN (1988), 82, N.332, a summary of some information from Portuguese chroniclers can be found in H.J. KISSLING (1975), Šāh Ismāʿīl Ier, la nouvelle route des Indes et les Ottomans, *Turcica* VI, 89-102; R.B. SMITH (1970), *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Peregrinations in Persia (1507-1521)*, Bethesda, 10f., mentions the incident, and gives an account of subsequent Portuguese missions to the Safavid courts.

⁹⁵ The Oriental schemes of King Manuel I must be seen in the context of the crusading ideology. For an historical overview see C. ERDMANN (1929), Der Kreuzzugsgedanke in Portugal, *HZ* CXLI, 23-53, but see now also L.F. THOMAZ (forthcoming), L'idée impériale manuéline, in: J. AUBIN (ed.), *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*, Paris.

⁹⁶ For the events see J. AUBIN (1971), 126; for wider legal, institutional and ideological implications see L.F. THOMAZ (1985), Estrutura política e administrativa do Estado da Índia no século XVI, in: L. De ALBUQUERQUE / I. GUERREIRO (eds.) (1985), *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa. Actas* (=EHCA. Memórias XXV), Lisboa, 511-540. The agreement (amounting to an annual payment of "15.000 xerafins") is in S. BOTELHO

The arrival of the Portuguese in the Arabian Seas is no longer sung as the heroic epic as which it has been presented as for almost half a millenium, thanks largely to the strenuous efforts of a new generation of Portuguese historians, most notably L.F. Thomaz⁹⁷. Instead, a web of often conflicting interests is emerging, both in Lisbon and overseas, with individual or group concerns propelling or delaying the unfolding of what was to become the *Estado da Índia*. In the Persian Gulf Area, the Portuguese arrived in the midst of a struggle to redefine the regional power structure. With the expansion of both Ottomans and Safavids still under way, they encountered a situation in a singular state of flux: if in 1508 the Portuguese had any notion of regional geopolitics at all, the Safavids, who had come close to Aleppo, rather than the Ottomans, would have been the likely candidates to overthrow the Mamluks and to establish a political entity comprising the Fertile Crescent and controlling the overland routes between India and the Levant. As it was, they neither grasped the magnitude of the changes they witnessed from the periphery, nor, indeed, had they, at this early stage, any overall strategy of their own, as demonstrated in the early contradictory policy which they adopted in the Persian Gulf⁹⁸. They occupied Hormūz, which had been weakened by internal conflicts, for the first time in 1507/08, and then definitively in 1515⁹⁹. A fort was built, a *capitão* appointed, a *feitoria* established and an annual tribute imposed. When more Portuguese officials were appointed to oversee the customs régime¹⁰⁰, the occasion led to a general uprising in 1522. King João III invested a new and more malleable

(1554), *O tombo do Estado da Índia*, see: R.J. De Lima FELNER (ed.) (1868), *Subsídios para a história da Índia portuguesa*, Lisboa, pt.2/2, 1-259, 78f.

⁹⁷ Much of the older historiography can be found in the bibliography; for the doyen of the new school of interpretation see now especially L.F. THOMAZ (1991), *Factions, Interests and Messianism: The Politics of Portuguese Expansion in the East 1500-1521*, *IESHR* XXVIII, 97-109; many of his thoughts and conclusions have been summarised and assimilated into studies by S. SUBRAHMANYAM, especially now ID. (1993), *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History*, London/New York, see also IID. (1991), *Evolution of Empire: The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean During the XVIth Century*, in: J.D. TRACY (ed.) (1991), 298-331.

⁹⁸ The history of the conquest of Hormūz, as told by the Portuguese chroniclers, can be found in every general history of either the *Estado da Índia* or the Persian Gulf. The sequence of events has now been established in J. AUBIN (1971). See lately for some archival documents A. Dias FARINHA (1989), *A dupla conquista de Ormus par Afonso de Albuquerque*, *Studia* XLVIII, 445-472.

⁹⁹ For a succinct account of the events in 1515 see B.W. DIFFIE / G.D. WINIUS (1977), *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire. 1415-1580*, Minneapolis, 268ff.; the author's conclusion that "to tell the exploits of Afonso De Albuquerque as governor of Portuguese India is to recreate the essential shape of the Portuguese empire as it endured well into the XVIIth century", *ibid.* 270, epitomises the old paradigm of historiography which was averse to detecting change over time in the *Estado da Índia*, a position now finally being revised in studies such as L.F. THOMAZ / S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1991).

¹⁰⁰ See F. Lopes De CASTANHEDA, *Historia do descobrimento...*, *loc.cit.*, V-56, 92f.

monarch, Muḥammad Šāh, and ever harsher tributes were exacted¹⁰¹. Not surprisingly, relations between Hormūzī and Lusitan officialdom remained fraught with resentment and mistrust, and the customs house was eventually taken over entirely by the Portuguese from 1543. For the following years, a steep decline of Hormūzī customs revenue has been recorded. Rather than attributing this phenomenon to a world trend, one would want to see it in the context of protracted Luso-Ottoman hostilities in the Arabian Seas during the 1540's, Lārī bids to gain an independent access to the sea with the subsequent blockade of caravan routes North¹⁰², and a series of natural disasters afflicting Hormūz. The question of the customs régime is an intricate one for other reasons, too: it seems that before 1543, and even long after that date, the Portuguese adopted the system previously in force¹⁰³, which in itself appears to have evolved from 'ušr-based taxes¹⁰⁴. If in XVIth century Safavid Iran the exaction of customs dues, internal and

¹⁰¹ For Muḥammad Šāh see "Terllado da doaçam del rey d'Oromuz", in *GTT* I, 923ff. With the earliest tribute of 15.000 *xerafins*, Hormūzī administration had attempted to pass the costs on to the merchants, see letter of Alvaro Pinheiro, *ouvidor* of Hormūz, to King Manuel I, dated Cochim 12/1/1519, in *CAA* VII, No.CCCI, 196-203, 199. For the new tribute which brought the annual amount from the already unilaterally raised 25.000 to 60.000 *xerafins*: "Treslado do assento e contrato que o Governador D. Duarte de Menezes fez com o Rey de Ormuz...", dated Mināb (here: Medina) 15/7/1523, in *CTC*² I, 40ff., and S. BOTELHO (1554), *O Tombo...*, *loc.cit.*, 79ff.; in 1529, the sum was increased to 100.000, see "Treslado de uma provisão do Governador Nuno da Cunha...", dated Hormūz 27/8/1529, in *CTC*² I, 51ff. and S. BOTELHO (1554), *O Tombo...*, *loc.cit.*, 85ff.; on the *capitão* see also R.B. SMITH (1972b), *Cristovão de Mendonça, Being the Portuguese Manuscript Letter in My Possession*, Lisboa, and ID. (1972c), *Cristovão de Mendonça, Ormuz, September 30, 1530, Studia XXXIV*, 103-108. For an assessment of the feasibility of the rates demanded see also V. MAGALHÃES GODINHO (1982), *Les finances de l'état portugais des Indes Orientales 1517-1635*, Paris, 45f.

¹⁰² S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1993), 94, does not refute V. MAGALHÃES GODINHO's "general contraction in global trade" as a possible explanation for the down-turn of Hormūz customs receipts in the mid and late 1540's. For the Luso-Ottoman wars see below; for the repeated blocking of caravans by Lār, see e.g. ANTT COC 86: letter of Bastião Lopes Lobato to Viceroy D.J. De Castro, dated Hormūz 23/7/1547; summary in: *OJC* III, No.462, 357, for Lār's occupation of Laštān see *ibid.*, No.367, 252-255, 253, *do.*, dated 30/10/1546.

¹⁰³ See the letter of A. De Albuquerque to King Manuel I, dated Hormūz 22/9/1515, in *CAA* I, No.CI, 369-379, 377ff. The *ad valorem* rates recorded were as follows: among the imports, 1/6 of the value was levied on South-East Asian spices, but most goods including Indian cotton piece goods, mixed silk-cotton goods, indigo and sugar paid 10%, except rice, ghi and cotton, which paid 5%. There were additional duties: 1% *ad valorem* that went directly into the King's coffers, 1% to be shared by *vazīr* (whose controlled the customs house) and secretaries to the customs house, 9.5 *şadr* on every bale of imported textiles to be divided amongst the secretaries of the *vazīr*, 2 *şadīs* on "todolos fardos emsacados em sacos do anill e açúcar, ...jarras de manteiga" as well as 1 *şadr* "de sacos darroz e algodam", arriving at a total well in excess of 12%. Exports from Iran paid 5%, except horses which paid 10%, plus 1 *xerafim* for brokerage, see also below. There seems to be no comprehensive study of the *Estado da Índia*'s customs régime in the early modern period, in fact there may have been no such thing. In F.X.E. FERNANDES (1897), *Memória histórico-económica das alfândegas do estado da Índia portuguesa, BSGeoLb XVI*^a ser. X, 571-648, treatment of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries is only cursory. What is evident is that the system differed greatly from that of metropolitan Portugal. For a historical overview see F. Salles LENCASTRE (1891), *Estudo sobre as portagens e as alfândegas em Portugal (séculos XII a XVI)*, Lisboa, for a study of a provincial customs house in Portugal see J. CORDEIRO PEREIRA (1983), *Para a história das alfândegas em Portugal no início do século XVI (Vila do Conde - organização e movimento)*, Lisboa.

¹⁰⁴ For a study of the customs houses of the Persian Gulf and Muslim India one must not forget the ambiguous position of "customs" in Muslim law. For an interpretation of the origins see E. ASHTOR (1978), *Il regime portuario nel califfato*, in: *La navigazione mediterranea nell' Alto Medio Evo* (=XXVth Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano per gli Studi sull'Alto Medio Evo), 2 vols., Spoleto, vol.2, 651-688, and P.G. FORAND (1966), *Notes on 'Ushr and Maks, Arabica* XIII, 137-141; for widely different applications see C. CAHEN (1964), *Douanes et commerce dans les ports*

external, presented serious problems¹⁰⁵, by the time Hormūz was incorporated into the empire continuing the island's previous régime was not opposed.

It is now generally accepted that Portuguese spice and pepper monopolies not only were never achieved but that relevant policies had been discarded early on and had given way to the rise of a redistributive enterprise hinging on the sale of *cartazes* and tributes. These were exacted in strategically located ports, which were the first stepping stones towards fabulous fortunes for boldly enterprising private traders¹⁰⁶. Thus, Hormūz soon grew into one of the mainstays of the *Estado da Índia*, not, because it blocked the East-West routes, but, on the contrary, because it was conveniently situated to tax an ever increasing East-West commerce.

méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le Minhāğ d'Al-Mahzūmī, *JESHO* VII, 217-314. Studies of early modern Indian Ocean trade tend to disregard this aspect, see notably N. STEENSGAARD (1973), but also A. DAS GUPTA (1979), *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c.1700-1750* (=BSA XL), Wiesbaden, 17ff. For dues exacted in Ottoman ports, notable discrepancies obtained in different customs stations, internal and external, e.g. B.A. CVETKOVA (1967), Le régime de certains ports dans les terres balkaniques aux XVe et XVIe siècles, *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* XLV, 29-39, R. MANTRAN (1975), Droits d'entrée sur les navires à Istanbul au milieu du XVIIe siècle (*rūsumat-i ihtisābiyye*), *Turcica* V, 94-107. Recently published studies of Ottoman customs stations, such as N. ERIM (1991), Trade, Traders and the State in XVIIIth Century Erzurum, *NPTurk* V-VI, 123-149 and S. FAROQHI (1991), Traders and Customs Officials in 1660's Iskenderun, *ibid.*, 107-121, do not address the topic of the rates. However, EAD. (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting 1520-1650*, Cambridge, 104ff., speaks for mid-XVIIth century Ottoman ports of "the amount demanded officially ranging between 2% and 5%".

¹⁰⁵ For the context in early Šī'ī law see N. CALDER (1981), Zakāt in Imāmī Šī'ī Jurisprudence from the Xth to the XVIth Centuries AD, *BSOAS* XLIV/3, 468-480, and ID. (1982), Khums in Imāmī Šī'ī Legal Jurisprudence from the Xth to the XVIIth Century A.D., *BSOAS* XLV, 39-47. For XVIIth century Iran it is usually assumed that previously stipulated rates applied, such as recorded in the *qānūn-nām* of Uzun Ḥasan. For the régime under the Āq-Qoyunlū with *taṃgā* rates between 2 and 10% see W. HINZ (1950), Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert, *ZDMG* C, 177-201. In Twelver Šī'ī Iran the controversy about the lawfulness of dues, chiefly the *ḥarāğ*, which essentially belonged into the realm of *urf* (or customary, i.e. not religious law), was decided in favour of the politically expedient admission of such taxation, see S.A. ARJOMAND (1984), *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. Religion, Political and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890*, Chicago / London, 193f. For the intermittent abolition of *taṃgāwāt-e šāvdre* on trade under Šāh Tahmāsp I in the mid-1560's see ESKANDAR BEĞ Torkmān Monšī, *Tārḥ-e 'Ālam-ārā-ye 'Abbāsī*, ed. I. Afšār, 2 vols., Tehrān 1334-35/1955-57, vol.1, 123; for the abrogation of a string of unlawful taxes see W. HINZ (1949), Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Orient, *Bell* XIII, 745-769, 759ff. H. HORST (1960), Zwei Erlasse Šāh Tahmāsp I., *ZDMG* CX, 301-309 established the 15th March 1565 as *tpq* for the decree. However, Mestre Afonso, on leaving Iran for the Ottoman empire near Hüy in 1565, reports that the Safavid border posts had been abandoned there for some two to three years "por o xá tamas aver polla alma de seu pai tirado e levantado os direitos de todas suas terras e senhórios, paraçem dolhe que co isso a saluaua", see Mestre AFONSO, *Yinerario...*, *loc.cit.*, 205. The *Tārḥ-e Ilč-ye Neẓāmšāh* has it that the province of Qandahar was exempted from this measure, see K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 58 and N.356. It would seem as if both internal transit duties and customs had been reintroduced by 1581 at the latest, see J. NEWBERIE (1578-82), *The Voyages...*, *loc.cit.*, 463.

¹⁰⁶ Until a decade or two ago, the figure of the Portuguese private trader was shrouded in mystery. Now the literature is growing fast, conveniently summarised (and accessed) through the studies of, among others, S. SUBRAHMANYAM, see bibliography.

While the old overland route across Eastern Anatolia fell into disuse for Asian imports¹⁰⁷ and Luso-Ottoman conflicts centered on access to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf became an increasingly attractive supply route for the gradually consolidating Ottoman and Safavid empires. On the other hand, while it has been argued that political unification of vast stretches of the ports' hinterlands facilitated the circulation of merchants and their goods, it is difficult to tell just how much the growth of trade can be linked to active policies on the part of the new Muslim empires: Al-Baṣra appears to have experienced an increased turn-over in trade, even *before* the Fertile Crescent was united under Ottoman rule¹⁰⁸.

When Šāh Esmāʿīl I subjected ʿIrāq-e ʿArab, Al-Baṣra, which until then had been effectively ruled by a branch of the Muntafiq tribe, became tributary to the Safavids¹⁰⁹. Direct Portuguese contacts with Al-Baṣra date back before 1520¹¹⁰. In 1529 they intervened actively to defend the interests of Rāšid b. Muḡāmis against Ġazāyer chieftains¹¹¹, but only a few years later, when Süleymān's campaign had gained the Ottoman Empire ʿIrāq¹¹², Rāšid b. Muḡāmis

¹⁰⁷ Thus, on the basis of Ö.L. BARKAN (1941), Osmanlı devrinde Akkoyunlu hükümdarı Uzun Hasan beye ait kanunlar, *TaVe* I/2-3, 91-106; 184-197, W. HINZ (1950). See also the notes on the rationale behind the closure of the Ottoman-Safavid borders at the beginning of the XVIth century which was decreed for all except a few Christian and Jewish merchants in J.L. BACQUE-GRAMMONT (1975), Notes sur le blocus du commerce Iranien par Sélim Ier (=ETS I), *Turcica* VI, 68-88, ID. (1976), Notes sur une saisie de soies d'Iran en 1518, *Turcica* VIII/2, 237-253, and ID. (1987), *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins. Contributions à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient islamique de 1514 à 1524*, Istanbul, which all seem to show that Iranian raw silk had, by then, become the more important commodity traded along the overland routes.

¹⁰⁸ For massive pepper supplies in 1522 ANTT CC I-27-97: letter of João De Meira to King Manuel I, dated Cochim 21/1/1522, see R.B. SMITH (1971), 59f.; for 1528 see also A. TENREIRO (1560), *Itinerario...*, loc.cit., 110ff.; L. RONCINOTTO (1543), *Viaggio di Colocut*, in: A. MANUZIO (ed.) (1543), *Viaggi fatti da Vinegia alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Costantinopoli*, Venezia [1545], 110 and 118v, speaks of many ships in 1529 and 300 sails in 1532.

¹⁰⁹ See ʿA. Al-ʿAZZĀWĪ (1935-53), *Ta'rīḥ al-ʿIrāq bayna iḥtilālayn*, 5 vols., Baḡdād, vol.4, 49ff.

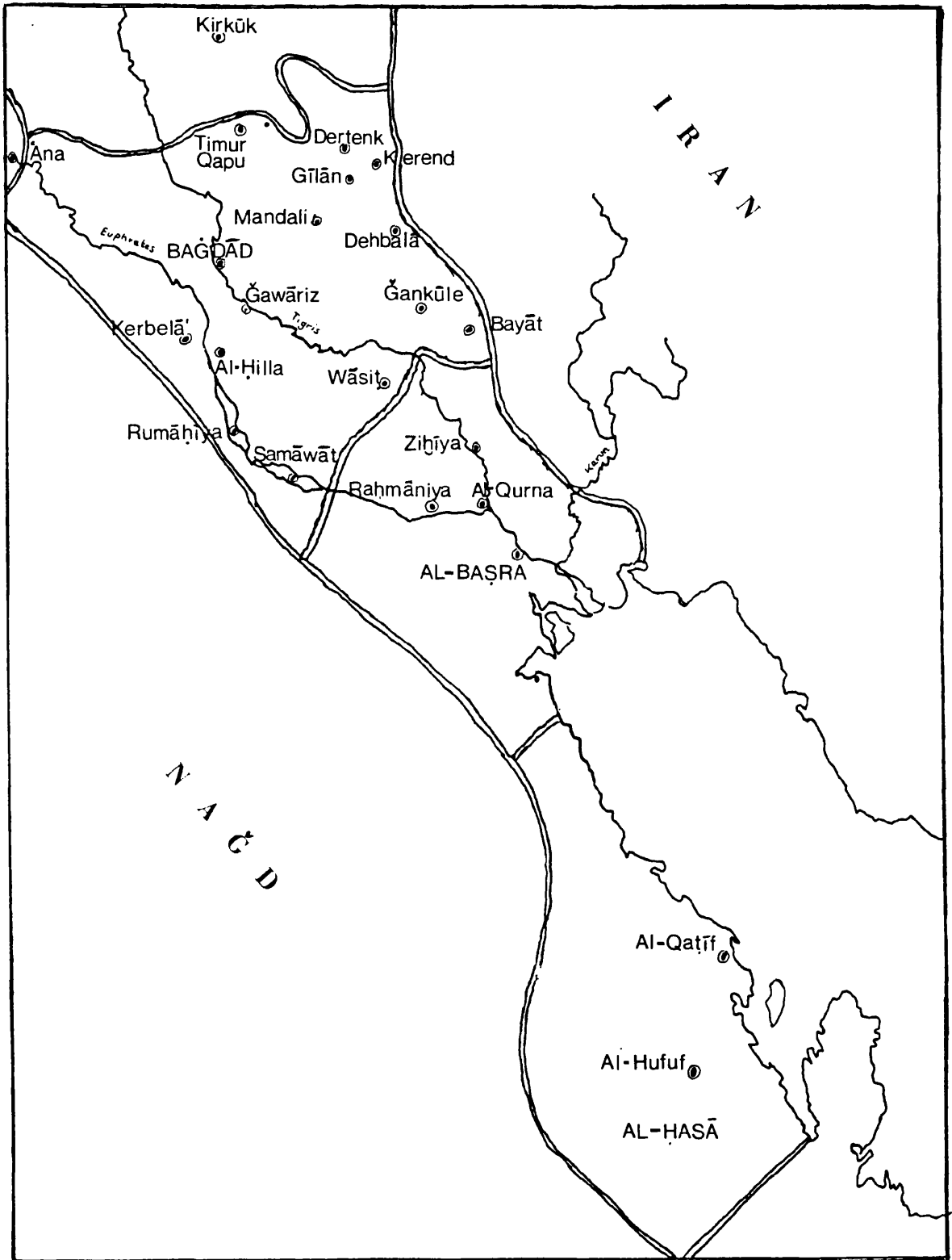
¹¹⁰ Surviving correspondence dates from 1515, see BNL FG Cod.7638, fl.60v: letter of "elRey de Bacera" to Afonso De Albuquerque, see also CAA II, 255: "quero que nos honreis como honrastes a bemjabee [i.e.: Banū Ġabr], a mira bucaca [scil.: of Rīšahr] com cartas e mesagees, nos queremos pazes a voso serviço..." ; for subsequent contacts see also R.B. SMITH (1973), *João de Meira, Being Portuguese Texts Found in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo Relative to João de Meira's Little Known Voyage to Basra in 1517 and 1521, and Also the Unknown Voyage of Antonio de Saldanha to Basra in 1519...*, Lisboa. See on Al-Baṣra in the early XVIth century also T.N. Al-HAMDĀNĪ (1987), *Imāra al-Maḡāmis al-ʿArabiya fi al-Baṣra ḥilāl an-niṣf al-awwal min al-qarn as-sādis ʿaṣar, Maḡalla al-ʿarabiya lil-ʿulūm al-insāniya* (Kuwait), XXVII, 6-17.

¹¹¹ Later, one of the first measures taken by the Ottomans was to fortify Al-Qurna to protect lines of communication between Baḡdād and Al-Baṣra, see ANTT CSL IV 506: letter of "Xeque Haya, Rej de Baçora", i.e. Yahyā, the Banū Aman ruler of the town.

¹¹² See his Persian campaign F. TAESCHNER (1962), *Das Itinerar des Persienfeldzuges des Sultans Süleyman Kanuni*, *ZDMG* CXII (N.S. XXXVII), 62-93, based among other sources on NASŪḤ ŪS-SILĀḤĪ AL-MATRĀQĪ, *Beyân-i menâzil-i sefer-i ʿIrâqeyn-i Sulṭân Süleymân Hân*, new ed. H.G. YURDAYDIN, Ankara 1976. See also T. GÖKBILGIN (1957), *Arz ve raporlarına göre İbrahim Paşanın ʿIrakeyn seferindeki ilk tedbirleri ve futuhat*, *Bell* XXI, 449-482.

Map 6

The Ottoman Empire in the Persian Gulf Area (XVI/Ith centuries)



promptly submitted to the *sultān*: Al-Baṣra became a vassal-territory of the empire (1534), and an *eyâlet* in 1546¹¹³. After the Ottomans had initially signalled willingness to establish commercial contacts¹¹⁴, soon a different logic prevailed in their policy. Not only did the Ottomans push further South, establishing themselves on the mainland opposite Bahrayn in Al-Ḥasā¹¹⁵, but reaching out in a two-pronged movement around the Arabian Peninsula through Red Sea and Persian Gulf, Ottoman naval forces also attempted (unsuccessfully) to oust the Portuguese from the positions they had gained in the Arabian Seas¹¹⁶.

On the ‘Umānī coast, the wake of the Luso-Ottoman wars (after a final Corsair’s raid in 1581) saw a greater awareness on the part of the Portuguese to improve the safety of their ports in the Arabian Seas: Although local Masqaṭī tradition has Qal‘a Ġalālī erected on the foundations of a pre-Portuguese fortress¹¹⁷, both written¹¹⁸ and pictorial evidence make it more plausible that the Western fortress, Qal‘a Mīrānī, is the old fort mentioned by Albuquerque: the accurate miniatures in the "*Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu*" of 1564, representing preparations for the naval battle of Ra’s Musandam between the Ottomans and a Portuguese armada in 1554, leaves no doubt about the existence of the Western fortress and the absence of any similar structure in the

¹¹³ For the administrative geography of the *eyâlet* of Al-Baṣra see A. BIRKEN (1976), *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches* (=TAVO Bh. B XIII), Wiesbaden, 226ff.

¹¹⁴ Ayas Pâşâ, *beğlerbeğ* of Baġdād, and Mehmed Pâşâ, first *beğlerbeğ* of Al-Baṣra, had sent "Agy Fayate, capitão das cafilas" to Hormūz to this effect, see *OJC* III *passim* for the relevant correspondence. The assertion in D. Rizk KHOURY (1991), *Merchants and Trade in Early Modern Iraq*, *NPTurk* V-VI, 53-86, 58, that the Ottoman annexation of Al-Baṣra was prompted by "an alliance [struck by the Muntafiq] with the Portuguese, based on a profitable trade in horses, dates and wheat" is unwarranted.

¹¹⁵ See J. MANDAVILLE (1970), The Ottoman Province of al-Ḥasā in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries, *JAOS* XC/3, 486-513.

¹¹⁶ For the strategic importance of Al-Baṣra and the conflict between Ottomans and Portuguese see S. ÖZBARAN (1971), XVI yüzyılda Basra körfezi sâhillerinde Osmanlılar Basra beylerbeyliğinin kuruluşu, *TD* XXV, 51-72, and ID. (1972), The Ottoman Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf 1534-1581, *JAsH* VI, 45-87. For the wider context see L. De ALBUQUERQUE (1977), *Alguns aspectos de ameaça turca sobre a Índia por meados do século XVI* (=ACA Secção de Coimbra CI), Coimbra.

¹¹⁷ See P. COSTA (1989), Historical Interpretation of the territory of Muscat, in: ID. / M. TOSI (eds.) (1989), *Oman Studies. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Oman*, Rome, 97-117, 101.

¹¹⁸ In the viceregal administration Qal‘a Mīrānī was often indicated as "a fortaleza velha", see A. BOCARRO, *Livro...*, *APO*² IV-II-1/2, 66f. and *passim*. F. SCHOLZ (1990), *Muscat, Sultanat Oman. Geographische Skizze einer einmaligen arabischen Stadt*, 2 vols., Berlin, vol.1, 33, quotes J. BENT, who claims to have evidence for the Western fortress being mentioned as early as 1527. See also G.S. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE (1974), *A Tour of Fort Mirani in 1617*, Masqaṭ

East¹¹⁹. Its completion in the shape desired by the Portuguese Viceroy can be dated to 1588 with the help of epigraphical evidence¹²⁰, while Qal'a Ġalālī at the Eastern end of the bay was constructed in the 1580's by the Italian architect C.B. Cairate appointed as senior architect for the fortification works of the Estado da Índia¹²¹. Qal'a Mīrānī was the more impressive structure and was commonly known, in the later XVIIth century, as the fortress of Masqaṭ, whereas Qal'a Ġalālī was called fortress of Muḡāb¹²² after a narrow passageway deviding the main mountain range from the fortified hill¹²³. Qalhāt gradually declined in importance - the local élite were ambiguous in their commitment to serve Portuguese Hormūz¹²⁴ and were subjected, within a matter of years from the arrival of the Portuguese, to arbitrarily increased imposts of trade ("ticara"), while at the same time *cartazes* were issued both at a higher price and less

¹¹⁹ For a reproduction of the pages showing the bay of Masqaṭ see AAVV (eds.) (1979), *Oman. A Seafaring Nation*, Masqaṭ, 60f.: The settlement is unambiguously located East of the fortress. The fact that the illustrator put a mosque somewhat West of it is of no topographical relevance, since within the semantic context of the picture it is aimed at highlighting a building referred to in a Bras De ALBUQUERQUE (1557), *Comentarios...*, *loc. cit.*, vol.1, 81, as having been the site of a miraculous salvation of many Christian lives.

¹²⁰ The inscription has been reproduced various times, e.g. A. STIFFE (1897), *Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf*. IV. Maskat, *GJ X*, 608-618, 612. For a photograph see e.g. R. SERJEANT (1963), *The Portuguese of the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford, pl.13a.

¹²¹ See E. D'ERRICO (1983), *Introduction to Omani Military Architecture of the XVIth, XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, *JOMs VI/2*, 291-306, 297f.

¹²² ARA VOC 1259, fl.3366ff.: J. Vogel: Beschrijvinge van de voyagie gedaan langs de cust van Arabia, *tpq* April 1666. J.G. LORIMER (1908-15), II-C, 1181f. has the Muḡāb gap.

¹²³ For the 1620's and 1630's more reliable maps are available, which were drawn for internal use of the viceregal officers, see e.g. ACE I, No.155, 478-480: Assento 3/8/1633 "Sobre as cousas de Palliacate e fortificação de mascate", 479: "...e pera que melhor se entendesse mandou uir sua ex^a perante o Conselho a planta do dito sitio, e com elle o engenheiro manoele homem de pina...". Similarly, A. Bocarro for his *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental*, compiled in the early 1630's, can be shown to have drawn for his description of the fortifications extensively on state papers, with entire sections almost literally taken from the minutes of the Conselho do Estado, e.g. A. BOCARRO, *Livro...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 66f. is copied from the *assento* dated 3/8/1633 (ACE I 478ff.) mentioned above [otherwise see on this notoriously poor edition and its sources C. BOXER (1956), Antonio Bocarro and the "Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental", in GO (Numero Especial), 203-228]. I would suggest that most other illustrations in XVIIth century Portuguese illuminated manuscripts (see the compilation in L. SILVEIRA, *Ensaio de iconografia das cidades portuguesas do Ultramar*, 4 vols., Lisboa, vol.3, 313) are not based on personal observation either, but are likely to be derived from an earlier representation as they do not depict the impressive Qal'a Ġalālī, see e.g. the atlas attributed to João Albernaz Teixeira, *Plantas, cidades e fortalezas da conquista da Índia Oriental*, StaBi Wien Cod.6860, dating from about 1648, which to me is an improvisation on a theme supplied by the 1610 manuscript atlas of Manuel Godinho de Eredia, *Atlas de vinte folhas*, StaBi Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), Kartenabteilung 2.Kart.LS 2236.

¹²⁴ During Hormuzi rebellion against the Portuguese in 1521/22 the mind behind the insurrection, "Racz Delamixar" of the Portuguese sources, a brother of the Hormūzī *vazīr*, had been appointed *vazīr* of Qalhāt to lead operations in 'Umān, see J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia*, *loc. cit.*, III-7-2, 122 and 158. Again, Qalhāt defended the rights of the King of Hormūz against *capitão* Diogo De Melo, brother of the governor Lopo Vaz de Sampayo (1526-29), see DUP vol.1, 471ff.

generously¹²⁵. Significantly, contributions from Qalhāt to the budget of Hormūz were decimated within a generation from 1515¹²⁶. In addition, Hormūz decided, possibly under Portuguese pressure, to discontinue a long-standing practice by which the Qalhātī *vazīr* was appointed from the royal family, and to employ members of local clans instead¹²⁷. By the late 1570's, Qalhāt's Portuguese *feitor*¹²⁸ whose salary was derived from the port's customs earned about half of his peer in Masqat¹²⁹. The latter became the centre of Portuguese operations on the 'Umānī coast. In addition to its locational advantages as port of call for long-haul voyages to Bengal and beyond¹³⁰, Masqat also appears to have counted among its *ṣayhī* élite an element which held large enough a stake in proceeds from the port administration to consider collaboration with the Portuguese. On October 6th, 1589, Šayh Qays b. Rašīd, *vazīr* in Masqat and scion of a local viziral family, relinquished half the port's customs revenue to King Philipp I of Portugal in an act of vasallage¹³¹. The 'uṣṣr-based customs system was abandoned for new rates favouring

¹²⁵ GTT X, 259-265, 260: Pero Barreto, Goa, to King João III, dated 7/11/1529.

¹²⁶ For 1515 see J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia, loc. cit.*, II-10-7, 478: 11.000 *aṣrafi*; for 1541-43: ANTT CVR 39, fl.3v-5v, fl.4r ("Titulo das remdas que el rey tem ffora d'Oromuz"; ed. J. AUBIN *MLI* II, 1973, 217-237): 1.500 *aṣrafi*, following the conversion rate as given in J. De BARROS, *ibid.*, 480.

¹²⁷ See for the previous practice Bras De ALBUQUERQUE (1557), *loc. cit.*, vol.1, 65. In 1545 the *vazīr* of Qalhāt belonged to a branch of the Beduin Rabi'a confederation (ANTT COC 18: *Vazīr* of Hormūz to Viceroy D. João de Castro, dated 18/11/1545; summary in *OJC* III No.105: "Xeque Rabea") whose presence in the Šarqīya is certain for the late Middle Ages, see J. WILKINSON (1977), 247f.; the *ṣayh* was removed when he refused to fight "Damão" (a corruption of "Oman", a term which comprises all the lands beyond the first mountain range), see ANTT COC 3: Governor Luis Falcão, Hormūz, to Viceroy, dated 4/9/1545; also *OJC* III, No.64: "Hamão". On "Iaman" in Portuguese XVIth century historiography see C.F. BECKINGHAM (1983), Some Notes in the Portuguese in Oman, *JOMs* VI, 13-19, 16f.

¹²⁸ The *feitoria* had been established before 1520, see J. AUBIN (1987), *Mercês manuelinas de 1519-1520 para a India*, in: *A abertura do mundo. Estudos de historia dos descobrimentos europeus em homenagem a Luis De Albuquerque*, 2 vols., Lisboa, vol.2, 123-137, 134f.

¹²⁹ See Anon. (1582), *Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India*, facs.ed. F.P. MENDES DA LUZ, *Studia* VI (Sep.) Lisboa 1960, fl.36r.

¹³⁰ Diogo DO COUTO (1787), *Da Asia...*, *loc. cit.*, VI-10-20, 541f. quotes an old pilot as saying that ships from Hormūz travelled via Masqat on their way to Bengal. For Portuguese private and country trade in the Bay of Bengal see G. WINIUS (1983), The Shadow Empire of Goa in the Bay of Bengal, *Itin* VII/2, 93-101 and S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1987), Notes on the XVIth Century Bengal Trade, *IESHR* XXIV/3, 265-289, but exchange with the Persian Gulf Area is still largely unresearched.

¹³¹ See for a copy of the *doação APO'* V/3, 1247ff.; from 1589, Portuguese residents at Masqat paid 3,5% (surprisingly the text comments: "como sempre pagarão"), Portuguese from other parts of the *Estado* 5%, and Non-Christians 7,5% *ad valorem* instead of the *ṣa'rt* rate of 2,5% for Muslims and 5% for non-believers (ANTT LM XLIX, fl.364v, referring to the *doação* adds that *casados* and *moradores* at Masqat paid 8,5% on imports). It seems that the share of customs revenues due to the local *ṣayhs* was later reduced to 30%. The system became more complicated after 1622, when the customs tariff of Hormūz was merged with that of Masqat: the *Estado* upheld the fiction that the Hormūzī régime was still valid and certain commodities, such as pepper and some textiles, which required a *cartaz* and payment of special duties, were now taxed at rates of 11% and more. This latter class of duties was reserved for the *fazenda real*. For further changes in the earlier XVIIth century see below and ANTT LM XLIX, fl.364v, which also describes in detail

Portuguese traders, a testimony for the greater degree of manipulation of institutions at the hands of European overlords practised which became the rule in the latter half of the XVIth century. However, just as in Hormūz, local officials continued to participate in the day-to-day administration of the customs house.

This was the setting against which trade developed in the Persian Gulf Area during the later XVIth century. Second only to Hormūz¹³², Al-Başra was the largest city of the Persian Gulf with ca. 17.500 inhabitants¹³³. It boasted a respectable local craft production and a number of lucrative tax farms reveal the importance of its transit trade¹³⁴. Hormūz remained the hub of Persian Gulf trade, but Al-Başra was the chief outlet for Asian goods travelling West¹³⁵. The customs house levied a duty of 6% on imports and exports, and the local government was guaranteed further revenue from recoinning imported money¹³⁶. Middle Eastern demand can be expected to have grown, as urban civilisation both in the Fertile Crescent and Iran recovered¹³⁷, the volume of traffic could increase, as caravan routes and river traffic (especially to and from

procedures at the customs house. I shall deal with this important document in greater detail elsewhere. In 1640, Dutch intelligence speaks of a 10% duty levied on freight goods carried on non-Portuguese ships, see ARA VOC 1134, fl.222r: A. van Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/5/1640.

¹³² Population figures for mid-XVIth century Hormūz vary, but see e.g.: P. Antonio Mendes to Ignatius of Loyola, dated 20/10/1554, in: *DHMP* V, 337-343, 338: "tem dez o doze mil vizinhos, posto que este anno, por causa de se despovoar, por amor do cerco [*scil.*: by the Ottomans] e remores passados [such as the earthquakes of 1549, see *DInd* I, 500-507, 505] tenha pouco mais de tres mil visinhos; porem ja agora começo os moradores a tornar".

¹³³ D. Rizk KHOURY (1992), *Iraqi Cities During the Early Ottoman Period: Mosul and Basra*, *AHROS* V-VI, 45-64, 61ff. The mid-XVIth century Ottoman *defter-i muṣaṣṣal* lists at least five resident merchant households, but also some from Aleppo and Baḡdād.

¹³⁴ See R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux Ottomans...*, *loc.cit.*, *passim*. Important accounts from the late XVIth century are G. BALBI (1590), *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali...*, Venezia [new ed. O. PINTO (ed.) (1962), *Viaggi di C. FEDERICI e G. BALBI alle Indie Orientali* (=NR IV), Roma, 71-234] and the letters of J. NEWBERY, see bibliography.

¹³⁵ See Anon. (1548), *Livro que trata das cousas...*, *loc.cit.*, 74. See also ANTT COC p.88: Manuel de Lima, Hormūz, to D. João De Castro, Goa, dated 23/6/1547 [see also *OJC* III, 413ff.]: the spice trade in the Persian Gulf Area "não tem outra saída senão por Baçora, porque todo o Xequé Ismael não compram dez candis de drogas".

¹³⁶ For the customs regime and local exchange rates in the late XVIth century see W. BARRET (1584), *The Money & Measures of Babylon, Balsara and the Indies, with the Customs &c.* written from Aleppo in Syria, in: R. HAKLUYT (ed.) (1589), *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation...*, London, I, 213-218 [RHPN III, 328-343, 330f.]. For recent numismatic research into coinage at Al-Başra see K.M. MACKENZIE (1988), *Shahis and Larins from the Ottoman Mint at Basrah*, in: *Türk Nümismatik Derneğinin 20. kuruluş yılında I. ARTUK'a armağan*, Istanbul 1988, 181-187, and ID. (1989), *A Silver Coin from the Ottoman Mint at Basrah*, in: *Yarmouk Numismatics (Al-Yarmūk al-maskūkāt)* I/1, 11-14.

¹³⁷ For the Ottoman Fertile Crescent see A. RAYMOND (1979), *La conquête ottomane et le développement des grandes villes arabes*, *ROMM* XXVII, 115-134; for Iran: J. AUBIN (1986).

Baġdād) became safer¹³⁸, and, before long, the Mediterranean received again some of its Oriental products through Levantine *échelles* via Al-Baṣra¹³⁹. In marked contrast to regular obstructions of overland trade maritime commerce in the Persian Gulf was less affected by Ottoman-Safavid hostilities, conceivably, because of the resilience (and, often, resurgence) of local powers which pursued aims not always in harmony with perceived imperial intentions.

Mid-XVIth century Ottoman policy seemed to testify to some geopolitical design for the Arabian Seas, while Safavid concerns, after initial Southern ambitions under Šāh Esmāʿīl I, soon turned to the North. Even their tenuous hold on the coasts of Fārs was in danger of slipping at least once. In 1515, "Mirbuxaca", Safavid *capitão* in Rīšahr, sent an envoy to meet Albuquerque in Hormūz, promising to pay tribute to King Manuel I¹⁴⁰. The neighbouring territories were controlled until well into the XVIth century by old viziral families from Hormūz who did not, however seem to have forged closer links with the Safavids. Otherwise, Lār provided a convenient buffer between Safavid Iran and Hormūz throughout the XVIth century and benefitted from transit trade. The impression if not of a complementarity of regional interests of Safavids and Portuguese then certainly of the absence of immediate conflicts of interests, may have bred the multiplicity of schemes bent on winning the Safavids as an ally against the Ottomans¹⁴¹. These plans proliferated in the early years of the Habsburgs, but were doomed to come to naught, indeed to seal the fate of Portuguese Hormūz, with the advent of Šāh ʿAbbās I.

¹³⁸ J.H. van LINSCHOTEN (1599), *Navigatio et Itinerarium ...*, Den Haag [new eds.: *Itinerario. Voyage ofte schipvaerts van ~ naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1571-1592*, vols. 1-2, ed. H. Kern, 1910; new ed. H. Terpstra, 1955-57, Ch. VI, 36 on Ottoman convoys; for miscellaneous traveller's information on the routes through the Great Desert see C.P. GRANT (1937), *The Syrian Desert*, London, and F. ḤASAN / M. ĠAʿFAR (1989/1406), *Tarīq Baṣra-Ḥalab lil-qawāfil at-tiġāriya kamā waṣafuhā ar-raḥāla al-urubbiya fi al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth*, *MDHĠA* XV/58, 55-76.

¹³⁹ For the continuity (or revival) of the Levantine spice trade to Europe, and especially concerning the chronology see N. STEENSGAARD (1973) and, critically, C.H.H. WAKE (1979), *The Changing Pattern of Europe's Pepper and Spice Import*, *JEECH* VIII, 361-403, and ID. (1986), *The Volume of European Spice Importation at the Beginning and End of the XVth Century*, *JEECH* XV, 345-384; but see also C.R. BOXER (1969), *A Note on the Portuguese Reaction to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh 1540-1600*, *JSEAH* X, 415-428.

¹⁴⁰ BNL FG 7638, fl. 59v: "Mirabuca, capitão geral do Xequê [*scil.* Esmāʿīl]" to Afonso De Albuquerque; in *CAA* II, 253, the messenger is "coje abaclidim mahamet". See also: Afonso De Albuquerque to King Manuel I, dated Hormūz 22/9/1515, *CAA* I, 369-376. For subsequent embassies see R.B. SMITH (1970), for Rīšahr in the 1520's A. TENREIRO (1528). By the mid-XVIth century Kūh Gīlūye had an Afšār governor, see K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 10f., but in the 1540's the Portuguese named separately the *capitães* of Šāh Tahmāsp and Rīšahr among possible allies against Ottoman Al-Baṣra, see *OJC* III, 506f.

¹⁴¹ See H.R. ROEMER (1953), *Die Safawiden. Ein orientalischer Bundesgenosse des Abendlandes im Türkenkampf*, *Saeculum* IV, 27-44, K. STLOUKAL (1963/64), *Das Projekt einer internationalen paneuropäischen Liga mit Persien aus dem Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, *Persica* I, 53-64 and B.v. PALOMBINI (1968), *Bündniswerben abendländischer Mächte um Persien 1453-1600* (FIS I), Wiesbaden, who focuses on the earlier period, and now the account in N. STEENSGAARD (1973), *passim*.

Chapter 2

EMPIRES, PORTS AND MERCHANTS IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY PERSIAN GULF

The Safavid Southward Expansion in the XVIIth Century

The XVIIth century saw an important shift in the balance of power in the Persian Gulf Area. The Safavid Southward expansion under Šāh ‘Abbās I (1587-1629) contrasts sharply with the Ottoman inability to defend their hold on the Persian Gulf coasts. The successive Safavid annexations of Lār and Baḥrayn (1601/02), coastal Moğostān (1614), Qešm and Hormūz (1622, in conjunction with English naval forces) and subsequent (unsuccessful) attempts to gain a foothold in ‘Umān¹ are often considered as part of a far-reaching "plan of political and economic centralisation"². A fresh assessment of Šāh ‘Abbās’ reign will have to acknowledge a number of disparate elements which can not be presented without a certain leap of imagination as a consistent long-term economic policy. Thus, his celebrated monopoly of raw silk exports must be recognised as ephemeral³: it was, rather ineffectively, enforced for little longer than a decade. Other aspects of his idealised image, such as the establishment of the Armenian colony in a suburb of Eṣfahān, have recently been challenged⁴. In Hormūz, local traders feared they would suffer even greater inequity than under the Portuguese if a Safavid customs house was set up in Bandar-e ‘Abbās.

¹ Persian chronicles and European sources have been retold on numerous occasions; still among the best accounts of the conquest of Hormūz is the introduction to C.R. BOXER (ed.) (1930), *Commentaries of Ruy Freire D' Andrade*, London [i.e. Engl.ed. of P. CRAESBEECK (ed.) (1647), *Comentários do Grande Capitam Ruy Freire d' ANDRADA*, Lisboa; new ed. J.G. LEITE 1940, but including also E. MONNOX (1622), History at Large of the Taking of Ormus Castle, *ibid.*, App.IX, 254-310; this full text must be used instead of the abr.ed. in *SPHP* X, 342-374]. See also C.R. BOXER (1935), *Anglo-Portuguese Rivalry in the Persian Gulf*, in: E. PRESTAGE (ed.) (1935), *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, Watford, 46-129; an important complementary Portuguese account is L. CORDEIRO (ed.) (1896), *Como se perdeu Ormuz. Processo inédito do século XVII*, Lisboa.

² Thus recently again L.K. STEINMANN (1986), *Shah ‘Abbās and the Royal Silk Trade 1598-1629*, in: *BRISMES International Conference on Middle Eastern Studies SOAS 6-9 VII 1986*, 79-86 and EAD. (1987), *The Royal Silk Agents of Šafavid Iran*, in: *BRISMES International Conference on Middle Eastern Studies 12-15 VII 1987*, 79-86.

³ Furthermore, we must ask whether the concentration of the most important export commodity in one hand had a beneficial effect on the country: ARA VOC 1084, fl.107rff.: A. Becker, "Corte remonstrantie...", ca.1624, believes it hampered commercial growth.

⁴ See e.g. N.K. GHORGHANIAN (1983), *K voprosu o hasil'stvennom pereselenii Armjan Šakhom Abbasom*, *PBH* No.2-3, 286-298 and E. HERZIG (1990b), *The Deportation of the Armenians in 1604-1605 and Europe's Myth of Shah ‘Abbās I*, in: C. MELVILLE (ed.) (1990), *Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P.W. AVERY* (=Pembroke Papers I), Cambridge, 59-71. For earlier interpretations F. TOURNEBIZE (1911), *Schah Abbas I, roi de Perse, et l'émigration forcée des Arméniens de l'Ararat*, in: *Huscharizan. Fs. aus Anlaß des 100-jährigen Bestehens der Mechtaristen-Kongregation in Wien 1811-1911*, Wien, 247-252. The wider context of the *sürgün*-like forced migrations under the Safavids, which were employed, in particular, to redress the balance of tribal powers, is presented in J.R. PERRY (1975), *Forced Migration in Iran During the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, *IrSt* VIII/4, 199-215. E. HERZIG (1991) has used most available sources for an account of the establishment of Armenians in New Ğolfā, but add to the bibliography G. HERRMANN (1989), *Zwei šafawidische Erlasse für armenische Christen*, *AMI* N.S. XXII, 315-338.

The conquest of Qešm and Hormūz was the work of the Governor of Fārs Emām Qolī Hān⁵, while the Šāh was waging war against the Mughals for the possession of Qandahār. His father Allāhverdi Hān, a Georgian convert to Islam, whose career epitomises the success of Šāh ‘Abbās’ I military reforms, had replaced Zū ‘l-Qadīr tribal *amīrs* who had ruled the province had been from 1503 to 1594. Emām Qolī Hān set up the administration in the newly acquired territories⁶ as *hān* of Lār and, later, as conqueror of the islands⁷. He was interlocutor for the European trading companies wishing to found factories in Iran. The English, whose contacts with the Safavids dated back well before the fall of Hormūz, had engaged in direct negotiations with the court early on (despite their military alliance with the *Hān* of Šīrāz), while the Dutch cultivated their position at the provincial court of Šīrāz with great assiduity⁸. VOC servants were admonished never to forget annual presents to the *Hān*’s *nāẓer* Fūlād Beğ and his deputy Sārū Hān Beğ⁹. In the 1620’s the *Hān* could grant privileges which, if anything, merely required routine confirmation by the Šāh¹⁰. Europeans dreaded the unruliness of local officials during the

⁵ This successful campaign generated two unusual literary products of provincial pride, which praise the exploits of Emām Qolī Hān. Both texts have now been published: QADRĪ ŠĪRĀZĪ, *Čangnāme-ye Qešm*, ed. L. BONELLI, in: *RC ALinc* VI, 1890, 291-303, and ID., *Čārūnnāme*, ed. M.C. PUDIOLI, in: *Studi Orientali e Linguistici* IV, 55-89. On the author see the note of M. PISTOSO (1978), Qadri di Šīrāz e l’epica Safavide, *OM* LVIII, 321-325, who maintains that the texts were written as a provincial response to the metropolitan poetical exaltation of Šāh ‘Abbās’ triumph at Qandahār. On cultural life in Safavid Šīrāz see the ongoing research by J. CALMARD. For the circulation of the *fathnāme* and official proclamations ("lettera circolare") of the Qandahār victory which he heard read out in public in summer 1622 in Šīrāz and Gomrūn (23/9/1622) see P. DELLA VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 470f. Two days earlier, his diary has an entry on "due libretti, che ...hò presi e porto meco, ne i quali son descritte, in versi, in uno la guerra di Kescm solamente, e nell’ altro, quella di Kescm e quella di Hormuz ancora, amendue insieme".

⁶ ESKANDAR BEĞ Torkmān Monšī, *Tārīḫ-e ‘Ālam-arā-ye ‘Abbāsī*, ed. I. Afšār, 2 vols., Tehrān 1334-35/1955-57; Engl.ed.: R. Savory, *History of Shah ‘Abbas*, 2 vols., Boulder, 1088/1315f.

⁷ Eventually, after the pacification of Kūh Gīlūye, Fażlī Ešfahānī’s *Afzalo ‘t-tavārīḫ* (q.i. K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 11, N.62) gives an indication of his jurisdiction when he calls him "hākem-e koll-e velāyāt-e Fārs va Lār va Kūh Gīlūye va Šamīl va Mīnā va Bahrayn va ba‘ẓī az velāyāt-e ‘Arabestān čūn Ḥoveize va Douraq va barḫī az molk-e ‘Erāq mesl-e Ġorbādaqān va Tūy-o-Sarkān va Maḥallāt".

⁸ These are matters of Company history which have not been dealt with in sufficient detail by the historians of Dutch- and Anglo-Iranian relations. A comparative study of the approach of the two Companies to local powers in more than one Asian country might open a rewarding field of research.

⁹ BGP 321ff.: "Informatie...", H. Visnicht to A. Del Court, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās 28/2/1630. Dutch sources call Fūlād Beğ "vertrouwder des Rycks" which usually refers to the Grand Vizir.

¹⁰ See e.g. VOC capitulations requested 15/10/1623, granted by Šāh ‘Abbās I 21/11/1623, in: *CDNI* I, 186-191, response to art.21-22 (regarding customs free imports and exemption from *rāhdārt*): "allsoo Siras ende Laer onder ‘t gebiedt van den hertogh [*scil.*: *Hān* of Šīrāz] staet, wadt die u vergunt confermeere ick van gelijken." This very formula gave rise to an open assessment of the role of governor and Companies on the part of Grand Vizir Halīfe Soltān during the Dutch Cunāus embassy in 1651/52, see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journaal der reis van den gezant der O.I. Compagnie Joan CUNĀUS naar Perzië*, ed. A. HOTZ, Amsterdam 1908, 171ff.: "...dese commandementen sijn cragteloo en door een particulier gouverneur gegeven, die door geschenken ten schade van’t coningrijk dartoe can beweegt wesen...".

Hān's absence¹¹, but by the same token, they constantly suspected he might feel the pinch of reduced customs revenues arising from their privileges and cease to prove a reliable ally at court¹². The splendour of his court and his popularity¹³ were said to rival the Šāh's power and the Dutch merchants relied on his standing at court when, just prior to his assassination, they appealed to him to support their case for new privileges. He enjoyed generous credit lines extended by local VOC servants¹⁴, and his violent death dealt them a severe blow, for large sums had to be written off as bad debts. Worse: they believed there was no-one left in Šīrāz who could serve their aims at court¹⁵. We still know little about chains of command in civil administration between the port cities, Lār, Šīrāz and the imperial centre. It would seem that Emām Qolī Hān held his territories as hereditary fief (in "possession": *taşarruf*) which entailed only moderate remittances to the imperial treasury¹⁶. This may explain the freedom in organising matters of trade in his lands and the tenure of his eldest son, Şafī Qolī Hān, as his *vālī* in Lār ensured swift implementation of his orders. Initially, however, Iranian provinces bordering on the former kingdom of Hormūz which used to trade with the thriving island economy had felt the sharp decrease of export outlets for agricultural produce the immediate aftermath of 1622¹⁷. Both

¹¹ E.g. during the *Hān*'s campaign against Al-Baṣra in 1624: BGP 55: "Resolutie", dated Eşfahān 7/6/1624. Later the identical phenomenon was felt as soon as royal appointees followed the court to theatres of war further afield, ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633: "...verscheyde caffels tusschen Spahan ende Schiras als oock tusschen Sciras ende Laer van de straet schenders ende vagabonden ...aenstoot geleeden...".

¹² See e.g. BGP 51f.: H. Visnicht, Eşfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 6/5/1624 (also ARA VOC 1082, fl.114rff.): the *Hān* "heeft swaaren last ende cleyne inkomen sedert het ophouden van den handell in Ormou, sulcx (hoewel wy sijne commandementen van niet hebben te betalen) weynich naer onse clachten sal Luysteren ende oock mogelijk door dese redenen by den Coninck (sotto mano) wel sal geexkuseert werden. 't Gaet hier gelijck men seyt, dat magere Luysen scherp byten." On the question of imports free of customs for the European Companies see also below.

¹³ ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: Ph. Lucasz., off Bandar-e ʿAbbās, "aen den hertoch van Sijras", ca. March 1632.

¹⁴ BGP 448ff.: Instruction for M.v.d. Trille, dated Batavia 4/11/1633, on 40.000 *tūmān* borrowed "in eenen clop" [must be 4.000].

¹⁵ BGP 414ff., 423f.: N. Overschie, Eşfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 8/5/1633.

¹⁶ Some districts in Fārs, namely Dārābğerd, had been classified as crown lands ever since Šāh Tahmāsp I; Šāh ʿAbbās I, too, had enjoined on his new *beğlerbeğ* of Fārs regular payment of tax revenue of some districts, see Mohammad Ma'sūm b. Ḥ'āğegī EŞFAHĀNĪ, *Holdşat os-seydār*, Tehrān 1368/1989, partial German ed.: G. Rettelbach, *Der Iran unter Schah Şaft*, München 1978, fl.12b/23, gives 60.000 *tūmān p.a.*, which on occasion of Šāh Şafī I's accession in 1629 were remitted. Mīr Moḥammad Tāfrīšī, q.i. K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 141, has other figures and administrative arrangements. The various legal categories of land-tenure in XVIIth century Iran are not easily discernable, see V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 195ff., A.K.S. LAMBTON (1953), *Landlord and Peasant in Persia. A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration*, London [1969 rev.; repr. 1991], 107ff., K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 54ff.

¹⁷ ARA VOC 1082, fl.110ff.: L.van Croy, Aleppo, to Amsterdam, dated 3/3/1625, writes that the "coninckrijk van Lahar door de destructie van Ormou veraermt is, omdat de vruchten van dat lant, in den tijt dat de Portugesen Ormou bewoontden, daer [*scil.*: woorden, BGP] vercocht ende geconsumeert".

Lār and Šīrāz had declined as wholesale markets for Safavid Iran, and proposals of European Company servants, who had grown exasperated with the unreliable and ever changing policy of the royal factors, to revive Lār as market for Iranian raw silk came to naught.

Šāh Šafī I continued Šāh ‘Abbās’ I policy of converting *mamālek*-lands into crown lands and turned Fārs, Lār and the coastal district into *ḥāṣṣe*-lands (1632). The ambitious family of Emām Qolī Hān was murdered¹⁸. The extension of *ḥāṣṣe*-lands is generally viewed as upsetting an imaginary balance between state and royal household¹⁹ and to have hastened the downfall of the empire. But in Fārs it took 30 years for the tax assessment to be adjusted downward²⁰. Similarly, the pernicious effects this centralisation has been said to entail were not immediately evident in the port cities. Merchants were less wont to lavish sumptuous presents on what now were subordinate and rotating officials in Šīrāz and Lār, who had no longer the power to remit road tolls or grant other privileges²¹. We shall see how Bandar-e Kong flourished under the Lārī *vazīr* ‘Evāz Beğ in the mid-XVIIth century, and how centrally appointed officials did not automatically mean greater oppression and obstruction of trade at Bandar-e ‘Abbās. More dangerous were secessionary rebellions which set ablaze the Persian coast of the straits around

¹⁸ Fārs remained crown land almost until the fall of the dynasty, but we hear of a *ḥākem-e Lār-o-Bandar-e ‘Abbās* around 1700, see K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 121f. Lārestān’s first *vazīr* was Kalb ‘Alī Beğ (1632-36), see Mohammad Ma‘šūm b. H‘āğegī EŠFAHĀNĪ, *Holdāsat os-seydār*, loc. cit., s.v., and ARA VOC 1135, fl.727ff. has a *fermān* of Šāh Šafī for Kalb ‘Alī Beğ, dated 6/10/1635.

¹⁹ This assertion is usually backed up by the testimony of French travellers such as Chardin, Du Mans, Tavernier and Sanson who may well have followed an agenda of their own in their description of Safavid absolutism. I am aware of no attempt to employ the tools of literary critique in analysing their writings, but a detailed study of R. Du Mans is being prepared by F. RICHARD. Studies on the influence of the Iranian experience on French thought tend to be either antiquarian or impressionistic. Often inspired by Montesquieu’s *Lettres persanes* many focus on the XVIIIth century: J. CHAYBANY (1971), *Les voyages en Perse et la pensée française au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris (Thèse de doctorat, Univ. de Paris), and more recently O.H. BONNEROT (1988), *La Perse dans la littérature et la pensée française au XVIIIe siècle: de l’image au mythe*, Paris. See also A. GROSRICHARD (1979), *Structure du sérail. La fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l’Orient classique*, Paris. The *essai* L. VALENSI (1987), *Venise et la Sublime Porte. La naissance du despôte*, Paris [Ital. transl.: *Venezia e la Sublime Porta. La nascita del despota*, Bologna 1989] discusses the *leitmotif* “(Oriental) despotism” in XVIth and XVIIth century Venetian traveller accounts and political literature.

²⁰ See Mīrzā Muḥammad Tāher Vahīd Qazvīnī, *‘Abbās-nāme yā šarḥ-e zendegānī-ye 22 sāle-ye Šāh ‘Abbās-e sānt*, ed. E. Dehgān, Arāk 1329/1951, 325, q.i. K. RÖHRBORN (1979), *Regierung und Verwaltung Irans unter den Safawiden*, *HbO* I-6-5 pt.1, Leiden/Köln, 17-50, 42. However, see as early as 1656 ARA VOC 1217 (OP 1657/III), fl.399r.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Ešfahān, dated 22/6/1656, speaks of “clachten dat de landerijen voor present den prijs niet connen opbrengen als ten tijden van den grooten hartoch Emancoulichen geschiet zij, meriteert ten vollen gelooff, ter oorsaecke ons dickwils van wel weettende personen bericht is, Chirae in tijde van gedachten Hartoogh vrij florisanter was, als het sich nu verthoont, sulcx nootsaackelijck volgen moet d’jncompste oock minder zijn.”

²¹ ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: Phil. Lucasz., to N. Overschie, dated 17/3/1633: “...boven gem.’ hertogen in Siras ende Laar desen plaetsen niet anders als leenen van den Coninck gegunnt ende den voorigen Hertog t’selve als Souverain gepossedert, ons in veelen gefavoriseert tegens allen injurien jnt gemelt hertoghdorn ende van alle Tollen, ende Radarijen geprotegeert heeft, t’welck in desen haer autoriteit niet en is...”

1639/40: Moḥammad Ma'sūm b. Ḥ'āḡegī Eṣfahānī's *Ḥolāṣat os-seyār* tells us how "some nomads from the district Hormūz" inflicted a crushing defeat on the local *solṭān* Šafī Qolī Zū 'l-Qadr²². The uprising could only be quelled by the troops conscripted under Fūlād Beḡ, the first *vazīr* of Lār.

The Safavid Court and Commerce

More than in other Safavid ports, trade at Bandar-e 'Abbās meant, ever since 1622, participation of Safavid government agencies: first European Companies exchanged their Asian and European imports (chiefly precious metals) for raw silk the export of which was subject to the court's permission, later Safavid officials entered lucrative partnerships with prominent wholesale merchants or tried to corner the markets for particularly profitable products of their own initiative. Throughout the XVIIth century, an important part of Bandar-e 'Abbās' trade was determined by capitulations granted by the Safavid court to East India Companies: EIC and VOC were exempted from many of the duties which weighed heavily on local trade. For naval assistance in the occupation of Hormūz the EIC were granted the moiety of the port city's customs revenues, a promise which was not kept in a single year²³. Furthermore, Company traders were not free to trade as they pleased despite assurances to the contrary: under Šāh 'Abbās I, the VOC were prevented from dealing directly with local merchants in Bandar-e 'Abbās²⁴. The Šāh had appointed an official, who acted on his behalf and effectively controlled a large part of the country's foreign trade²⁵. By 1634, the VOC still sold much of their goods to the royal factor Ḥ'āḡe Qāsem, albeit now at current prices, rather than especially negotiated rates. The

²² Moḥammad Ma'sūm b. Ḥ'āḡegī EṢFAHĀNĪ, *Ḥolāṣat os-seyār*..., *loc.cit.*, fl.155vf./275f.; this information is confirmed in ARA VOC 1132, non-fol.: VOC factory Surat, to A. Gardenijs, Coromandel Coast, dated 10/11/1639: "tussen Conga ende gamron onthielt hent een rebel ofte roover die tegens den coninck was opgestaen met meenicht van vaertuijch plunderde ende beroovde meest alle zeeplaetsen waer hij maer bij ofte aen comen conde den sulthan van gamron soo gesegt wordt was tegens hem met veel vaertuijchs om do. roover te resisteeren ofte tonder te brengen wt geweest ende hadden jegens hem soo quaden rescontre gehadt dat hij selfs door geschooten sijnde d'sijne d'vlucht nemende ende haer onder d'bescherminge van ormus om haer te salveren retireeren mosten...".

²³ The contents of the original *fermāns* have been discussed in a number of studies dealing with the early relations of the companies with Safavid Iran. The years of Cromwell and the rise of competing companies made the position of the EIC almost untenable in the mid-XVIIth century. On Charles' II claims on customs receipts see L. LOCKHART (1966), *The Diplomatic Missions of Henry Band, Viscount of Bellomont, to Persia and India, Iran IV*, 97-104; for a first-hand account N. MANUCCI, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708*, Engl.ed. W. IRVINE, 4 vols., London, 21ff. By 1676, it seems, the EIC had given up their claim and declared to be content with 1.000 *tāmdān*, see J. BRUCE (1810), *Annals of the Honorable EIC*, 3 vols., London, vol.2, 393.

²⁴ ARA VOC 1098, non-fol.: H. Visnicht, Eṣfahān, to the Council of the Dutch fleet, dated 14/12/1629.

²⁵ In the late 1620's Molā'em Beḡ filled this post; he also held the "sabanderschap ...over al de coopluysden in Persia, alsmede de munte", see BGP 425ff., 428: N. Overschie, Qazvīn, to Batavia, dated 30/6/1633.

Dutch suspected him of private dealings on a very large scale. In fact, he was probably the first official who tried to corner the regional market for spices. On the other hand, the royal factor guaranteed a consistently large volume of purchases, which in turn secured the VOC's position in the face of reviving Portuguese imports²⁶.

The conversion of Fārs, Lār and the coastal district into crown land meant that good contacts at the Safavid court were more than ever crucial for the East India Companies. When the Dutch pressed for more advantageous capitulations after the accession of Šāh ʿAbbās II in 1642, they were supported at court by the governors of Ġahrom, Moḥammad Qāsem Beğ²⁷, and Lār, ʿEvāz Beğ, who both held interests in maritime trade²⁸. The Grand Vizir Mīrzā Taqī²⁹, who had inaugurated a less accomodating policy opposed new privileges and argued that not expanding Dutch imports and freight services had boosted the Šāh's customs revenue but a shift of trade flows from the Qandahār route to the sea lanes. The court had to revise its position, however, after the Dutch blockade of Bandar-e ʿAbbās in 1645: Šāh ʿAbbās II entreated them not to remove their operations to Al-Bašra³⁰ and the chancellery of the new Grand Vizir Ḥalīfe Solṭān issued a *fermān* granting them, albeit temporarily, freedom from customs levied at Bandar-e ʿAbbās³¹. Yet, when the privileges came up for renewal in March 1647 the court discovered

²⁶ ARA VOC 1108, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.69v: Report M.v.d. Trille, June 1634.

²⁷ He still filled the same post ten years later, see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc.cit.*, 65. K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 121, N.54, has Ġahrom as independent vizirate ever since the conversion of Fārs into *ḥāṣṣe*-land.

²⁸ ARA VOC 1152, fl.232rff.: "*Daghregister...*" W. Bastincq 1645 and ARA VOC 1152, fl.220r-v (Esfahān 13/8/1645). ʿEvāz Beğ had been appointed *vazīr* of Lārestān in 1639/40 after the death of Fūlād Beğ, the first *vazīr* after the conversion of Fārs into *ḥāṣṣe*-lands and previously been Emām Qolī Ḥān's *nāẓer* for the same territory, see Moḥammad Maʿsūm b. Ḥʾāḡegī EṢFAHĀNĪ, *Ḥolāṣat os-seyār...*, *loc.cit.*, s.v.

²⁹ On his career see H. BRAUN (1971), Ein iranischer Großwesir des XVII. Jahrhunderts: Mirza Muḥammad Taqī, in: W. EILERS (ed.) (1971), *Festgabe deutscher Iranisten zur 2500 Jahrfeier Irans*, Stuttgart, 1-7, and N.N. FALSAFĪ (1342/1963), Sargozāšt-e Sārū Taqī, in: ID., *Čand maqāle-ye tārīḥi va adabī*, Tehrān, 287-310.

³⁰ See ARA VOC 1141, non-fol.: H.v. Thuinen, Qazvīn, to Esfahān, dated 11/9/1642. For 1645 see: Šāh ʿAbbās II to Commander C. Blocq, ca. June 1645.

³¹ ARA VOC 1152, fl.240rff.: "*Daghregister...*" L. Winnings (Sept./Oct. 1645): the document speaks of a rate of 14% *ad valorem*. See also *ibid.*, fl.482vff.: Šāh ʿAbbās II to solṭān and šāhbandar at Bandar-e ʿAbbās, issued 21/10/1645: customs free trade granted until March 1647.

that the new terms were based on a misunderstanding: they were promptly revoked and the VOC was charged retrospectively for customs arrears³².

In 1654, Moḥammad Beğ, an efficient *golām* administrator of humble Armenian descent and politically a creation of the Šāh's favourite, the "master of the hunt" Allāhverdī Hān, attained the post. It seems that his predecessor Halīfe Solṭān, who was inclined to lend his ear to proponents of more religiously inspired policies³³, had left him a legacy of a close contacts to religious circles in the capital³⁴, although most standard account date the increasing influence of Šī'ite theologians at court to the 1660's when Mīrzā Moḥammad Mahdī, the former *ṣadr-e mamālek*, was appointed Grand Vizir³⁵. But more importantly, Moḥammad Beğ, who had served as *šāhbāndar* at Bandar-e ʿAbbās and *nāẓer-e boyūtāt*, wished to consolidate state (and court) finances by strengthening central government control over the port in order to curb precious metal exports. Yet he also provided generously for his relatives many of whom filled the lucrative post of *šāhbāndar* (see figure), and his family prospered precisely by the ample opportunities for personal enrichment which were offered by the large amounts of bullion and coins present in the port³⁶.

³² ARA VOC 1162, fl.247vf.: "Translaet Notitie wegens de resumatie g'ordonneert door dem vertrouwder des Rijcks [scil.: *e'temād od-doule*] aen die van s'Coninghs secretarije Mitsgaders d'Antwoordt bij den Secretario op den dos van onse petition g'insereert stont", ca. March 1647: Ma.1.260.164. It is somewhat surprising, however, that there should have been a misunderstanding under Grand Vizir Halīfe Solṭān, who occupied the same post from 1623-1632.

³³ Halīfe Solṭān had closed retail shops of Armenian furriers, capmakers and tailors who sold to Muslim customers on the Maydān-e Šāh in Eṣfahān in December 1645. Eventually he had to give in to their protests and allowed them to keep their stalls open in one part of the square, see ARA VOC 1152, fl.246rff.: "*Daghregister*" W. Bastincq, Oct./Dec.1645. This event is also mentioned in Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāher Vahīd Qazvīnī, *ʿAbbāsname...*, loc. cit., 72, q.i. P. LUFT (1968), 232, N.366. The *fermān* was confirmed by Šāh Suleyman in 1672, see ARA VOC 1279, fl.1024rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1672.

³⁴ GM II, 770-819, 803 and 812: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 26/1/1655, which reports the feelings among the merchants in Iran, who believed all these were quite ominous appointments, "uyt reden de Hossenbeecks [i.e. probably: the family of Hoseyn Beğ, brother of the Grand Vizir and previous šāhbāndar, whose son succeeded him in this post; see also below], sophijs ende voor schriftgeleerden werden gereputeert, welcke bovenmaten bitters jegens de Christenen ende den ommeganck van dien sijn ingenoomen, daerenjegens de kiselbassen of die van de wapenen soo naukeurich niet en sijn ende altijd d'E. Comp. by lange preuve ondervonden heeft, beter doen met haer is te hebben als wel met den anderen." On Moḥammad Beğ see also P. LUFT (1968), *passim*, and now R. MATTHEE (1991), The Career of Mohammed Beg, Grand Vizier of Shah ʿAbbas II, r.1642-1666, *IrSt* XXIV/1-4, 17-36 and V. MOREEN (1981a), The Downfall of Muḥammad [ʿAlī] Beg, the Grand Vizier of Shah ʿAbbās II (reigned 1642-1666), *JQR* LXXII, 81-99.

³⁵ On the influence of religious leaders after Moḥammad Beğ's fall see e.g. H. ROEMER (1989), *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit. Iranische Geschichte 1350-1750* (=BTS XL), Beirut/Stuttgart, 346.

³⁶ GM II, 770-819, 803 and 812: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 26/1/1655: when Moḥammad Beğ's brother Hoseyn Beğ was appointed controller of the mint, his son Moḥammad Amīn Beğ succeeded him in the post of *šāhbāndar*. He was notorious "niet alleen in't afvorderen der tollē in't aenvaeren haerer [scil.: of the merchants] coopmanschappen, maer insonderheit dat uijt de gecontracteerde partije altijd de willichste waren voor sich selven was

At this conjuncture, the commercial interests of *vazīr* of Lār, ‘Evāz Beğ, emerge more clearly, too. His activities focused on Bandar-e Kong, but in 1653 he also had an official placed as "second *šāhbandar*" at Bandar-e ‘Abbās, who voiced his master’s apprehension in the face of a policy aimed at concentrating customs operations at Bandar-e ‘Abbās³⁷. Initially ‘Evāz Beğ owed much to his brother Dawūd Beğ, *mehtar-e rekāb-hāne* (chamberlain) of Šāh Šafī and still an influential *éminence grise* under Šāh ‘Abbās II, and he feared for his position when his brother died³⁸. At the time of his own death in 1664, however, ‘Evaż Beğ was one of the few high officials whose ascent to power dated far back in time and who had created for himself resources independent of royal favours³⁹. He had entered into partnership agreements with merchants, especially with Jews, who experienced great difficulties when after his death these regular capital injection into their businesses discontinued⁴⁰: loans and money invested in trading ventures were reclaimed under his successor Allāhverdī Hān⁴¹. In fact, rumours had it that the governor of Lār "wished to trade himself through his factors, just as many nobles from Eşfahān, Šīrāz and elsewhere, now send their factors [*scil.*: to Bandar-e ‘Abbās]", which was a very detrimental development for the average merchant⁴². By 1664, the import market for copper, one of the commodities which traditionally was bought by Jewish merchants, had been entered actively by

aenslaende..." thus prompting many merchants to search for a safer place for their transactions. Later in the 1650's, Mohammad Amīn Beğ, too, held the post of assayer of the mint, see ARA VOC 1226, fl.800r: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 1/3/1658.

³⁷ ARA VOC 1201, fl.777r: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/4/1653.

³⁸ ARA VOC 1224, fl.269rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/12/1656. Dawūd Beğ was probably a son-in-law of Emām Qolī Hān, and, as chamberlain, had daily direct access to the Šāh; for the office see V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 138. On the basis of Persian sources P. LUFT (1968), 189, N.34, speaks of the sacking of ‘Evāz Beğ in 1655, but his unchanged high standing at court is proved e.g. in ARA VOC 1226: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 1/3/1658. Before becoming *dīvān-beğ* under Grand Vizir Mürzā Moḥammad Mahdī, he was *vazīr* of Māzandarān, see ARA VOC 1241, fl.572rff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/2/1664.

³⁹ See H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664, summarised in: DR XV, 192ff.

⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1248, 1920ff.: H.v. Wijcq to Batavia, dated 31/5/1664, also summarised in DR XV, 416ff. This connection does not mean, however, that Lārestān was a safe haven for Jews in the years of persecutions 1656/57, see below. Jews had been subjected to forced conversion in Lār and Bandar-e Kong, too, according to Arak’el DAWRIŽEC’I (1669), *Girk’ patmuf’eanc’*, Amsterdam, French version M. BROSSET (ed.) (1874-76), see below.

⁴¹ ARA VOC 1252, 702ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665 (also: do., 4/1/1665, summarised in: DR XVI, 161ff.): "De Jooden, dat wel de voornaemste negotianten zyn, waeren al vry in onmacht geraekt, alsoo den gouverneur van Lhaer de penningen, die hy by haer op interest hadde, gelight heeft". As early as 1657, at the investiture of the new *vazīr* of Lār, Allāhverdī Beğ, merchants anticipated problems, ARA VOC 1226 fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 1/3/1658.

⁴² ARA VOC 1252, 702ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665.

the governor of Lār: it was reported, he had the metal bought up in the ports, had it distributed to the workmen in Lār as a monopolist and sold part of it to merchants for reexport to Surat, where it was to yield substantially more⁴³.

Thus, participation of Safavid officials in the port cities' trade could operate on at least three levels: the imperial government could decree trade in certain commodities its monopoly and leave local enforcement (and chances of accepting favours for turning a blind eye) to port officials. With the central government far away, and more often than not made up of close relatives, port officials could abuse their position, persecute merchants and skim off revenue due to the Šāh. Finally, officials could engage actively in trade, either through partnerships with merchants or by employing their own "factors". Which alternative officials chose depended on the political and economic conjuncture but also on kind of traffic in the port they ruled. The official who refrained from entering trade belongs to the past of Persian Gulf trade history.

Iranian Port Cities at the Turn of the XVIIth century

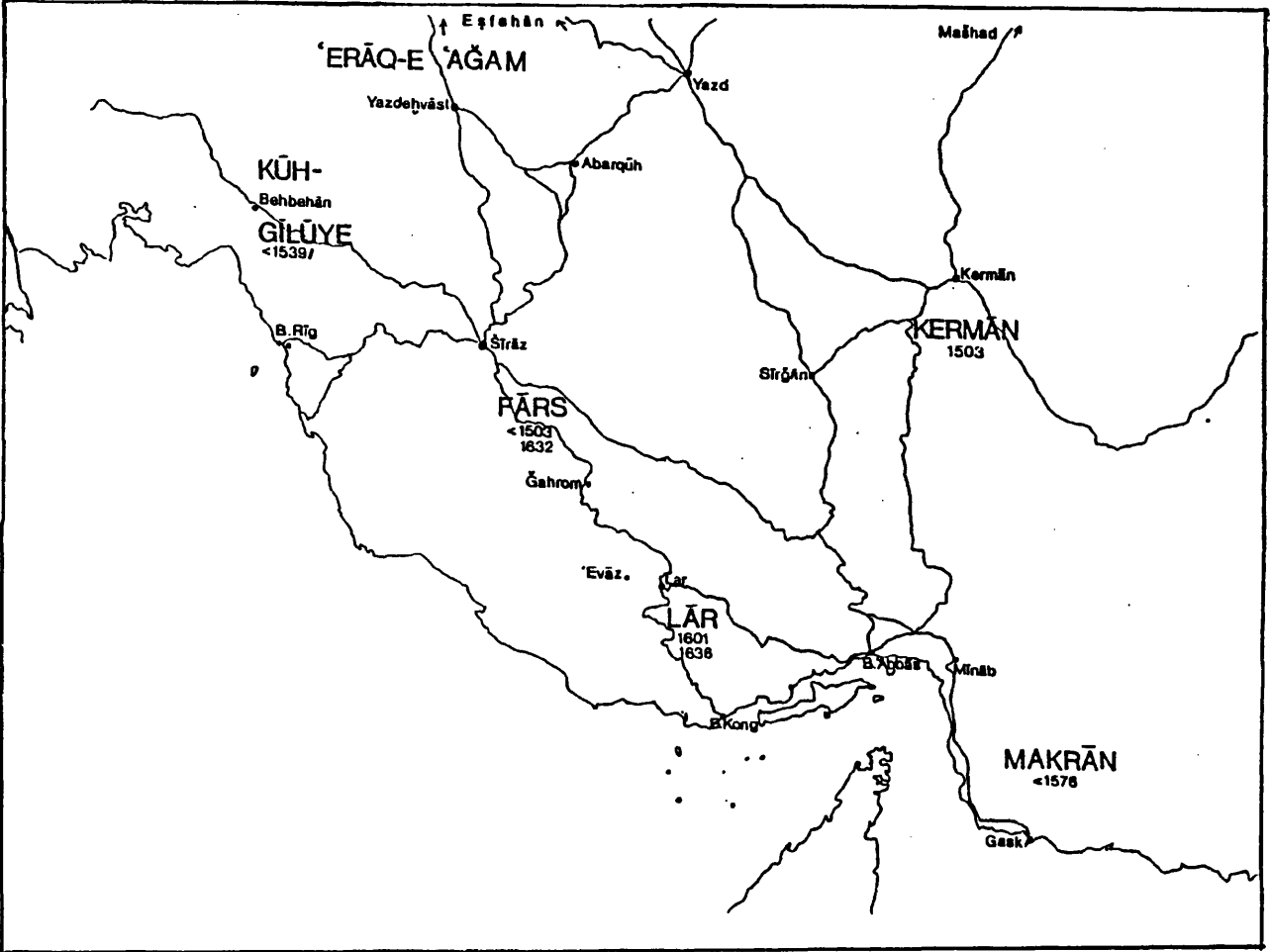
At the turn of the XVIIth century the most important mainland port was undoubtedly "bandel" of the Portuguese sources, also known as Gomrūn⁴⁴, in the immediate vicinity of Nāband⁴⁵. The place was merely an insignificant fishing village but as it was situated opposite

⁴³ See letter from Bandar-e ʿAbbās received at Batavia 13/8/1664, summarised in *DR XV*, 309ff., 317; on the copper trade and reexports from Iran to India see below Part 2, Introduction. We shall see that the reexport of Asian commodities is a common feature of seabound trade across the Western Indian Ocean and an indicator for the integration of the Indo-Iranian markets. For some commodities it undermined the VOC system of minimal prices by controlled supply. In fact, it is only in this context, that we learn about the economic aspirations of the governor of Lār: the letters quoted do not refer to those events in their own right, but only as related to the attempts of the Dutch to stem a reexport of copper from Iran to Surat.

⁴⁴ Portuguese *bandel* is, of course, Persian *bandar*, port. Less evident is this etymology of Gomrūn (also: Gamrū): contemporaneous accounts suggest ingenious derivations from Turkish *gümruk*, customs, or Portuguese *camarão*, shrimp. Mestre AFONSO, *Yinerario...*, *loc. cit.*, 136f., has: "bandel gombruc chamado asi em lingua parsia e turquesca, que quer dizer alfamdega". L. LOCKHART (1958), *The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia (1634-1730)*, Cambridge, 373, offers a twofold displacement of toponyms: he believes that when, after the transfer of the mainland port of Hormūz, the island of Ġārūn took the port city's name, the toponym Ġārūn migrated to the opposite coastline.

⁴⁵ For surveys see A. EQTEDĀRĪ (1348/1969-70), 573ff. and bibliography below; for a study of the modern port see G. SCHWEIZER (1972), *Bandar ʿAbbas und Hormuz. Schicksal und Zukunft einer iranischen Hafenstadt am Persischen Golf* (TAVO Beih.B II), Wiesbaden.

Map 7
The Safavid Empire, the Persian Gulf and Trade Routes (XVIIth Century)



Hormūz, it served as point of transshipment for caravans carrying goods to and from Hormūz. Around 1580, the *Estado* only kept two customs clerks at the port, who were appointed by the incumbent *capitão* for the duration of his tenure and whose task it was to record exports from Iran⁴⁶. But soon, a military presence close to the settlement was regarded a necessary safeguard against endemic evasion of Hormūz' customs house and the *Estado* had fortified the place⁴⁷. Yet, when Safavid troops pushed Southward to claim the *muqarrariya* they found it inadequately defended⁴⁸: "O Cambarbeque, Sultão de Xirás", the local official of the governor of Fārs, who occupied Qešm for the first time in 1608 and had a fortress erected next to the derelict Portuguese building⁴⁹. After some years of uneasy truce Lisbon received the news of the fall of Gomrūn in 1614⁵⁰. Initially the commanding officers of the occupying force under Allāhverdī Beğ, who later became governor of Šīrāz under Emām Qolī Hān doubled as military administration of the coastal district⁵¹. An English report of the same year praises the future Bandar-e 'Abbās "the best and strongest [*scil.*: port] in the King of Perscias Domeynyons"⁵², but it is only after the fall of

⁴⁶ Anon. (1582), *Livro das cidades...*, *loc. cit.*, fl.34vf. The reliance of the clerks on local patronage was, of course, a recipe for embezzlements and extortions, and by the early 1580's there were plans to convert the post into one filled for life by royal appointment.

⁴⁷ In the mid-1560's we hear of no fortress, see Mestre AFONSO, *Ytinerario...*, *loc. cit.*, 136f., but J. NEWBERIE (1578-82), *The Voyages...*, *loc. cit.*, 460, mentions a small Portuguese garrison. See also *DRI* III, 173f.: King Philip II to Viceroy D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, dated Lisboa 3/1/1615, based on a report by Jeronimo de Quadros, commander of the "fortaleza de Comorão".

⁴⁸ Portuguese officials shared that view: *DRI* I, 218ff.: King Philip II to Viceroy D. Martim Affonso de Castro, dated Lisboa 15/3/1608, referring to a letter of the Captain at Hormūz: "...por a fortaleza de Bandel não ter d'isso mais que o nome, obriga a sua defesa com muito trabalho e risco, sendo assi que a não tem, por ser feita de adobes e somente para as cafilas que veem acharem algum gasalhado antes de passarem a Ormuz; e que lhe parece se devia deribar ou ao menos pôr em estado que não tivesse esse nome fazendo em seu logar hūas casas fortes, como feitoria, com tudo o mais que hoje tem para gasalhado das cafilas...".

⁴⁹ See N. STEENSGAARD (1973), 250ff., on the basis of documents in the Archivo General de Simancas. The same information can be found in the correspondence between King and Viceroy in *DRI* I-II.

⁵⁰ *DRI* III, 290ff.: King Philip II to Viceroy D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, dated 5/3/1615, based on a letter from D. Luis De Gama, *capitão* of Hormūz. ANTT Misc. 1109, fl.58ff.: "*Instrumento da f.^{za} de Comorão*" contains eye-witness accounts relating to the loss of Gomrūn, see also A. BOCARRO, *Decada XIII da história da Índia*, ed. R.J. De Lima FELNER, 2 vols., Lisboa 1876, 344ff.

⁵¹ See BNL FG cod.580: "Embaixada mandada par Felipe III da Hespanha ao scha da Persia, em que foi por embaixador D.Garcia de Silva y Figueroa". In 1616/17, the governor of Bandar-e 'Abbās was Qāsem Beğ ("Çağın Bec"), see D.G.De SILVA Y FIGUEROA (1703-05), *Comentarios de la embajada que de parte del rey de España Don Felipe III hizo al rey Xa Abas de Persia*, Madrid [new ed. 2 vols., Madrid 1903], vol.1, 271.

⁵² IOR E/3/2/159, fl.267r-269r: "Noate of the portes in Perscia observed from Sr. Robertt Sherley", dated Ajmer 1614. The document has "Damone" which I read as Nāband; for pre-XVIIth century historical geography see J. AUBIN (1973), 109f.

Hormūz, that the port city acquired a significant commercial function in addition to its importance as a centre of transport coordination.

Bandar-e ‘Abbās acquired its new name after the occupation of Hormūz at the latest⁵³. In the following decades, the port grew steadily from pitiful beginnings to a not insignificant settlement of some 1.400-1.500 houses⁵⁴. Some houses were of hewn stone, others of quarry or rubble-stone, for some stone from the ruins at Hormūz had been used, but the traditional building materials, humble brickwork with limemortar and huts from datefronds, dominated the scene⁵⁵. It is difficult, however, to arrive at a clear picture of the built environment in the port city. The larger buildings discernible in historical sketches⁵⁶ inevitably show *bādgīrs*⁵⁷. The most important merchants had their own storehouses, and a surviving manuscript plan of the Dutch factory⁵⁸ confirms that those owned by the European Companies, their major partners, and the chief brokers, had spacious courtyards for storage and loading of pack animals. In common with the other Persian Gulf ports Bandar-e ‘Abbās offered no constructions especially designed to facilitate loading or unloading merchant vessels⁵⁹. In fact, it was a road-stead rather than a harbour. Large vessels could come as close as 0.5 miles to the beach whence small local crafts

⁵³ ESKANDAR BEĞ, *Tārīḫ-e ‘Ālam-arā-ye ‘Abbāsī...*, loc.cit., 979ff./1200ff.; similarly, P. DELLA VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 466: "Combrù ...che hoggi dai Persiani, posto quasi a parte il nome antico, vien detto il porto Abbassino".

⁵⁴ See J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.9, 234.

⁵⁵ Some information is given in the context of the earthquake on January 14th, 1645, which killed some 200 inhabitants, see ARA VOC 1152, fl.78rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 11/3/1645; for historic seismicity see also N.N. AMBRASEYS / C. MELVILLE (1982), *A History of Persian Earthquakes*, Cambridge.

⁵⁶ We have seen three reasonably accurate depictions of late-XVIIth/early-XVIIIth century Bandar-e ‘Abbās: E. KAEMPFER (1712), *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediarum fasciculi V*, Lemgo, 759; a painting, attributed to C. De Bruyn, of ca. 1705, in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, and a sketch *ibid.*, Afd. Kaarten / Tekeningen. The topographical information therein contained is not consistent enough to allow the drawing of a historical map of the city. G. SCHWEIZER (1973), has the customs house as Dutch factory in Fig.3 and as Portuguese factory in Fig.4a.

⁵⁷ F. MARTIN (1665-94), *Mémoires de ~, fondateur de Pondicherry*, 3 vols., ed. A. MARTINEAU, Paris 1931-1934, vol.1, 213.

⁵⁸ ARA, Afd. Kaarten en Tekeningen, VEL 865.

⁵⁹ L. LOCKHART (1958), 377, claims that "a wharf one mile in length was built along the sea-front". He does not reveal his source and sketches of late-XVIIth century Bandar-e ‘Abbās show no such construction. ARA VOC 1170, fl.862rff.: A. Barentsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/1/1649 says that the governor of Lār, ‘Evaz Beğ, had dug "langhs de strant verscheyde loopgravens". In the early 1660's, when Bandar-e Kong was ruled effectively by the *hāns* of Lār we hear of a rampart built to defend settlement and ships against attacks by pirates, see M. GODINHO (1665), *Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar vindo da Índia por Portugal*, Lisboa, new ed. A. Machado Guerreiro, 1974, 123.

were used for embarkation and disembarkation⁶⁰, a welcome source of income for the local economy which was otherwise by-passed by much of the activity in the port⁶¹.

There had always been a number of alternative entrypoints to the Iranian mainland for all those desiring to circumvent the Portuguese (and later the Safavid) customs house. Even during the later 1620's these ports continued to compete: spices and pepper were unloaded not only in Bandar-e 'Abbās, but also in ports such as Ġāsk, Bandar-e Kong, Nāhīlū, whence Persian merchants carry them to markets in Lār, Šīrāz, and Ešfahān⁶². Ġāsk⁶³, situated at the Westernmost end of the Makrān coast, and Kūhestak, opposite Ra's Musandam, were variously considered as ports of call during the earliest EIC expeditions, because they were believed to offer safety from Portuguese armadas. The English considered inaugurating a route from Ġāsk to Central Iran via Kermān where they believed they could enter the carpet trade⁶⁴. This proved impractical and both ports were soon discarded because of their eccentric position compared to the connecting caravan tracks to and from Central Iran⁶⁵. Ports further East were only used in emergencies⁶⁶. Settlements on the opposite coast and near Al-Hasab were found to be poor and to afford no trade opportunities at all⁶⁷. Further North, Nāhīlū was harbour to a large number of small crafts and vessels, which continued the area's long tradition of local trade and maritime protection racket⁶⁸. In the 1620's the port was known as a "*porto franco*" on the Iranian coast

⁶⁰ ARA VOC 1084, fl.107rff.: A. Becker, "*Corte remonstrantie...*", ca.1624.

⁶¹ Lighters to transport goods between shore and ships usually were available at Ma.20, see e.g. ARA VOC 1144, fl.495Arff.: Invoice "*Pauw*", dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 14/5/1634. Porters and men who handled the bales while they were being weighed in the presence of the *šāhbandar* also had to be employed, *ibid*.

⁶² See ARA VOC 1094, fl.386r-407r, fl.406rff.: *Daghregister* Dirck van der Lee, 4/8/1627-1/6/1628.

⁶³ See IOR E/3/4/434: T. Doughty, a/b *James*, to London, dated 26/2/1616-17 and IOR E/3/4/437: E. Connoek et al., Ġāsk, to Surat, dated 19/1/1616-17, for an unreasonably positive assessment of the trading opportunities of the place.

⁶⁴ IOR E/3/7/835, fl.107rff.: E. Monnox et al., Ešfahān, to Surat, dated 3/3/1619.

⁶⁵ Considerations of the relative merits of these two ports can be found in the correspondence relating to the early EIC voyages to Iran, published in *LR* and *EFF*.

⁶⁶ IOR E/3/10/1157: Letter of J. Purefey, Ešfahān, dated 18/4/1624 (?), on the overland journey of Diu and Sindi merchants from "Cape Guadill" across the territory devastated by the Makrānī rebellion.

⁶⁷ ARA VOC 1153, fl.586rf.: W. Geleynsz., aboard "*Delffshaven*", to Batavia, dated 4/11/1645: "Gijdiij" could be Qīda, "Boha" is Bahā.

⁶⁸ Contrary to the widely held belief that the Persians depended for any naval operation entirely on European assistance, Portuguese intelligence from ca.1610 believe that Safavid Iran could muster up to 800 *embarcações* from coastal settlements, see *DRI* II, 103-105. Nāhīlū vessels were important allies of the Safavids during the expedition that

and some Armenian traders had reasons to prefer disembarking at Nahīlū rather than at one of the larger ports on their return from Masqaṭ⁶⁹. Bandar-e Rīg had no Safavid customs house. Traffic through this uncontrolled port grew chiefly due to shipping arriving from Masqaṭ which tried to escape the defrayment of customs duties⁷⁰. At one point it was believed to bring about the ruin of Bandar-e ʿAbbās; consequently, it had been forcibly closed for foreign trade in 1666⁷¹.

As most data on operations in port cities stem from European Company records, who forged semi-political relationships with "state" agencies, we can catch some glimpses of commercial exchange in environments at least partly governed by (and, by extension, in contravention of) formal agreements. Conversely, most trade under unregulated conditions which obtained in minor ports less controlled by non-local authorities and less regularly visited by Company carriers largely escapes our gaze. However, it seems that alongside a certain moment of inertia conscious decisions of the court determined the choice of Bandar-e ʿAbbās as main Persian Gulf port of the Safavid empire.

led to the seizure of Qešm and Hormūz and for securing communication with Bahrayn, see L. CORDEIRO (1936), *Questões Histórico-Coloniais*, 3 pts., Lisboa, pt.3, 346f.

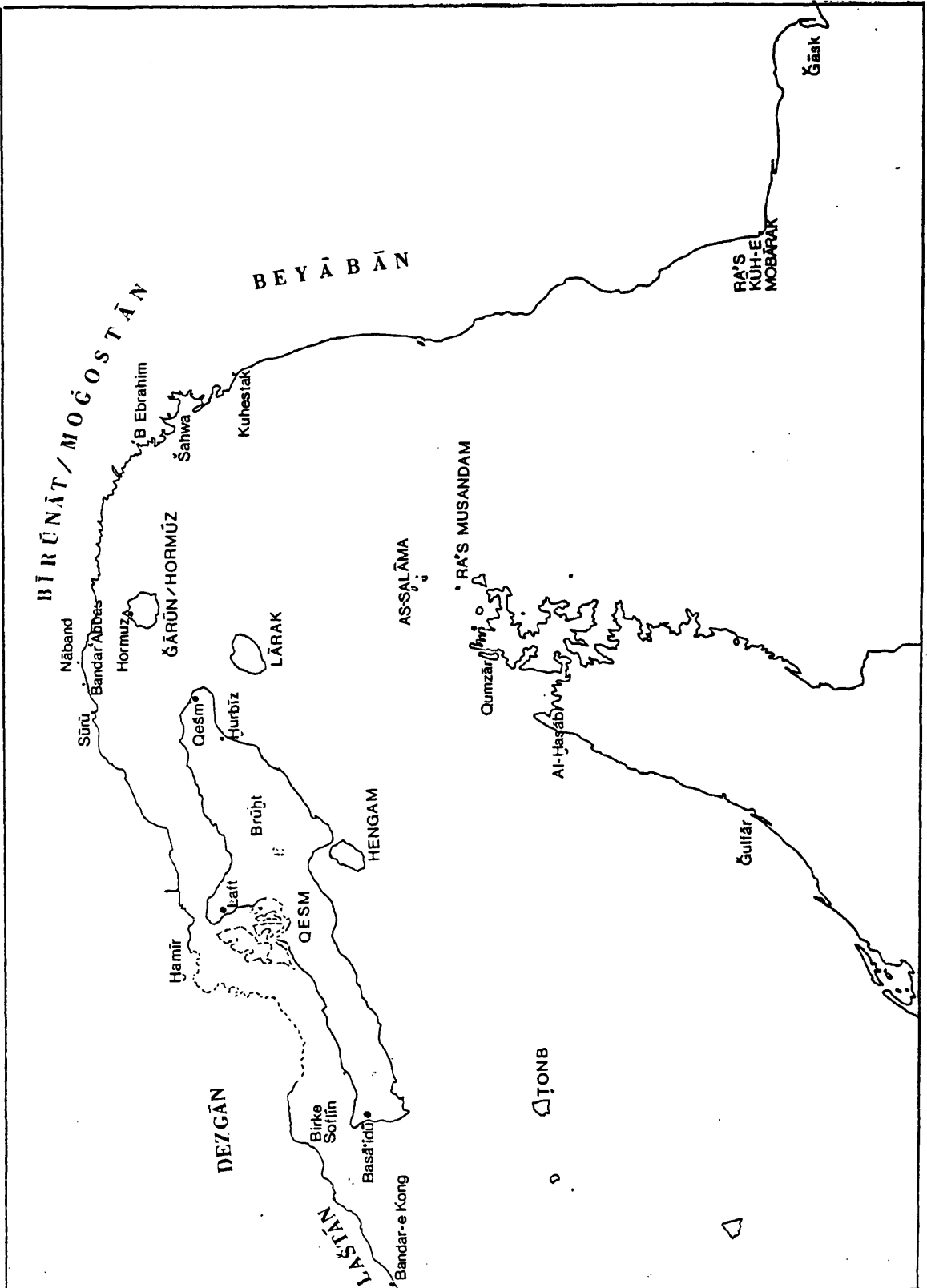
⁶⁹ See P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.4, 363.

⁷⁰ ARA VOC 1242, fl.1087r-1093v, fl.1091r: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, 20/6/1664: "Ons is bericht dat in Masschatta dit Jaar ter merckt geweest, als die daar gepasseert sijn 125 soo scheepen als fregatten, eenige berooten tselve op 150 welcke goederen aldaar maar een cleene recognitie betaalen, en meest in Persien vertiert werden, werdende deselve op banderryck en andere seeplaetsen daar den Coninck geen tholle huysen heeft aen gebracht, en met een cleentje aan den lant heer uijt te keeren, sonder thol te betaalen, int lant gevoert, het welcke den handel en s'coninck incomsten alhier seer verachtet."

⁷¹ For the customs régime at Bandar-e Rīg see below and also ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, 9/1/1665; see for the (temporary) closure of the port ARA VOC 1251, 1325ff.: *do.*, dated 6/4/1666.

Map 8

The Straits of Hormūz



Soltāns and Šāhbandars in Safavid Bandar-e ‘Abbās

In the wake of the Hormūz expedition, higher offices in Bandar-e ‘Abbās’ rudimentary administration were divided as spoils among the commanding officers and their relatives⁷²: in 1622/23, the commander of the fortress of Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Allāhverdī Soltān, was the brother of the new *šāhbandar*, Naqdī Beğ. Emām Qolī Beğ, generalissimus of the *Hān* of Fārs, had his brother, Ṭahmāsp Qolī Beğ, commander of the garrison Mīnāb, promoted to the post of governor at Lār⁷³. What at first glance appears as a power and career structure firmly rooted in regional family connections seems to have been a fruit of the newly implanted Safavid élite of Šāh ‘Abbās’ creation and to suggest emerging *golām* networks which thanks to the rotating system soon developed the semblance of a bureaucracy⁷⁴. In the following decades, *soltān* and *šāhbandar* were initially named by the *Hān*, then directly from the imperial centre and court patronage became crucial for appointments before, later in the century, the offices were leased as taxfarms.

Both *soltān* and *šāhbandar* were thus political appointments, both were coveted as opportunities for personal enrichment. Formally, the *soltān* was the superior authority. The exact extension of the governorship of "Bandar-e mobārake-ye ‘Abbāsī" is difficult to establish but comprised dozens of villages and smaller cities in the immediate Northern and Eastern hinterland of Moğostān. The territory of Lārestān began only some three miles West of the port⁷⁵, while, to the East, Makrān was only loosely integrated into the empire⁷⁶. Mortazā Qolī Beğ, who was governor of Bandar-e ‘Abbās for at least four years around 1670, tried to subject Kīč-o-Makrān through prolonged military campaigns East of Ġāsk and laid long sieges to some Bālūčī strongholds. Troops were conscripted in Mīnāb and Moğostān, reinforcement were sent from Lār and Šīrāz, but the costly exercise eventually ruined the province’s finances and had to be

⁷² These officials feature, of course, prominently in both the IOR and the ARA documentation. P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, is also very detailed and contains some additional material on kinship relations.

⁷³ Probably it was he (and not his namesake who was *soltān* of Bandar-e ‘Abbās in 1651/52, as suggested in C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc. cit.*, 125) at whose expense a resting place was erected at Dehgerdū on the winter route from Šīrāz to Ešfahān; on other infrastructural improvements on this route and alternative routes as well as strategic population movements similarly carried out by Emām Qolī Hān’s command, see R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier...*, *StIr*.

⁷⁴ R. MATTHEE (1991), 334, suggests on the basis of *GM* II, 770-819, 803, that only Hoseyn Beğ and his son Moḥammad Amīn Beğ in the 1650’s were the first *golāms* who filled the post of *šāhbandar*.

⁷⁵ ARA VOC 1241, fl.631rff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 17/3/1664; this is confirmed by the late XVIIth century travellers.

⁷⁶ See K. RÖHRBORN (1968), 12, 74, 82f.

abandoned without lasting result⁷⁷. The *šahbandar*, on the other hand, was in charge of the customs house. Both *solṭān* and *šahbandar* were assisted by substitutes (*ḡānešīn*) who often acted of their own accord and not always to the letter of their instructions. However, it is only in the second half of the XVIIth century, that cautious mutual surveillance gave way to rivalry and even armed clashes. We also sometimes hear of a *kalāntar*, who was perhaps a local man⁷⁸. With all these officials, annual presents were exchanged, preferably towards the end of the trading season to ensure their civil behaviour⁷⁹. The *qāẓī*, too, maintained considerable independence and often protected the local population - Muslim and non-Muslim alike - against prevarications of incumbent officials⁸⁰.

The history of appointments mirrors the rise and fall of influential groups at court, but also the shifting balance of power between periphery and centre. In the mid-1640's the governor of Lār 'Evāz Beḡ played a part in supporting candidates: in 1645, he arrived at the port after the end of hostilities with the Dutch as the first high official and earlier than the newly appointed *solṭān*, in 1649, he ordered one of his officials to act as *solṭān* while the designate still was on his way to the port⁸¹. During the years, in which family and protégés of Grand Vizir Moḥammad Beḡ dominated these offices (see figure), large scale embezzlements and oppression of merchants had become regular occurrences in Bandar-e 'Abbās to the point of driving away part of the ports business⁸². This coincided with a somewhat reduced volume of shipping at

⁷⁷ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1024rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1672; ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: *do.*, dated 29/4/1673. Many men and families fled Kīč-o-Makrān for Masqat, see ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff., fl.482v: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 20/2/1674.

⁷⁸ ARA VOC 1226, fl.807rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/4/1658, where the "calantaer" was in charge of the customs house during the absence of the *šahbandar*. ARA VOC 1241, fl.572rff., especially fl.576v: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/2/1664: "Calantaar, sijnde voorspraack van de burgerije".

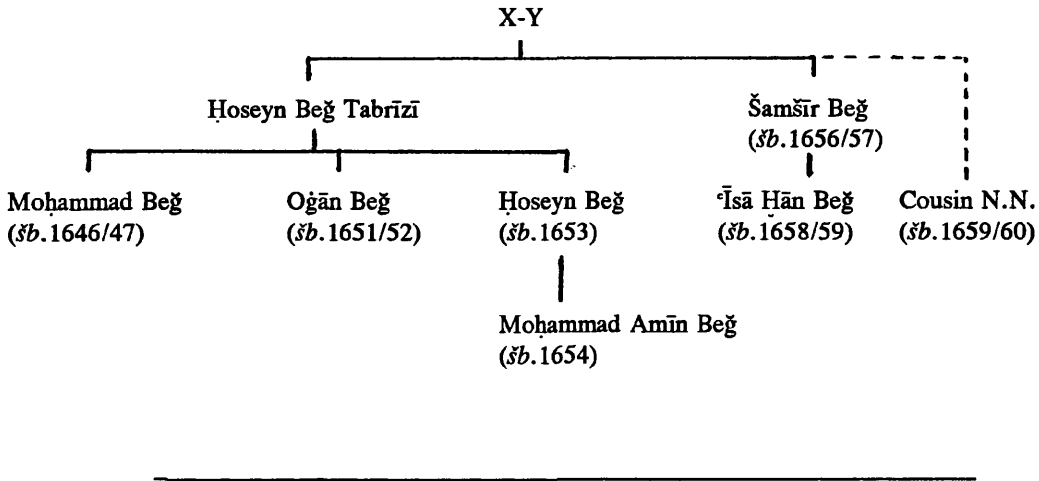
⁷⁹ ARA VOC 1324, fl.684rff.: "Memoire" D. Sarcerius, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās May 1655.

⁸⁰ ARA VOC 1323, fl.682r: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Esfahān, dated 11/12/1677, where he protects a local Banyan merchant and the wife of a former *ḡānešīn* Ġā'far Beḡ against extortions of the new governor's lieutenant.

⁸¹ ARA VOC 1162, fl.190rff.: "Daghregister" N. Verburgh/W. Bastincq (1646/47). More particularly ARA VOC 1152, fl.232rff.: "Daghregister" W. Bastincq 1645; ARA VOC 1170, fl.862rff.: A. Barentsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/1/1649. In a letter to Šāh 'Abbās II the Dutch wrote of conflicts with "Gauwer Aga, weesende maer een slaeff van den lhaerschen Gouverneur Ewasbeecq". By 1652, Ġouhar Āḡā had become "vice-gouverneur" of Bandar-e Kong, see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc. cit.*, 45, *ibid.*, 340, "seconde persoon des gouverneurs van Lār".

⁸² ARA VOC 1226, fl.807rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/4/1658: the Banyan merchants were intimidated, their wives and daughters taken hostage, and protection money demanded, e.g. from the brokers "Sit Sian", "Tackelij" (EIC), "Rauwel" and "Kimsij" (VOC) 1.800 and 600 *ūmān* respectively, a total of 3.249 *ūmān*.

Figure 7

Šāhbandars at Bandar-e ʿAbbās from the Family of Grand Vizir Moḥammad Beğ

Bandar-e ʿAbbās in the early 1650's, when the Anglo-Dutch and Luso-ʿUmānī wars rendered the straits of Hormūz dangerous and the Mughals first prevented ships from calling at Bandar-e ʿAbbās during the Mughal-Safavid wars⁸³ and later attempted to capture the freight trade between their ports and the Persian Gulf for themselves. After Moḥammad Beğ's fall from grace it seems that ʿEvāz Beğ succeeded to have one of his sons designated *solṭān*⁸⁴, but from the mid-1660's, Safavid courtiers were appointed to the two highest posts in the port⁸⁵. Expenses for their extravagant and costly retinue ran high⁸⁶ and soon outstripped the means of local residents, half of whom fled the ensuing extortionate régime. All this coincided with years of famine and harvest

⁸³ The trade embargo was not respected by the Mughal governor at Surat *GM* II, 403-444, 414: C. Reijnders, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 10/12/1650, but freight revenue even on Dutch ships fell 50% (to fl.20.000) compared to the previous and following years. According to *EFT* VII, 307: President Merry, Suhali, to London, dated 20/3/1650, restrictions only applied to Mughal subjects. ARA VOC 1185, fl.614rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 29/8/1650, adds that voyages to Al-Baṣra were allowed, which prompted Safavid authorities at Bandar-e ʿAbbās to force two passing Mughal and three private ships into their port. Much of their cargo of 1.460 bales of textiles, 1.030 bales of indigo and 530 bales gumlac and numerous bags of Lahori sugar was confiscated.

⁸⁴ ARA VOC 1236, 773ff.: Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 3/9/1661.

⁸⁵ ARA VOC 1239, fl.1685r-v: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amīr Saʿīd Ḥasan (?) *sagbān-bāšīr* ("master of the kennels"), *šāhbandar* 1662/63, ca.1663.

⁸⁶ ARA VOC 1241, fl.572rff., especially fl.576v: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/2/1664, on his arrival "met sulcken sleep van dienaers, en gevolgh, dat dese plaats hem geen maant met sijn gevolgh en paarden sal connen voeden, ...voor deesen de Gouverneurs ...ten hoogsten met 8 a 10 personen verselt, dese aancomende heer heeft er meer als 200 personen achter hem reijden."

failures and the 1660's were a decade in which revenues transferred to the treasury fell to an unprecedented low. Perhaps as a reaction to this deplorable state, which saw an important source of income melt away, the *šāhbandar*ship were farmed out for longer periods from the early 1670's onwards. But again, family links between the new groups dominating the ports and the governors in Lār and elsewhere in Southern Fārs can be observed. In June 1669 Moḥammad 'Alī Beḡ had succeeded his father, who had bought the "šāhbandarship over all ports of the empire" for 23.000 *tūmān*, but for some time at least his uncle, the governor of Lār had control over the ports⁸⁷. However, family connections were put under some strain when significant changes in the administration of the ports gave rise to conflicts between the incumbents in Lār and the ports⁸⁸. For neighbouring Iranian ports this unification of government control created a new situation and for Bandar-e Kong in particular there was a real danger of losing much of the traffic it had attracted during the mid-1660's⁸⁹. The profitability of the taxfarm at Bandar-e 'Abbās was also believed to be put in jeopardy by trade through Bandar-e Rīg: not long before, Šāh 'Abbās II had confirmed the right of local *šayḥs* on the coasts of Fārs and Daštastān to collect revenues in their local ports. This could be read as a decision to endorse the position of ports unregulated by central government control, such as Bandar-e Rīg, where English vessels had begun to export Iranian goods. Eventually, the port was temporarily closed for foreign trade in 1666⁹⁰.

By the mid-1670's, the development had almost come full circle since the fall of Hormūz, albeit under a different sovereign: port officials in Bandar-e 'Abbās such as *solṭān* Nāṣr 'Alī Hān

⁸⁷ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Tatwān, to Batavia, dated 15/8/1670. R. MATTHEE (1991), 353, ranks the sale of long-term *šāhbandar*ships among the "revenue-enhancing measures taken by [*scil.*: *e'temād od-doule*] Šayḥ 'Alī Hān shortly after taking office in 1669".

⁸⁸ Intrigues of the Lārī *kalāntar* soon forced the new *šāhbandar* to pay a further 1.500 *tūmān p.a.* to the royal treasury to retain his post, see ARA VOC 1279, fl.954rf.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/5/1672. In 1677/78, the taxfarm of the *šāhbandar* of all seaports cost 25.200 *tūmān*, see ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/2/1678.

⁸⁹ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2296rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/10/1670: "om dat het sabandaerschip van alle de havenen aen een verzeelt is geweest soo hebben in congo geen goederen van buyten aengekommen mogen gelost werden, maar sijn alle schepen gedwongen van daer tot deser rhede te komen waer de goederen oock gelost sijn".

⁹⁰ ARA VOC 1245, fl.364r-370v, fl.366v: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 9/1/1665. It can not be decided here whether the *šayḥs*' privileges were merely means of ensuring the loyalty of border provinces in the face of renewed Ottoman designs to recapture; *ibid.* on English trade, see also the complaints to be found in EIC documents on ill-treatment at Bandar-e 'Abbās and on the proliferation of local shipping, IOR G/36/2: Consultations 29/3/1665; and the earlier entries in J. BRUCE (1810), vol.2, 145f.; see for the closure ARA VOC 1251, 1325ff.: *do.*, dated 6/4/1666.

dictated local retail prices for foodstuffs⁹¹, interfered with trade on a unprecedented scale⁹². He was eventually accused of having extorted up to 60.000 *tūmān* from merchants⁹³. In 1677, the oppression of surrounding villages at the hand of Safavid officials led many to flee to neighbouring territories⁹⁴. In 1681, the chief Persian merchants Mīrzā Yūsuf, Ḥāǧǧī Kerbelā'ī (both based in Šīrāz) and Mīrzā Nabīl did not travel beyond Ġahrom when they learnt about the *šāhbandar*'s intention to participate in the season's trade⁹⁵.

Before the fall of Portuguese Hormūz no customs were levied at Gomrūn, "but there is a certain toll taken of every beast's lading of goods which goeth out of the kingdom of Perscia, which the king commandeth for the payment of soldiers, to keep the country free from thieves..."⁹⁶. Safavid Bandar-e 'Abbās adopted the customs régime of Hormūz, the basic principles of which remained unchanged in the course of the XVIIth century: On imports the duty was 10% *ad valorem*⁹⁷, a rate that also applied to most exports except for raw silk for which

⁹¹ ARA VOC 1313, fl.568rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 1/4/1675. See also DR XXVIII, 539f.: Arrival "*Delfshaven*" with F.L. Bent, Batavia 26/11/1679: "hebbende de arme Gamronze gemeente met sacken vol klachten over den schraeksughtigen hartogh ten hove niet uyt kunnen rechten, 't geen hun ook soo baloorigh hadde gemaect dat het tot een gemeene revolutie scheen uyt te sullebn barsten, indien hy niet bytyts in zyn gouverno vervangen wiert off sigh beter quam aen te stellen". When he returned to the port in December 1679, "d'ingesetenen op de tydinge van zyn terughkomste uyt vrese voor zyne turannige regeringe van de omleggende dorpen 8 a 900 mannen by malcanderen hadden versamelt om hem het hooft te bieden en het incomen te beletten; doch dien onrustigen hoop door zyne schoone beloften van minsamer regeringe bevredigt en gerustgesteld zynde, soo had hy ondertusschen getragt de hoofden ofte voornaemste aenvoerders van 't grauwy by de kop te vatten, en ten welcken eynde hy oocq 4 a 500 soldaten uyt de fortresse geligt an deselve besett hadde, als wanneer zyne tegenstreevers haer omcingelt en hun nakend gevaer siende dapper waren ingevallen alsoo dat aen wederzyden eenige doot en gequest en de Hartoghs volck aen 't retireren raackte, waerdoor doen d'andere ruymte kregen om zyne vrede handt te ontluchten, en waernede dan dien inlandsen oorlogh sonder verder gevolg soodanigh was blyven berusten...", see DR XXIX, 514f.

⁹² ARA VOC 1323, fl.685r: R. Casembroot, Eṣfahān to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 23/1/1678, on a *fermān* of Šāh Suleymān which reiterates the ban on interference in commercial affairs, repeated in June 1678, see ARA VOC 1340, fl.1595vf.

⁹³ ARA VOC 1330, fl.967rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/8/1677. J. FRYER (1698), *loc.cit.*, vol.2, 302.

⁹⁴ See ARA VOC 1323, fl.682r: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Eṣfahān, dated 11/12/1677.

⁹⁵ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 26/7/1681.

⁹⁶ LR II, 145ff.: R. Sherley, Ajmer, October 1614 (with a note from Th. Kerridge) (also: IOR E/3/2, fl.267rff.).

⁹⁷ See e.g. ARA VOC 1113, fl.76v: Report M.v.d. Trille, June 1634. BGP 464ff.: "*Resolutie*" dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 15/3/1634, argues on the basis of 11% import and export duties. Probably this figure includes internal taxes levied along the roads between Eṣfahān and the ports. Customs duties on the overland routes to India amounted to no more than 2-3%, see ARA VOC 1115, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 9/8/1634.

13.5% were charged⁹⁸. From the mid-1650's attempts were made to organise the customs régime more efficiently: in 1654, a number of new customs houses, perhaps four or five, were erected to better prevent customs evasion during the long periods cargoes usually had to wait before they could be inspected: perhaps as a result customs revenue rose to some 20.000 *tūmān* in 1655/56⁹⁹. In 1656, an inscription was placed over the portal of the customs house which decreed the royal confirmation of a 1.75% increase of the tariff which had been levied customarily for years¹⁰⁰. A report on the customs tariff in 1671 reveals a differentiated structure of duties: although most import goods paid 10% *ad valorem*, special rates applied to some products such as textiles, benjamin, tin, cotton yarn and fine silk (Ma.10.75 + 2 *dīnār*), curcuma, pepper, lac, "mirabolaen", hides, cassia, yellow dyestuff (7.5%), indigo (Ma.6.5 + 4 *dīnār*), candy sugar (Ma.10.25 + 3 pice), oil (Ma.8), cotton (Ma.5.5), "foelie" and nutmeg (Ma.10.5 + 4 pice), sappanwood (Ma.8 + 2 pice), rice, timber, entire cocoanuts (Ma.8.75), agilwood, sandalwood, tobacco (Ma.13.75) and Arabian loaf sugar (Ma.5 per ca.89kg)¹⁰¹.

Our sources are relatively silent about the share officials were supposed legally to deduct from the declared customs revenue. The *Tazkirat al-molūk* has a centrally paid salary of 4.860 *tūmān* for the governor of Bandar-e ʿAbbās, but gives no figure for the *šāhbandar*¹⁰². The *šāhbandar* was personally in charge of the administration of the Safavid customs house. When in 1666 the new appointee died on his way to the coast the goods of a Muslim-owned Bengali vessel and other freight goods could not be released from the storehouses for inspection¹⁰³. This post offered ample opportunities for personal enrichment: in 1664, the new *šāhbandar* Mortazā Qolī Beğ, previously *qahvečī-bāšī* of Šāh ʿAbbās II, was instructed to investigate the dramatic fall of customs revenue - from up to 28.000 *tūmān* under Šāh ʿAbbās I to 3.-5.000 in the early

⁹⁸ ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rff.: A. van Oostende, Esfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 13/2/1641. ARA VOC 1152, fl.240rff.: "Daghregister" L. Winnings (Sept./Oct.1645) speaks of 14% *ad valorem*; see also F. MARTIN (1665-94), *Memoires...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.2, 369.

⁹⁹ *EFF* VIII, 255ff.: H. Young, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 31/3/1654. For 1656: ARA VOC 1210, fl.906r-911v, especially fl.910v: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 3/6/1656.

¹⁰⁰ ARA VOC 1210, fl.839rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 22/4/1656.

¹⁰¹ ARA VOC 1274, fl.741r: Report on customs tariff at Bandar-e ʿAbbās, enclosed in L.v.d. Dusse to Amsterdam, dated 22/4/1671. The document does not give the unit or weight for which flat rates were levied. All exports paid 3.25%.

¹⁰² See MĪRZĀ SAMĪʿĀ, *Tazkirat al-molūk*, *loc.cit.*, 105, 109. E. KAEMPFER (1712), *Amoenitatum...*, *loc.cit.*, is probably mistaken in claiming for the 1680's that *šāhbandars*, who filled the post for only one year at a time, received an annual salary and had to remit all customs revenue to the royal treasury.

¹⁰³ ARA VOC 1251, 1325ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/4/1666.

1660's. In harmony with a policy aimed at limiting untaxed imports by the Europeans he first believed that "colouring", i.e. the practice of private merchants to import goods free of customs under arrangements reserved for the Companies, was at the root of the problem. But it was widely known that the *šāhbandars* of Moḥammad Beğ's family were to be held responsible¹⁰⁴. In 1669/70, the *šāhbandar* and his subordinates would levy additional duties amounting to 7% *ad valorem*¹⁰⁵. There was a range of further fees and taxes that needed to be rendered: 4% to the supervisor of the public scales (a post to be leased annually for 120 *tūmān*), 2% to inspectors of the goods, an anchorage fee (flat rate of 7 *tūmān* per vessel), Ma.45 per craft hired for disembarkation (used to be Ma.20-29), Ma.5 to the beach guards, as well as 12% export duties for dried fruit¹⁰⁶. Not surprisingly, merchants cherished hopes of a less conflictual tenure when newly appointed officials were known to be wealthy individuals¹⁰⁷. In the 1670's, a flurry of measures taken to stimulate trade while at the same time securing constant revenue included a suggestion to abolish all internal taxation on trade as long as merchants declared faithfully the imported goods they bought at Bandar-e ʿAbbās¹⁰⁸. But in 1680 we hear that *solṭān* and *šāhbandar* agreed to overevaluate all goods by a third to extract additional duties¹⁰⁹. The Dutch felt that were they subjected to normal procedures all their goods would inevitably fall into the hands of Safavid officials who would then become the chief merchants of the empire. Mortazā Qolī Beğ, *solṭān* of Bandar-e ʿAbbās, hoped that after the restitution of Qešm in 1685 friendly relations could be resumed with "the merchants on whom all welfare depends"¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁴ ARA VOC 1232, fl.368rf.: H.v. Wijcq et al., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/12/1660.

¹⁰⁵ ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 24/4/1670.

¹⁰⁶ ARA VOC 1370, fl.2476rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1681.

¹⁰⁷ ARA VOC 1253, 1688ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/9/1665.

¹⁰⁸ ARA VOC 1274, fl.746rf.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 10/9/1671; alternatively a 5% *ad valorem* was levied.

¹⁰⁹ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1925vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/3/1680.

¹¹⁰ ARA VOC 1430, fl.1549vf.: Mortazā Qolī Beğ, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to R. Casembroot, 15/7/1686 (*taq*).

Commerce and Credit at Bandar-e 'Abbās

Much of the commercial history of the Persian Gulf Area hinges on the the involvement of the "state" in trade. Networks of Indian and Middle Eastern merchants, on the other hand, who were instrumental in the shaping of commercial regions such as the Persian Gulf Area, are known at best in their broadest outlines. A better understanding of continuity and transformation of these networks in the face of competing Portuguese, North-West European Companies, interlopers and private traders may assist the analysis of characteristic cross-border foreland trade operations on which port cities relied. This in turn may help to better assess the part played by "state" agencies in plotting local frameworks for trade. The brief sketch that follows strives to present some information on non-Company and non-Armenian traders, and the underresearched involvement of subordinate Safavid officials in trade activities.

From the 1630's the Safavid court gradually retreated from foreign trade transactions at Bandar-e 'Abbās. While the East India Companies express satisfaction at the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hormūz, we hear different reactions from Armenian merchants who used to trade with Hormūz¹¹¹. Even after the abrogation of the so-called royal silk monopoly and as late as 1632, the capital endowment of Armenians trading at Bandar-e 'Abbās was considered insufficient if compared to the still potent Šāh's factors¹¹². But as more and more merchants from all over Iran converged on the port city liquidity at Bandar-e 'Abbās at the peak of the trading season was reported to be greater than in the capital¹¹³. Intermediate markets such as Lār, Šīrāz and even Ešfahān suffered¹¹⁴. Relations between merchants and "state" agencies continued to be close, around 1630 for example between the head of the Armenian community of New Ğolfā, H'āḡe Nazar, and Molā'em Beḡ, and between the Jewish merchant H'āḡe David

¹¹¹ BGP 196ff.: "De armoede onder de gemeente ende de schaersicheyt van penningen is soo groot (sedert het verlies van Ormous ende de oorloge op Candesaer [i.e.: Qandahār] ende babilonien, oock met het verlies van seve caffelen [BGP misreads: "castelen"] van Solfalijnen door den rebel Abbassa Passia aengeslaegen...". On the effects of Abāza Meḡmet Pāšā's rebellion on Anatolian trade see also A.H.De GROOT (1978), *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610-1630*, Leiden/Istanbul, s.v.. See also ARA VOC 1094, fl.390v: "Daghregister" D.van der Lee, 1627/28, who comments on the reduced frequency of journeys between the subcontinent and the Persian Gulf after 1622.

¹¹² ARA VOC 1109, fl.66rff.: W. De Leeuw, aboard "*Utrecht*", to Batavia, dated 10/8/1632. ARA VOC 1113, fl.51rff.: N. Overschie, Qazvīn, to Batavia, dated 27/7/1633, wrote: "Ick hebbe mijn leven geen lant gesien waer soo weynich coopliden sijn, ende is bij niemant comptant".

¹¹³ ARA VOC 1119, fl.928ff.: A. Smit, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 7/4/1636.

¹¹⁴ ARA VOC 1144, fl.589rff.: W. Geleynsz., Ešfahān, to Batavia, dated 4/9/1642: "...op de compste onser scheepen de coopl. van alle plaetsen daer verschijnen, en ijder coopt daer opinieert de meeste voordeelen aen te behaelen, voerende de zelve van do. gamron recht naer haer residentie plaetsen ofet daer deselve begeeren, sonder eens den wech van laar, chieraes, ofte spahan te gebruijcken, als eenel. degeene die darwaerts willen".

and Mīrzā Taqī, governor of Gīlān in the first years of Šāh Šafī¹¹⁵. Huseyn Beğ, *šāhbandar* at Bandar-e ‘Abbās in 1653 and subsequently assayer of the imperial mint in Eṣfahān, much as his counterparts in other ports, invested money in trading ventures: we hear of the equivalent of 100 *tūmān* entrusted to Ćelebī Muṣṭafā who plied trade with Surat¹¹⁶. Closer links existed between merchants of Persian descent and officials in Indian states, as we shall see in our discussion of the horse trade. The combination of their influence at Indian courts and their business interests in the Indo-Iranian trade severely restricted the VOC’s blockade-policy against Safavid ports¹¹⁷. H’āğē Abū ‘l-Rezā who was based in Šīrāz declined a Dutch invitation to carry raw silk to Al-Baṣra for he had to be careful not to incur the wrath of Safavid officials¹¹⁸. His prudence was rewarded: he became one of the more important merchants of Šīrāz and dealt with the governor of Lār, ‘Evāž Beğ¹¹⁹.

By the late 1630’s, merchants trading in Bandar-e ‘Abbās were known to form *ad hoc* cartels to keep down market prices for imports of Gujarati merchants¹²⁰. It is possible that initially Persian merchants could exploit a moment of weakness brought about for Indian exporters

¹¹⁵ On H’āğē Nazar: BGP 321ff.: “*Informatie...*”, H. Visnicht to A. Del Court, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās 28/2/1630; on H’āğē David: *ibid.*, 351ff., 357: A. Del Court, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 20/12/1630.

¹¹⁶ ARA VOC 1210, fl.891rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/9/1656. At one point in 1653, the EIC agents in Iran were forced to deposit 6.800 *tūmān* worth of coins with the *malek ot-toğğār* at Lār instead of sending it to India, see *EFI* VIII, 176f.: J. Spiller, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, dated 20/4/1653. The EIC were unable to remit bills of exchange to Surat except at their own risk, *EFI* VIII, 181ff.: J. Spiller, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to London, dated 6/5/1653. The *malek ot-toğğār* was given permission to use 1.000 *tūmān* of the money deposited as a loan for his own investments, *ibid.*, 188f.: J. Spiller, Šīrāz, to Surat, dated 11/7/1653. In the opposite direction, the Surat residency resorted to drawing a series of bills of exchange on their factory in Iran, which amounted to more than 6.000 *tūmān* in six months in 1654 alone.

¹¹⁷ ARA VOC 1152, fl.75r.: C. Blocq, off Lārak, to Amsterdam, dated 27/6/1645, on the dangers of the blockade, “vermits veele persiaenen met de Regenten van d’Indische hoven bemaechtschap zijn & veele daer woenen die hier negotieeren, vrij wat voeten in d’aerde hebben”. On this blockade see W. FLOOR (1980), *Het Nederlands-Iraanse Conflict van 1645, Verslagen en aanwinsten van de stichting Cultuurgeschiedenis van Nederlanders Overzee*, Amsterdam, 46-51.

¹¹⁸ ARA CWG 292a: D. Sarcerius, Al-Baṣra, to H’āğē Abū ‘l-Rezā and Qāsem Mīnā’(?), Šīrāz and Eṣfahān, dated 2/8/1645 (also: ARA VOC 1152, fl.262r). They received the merchants answer 6 weeks later per *šāfer* from Šīrāz. For the VOC expedition to explore alternatives to Safavid ports see also A. HOTZ (ed.) (1907), C.C. Roobacker’s *Scheepsjournaal Gamron-Basra 1645; de eerste reis der Nederlanders door de Perzische Golf*, *TKNAG* XXIV/3, 289-405.

¹¹⁹ ARA VOC 1190, fl.458v and fl.579v: “*Daghregister*” C. Speelman 1651/52. See also C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journaal...*, *loc.cit.*, 54, who describes him as “een vermogent man en die jaerlijcx ...van de Compagnie wel ‘t meeste gedeelte der specerijen handelt”. *Ibid.*, fl.455v, he appears as “wijnmaecker”. Thirty years later his position was strong enough to fight off threats from the governor of Šīrāz, see ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 28/2/1684.

¹²⁰ ARA VOC 1132, non-fol.: Factory Surat to A. Westerwolt, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 30/10/1639.

by Mughal-Safavid hostilities¹²¹, but the phenomenon of syndicates came to characterise much of Bandar-e ‘Abbās’ trade¹²² despite publicity of the sales¹²³. At one stage, a group of powerful merchants thought they could exclude less wealthy competitors by pressing importers to falsely publish offers and prices which were higher than those actually discussed¹²⁴. In difficult years, such as the mid-1660’s, these secret agreements threatened to force down wholesale prices in the port and it was always to the delight of the Company servants when a newly arrived competitor broke the tacit deals¹²⁵. In the case of the VOC, the most important wholesale buyers in the port city were, at the same time, the principal creditors in the capital: this constellation allowed them to dictate prices and gave them some clout even over Dutch monopoly commodities. In addition they would delay purchases until April/May (when the China ships were scheduled to arrive) thereby gaining a more complete insight into stocks while earning extra interest on their loans¹²⁶. Thus it seems as if commercial purchasing power in Safavid Iran was concentrated in few hands, and the only alternative to dealings with these powerful merchants were undesirable small scale retail operations¹²⁷. In the 1670’s Grand Vizir Šayḥ ‘Alī Ḥān tried to break the hold of these merchants over imports, initially by a futile attempt to introduce a universal first right of purchase for the Šāh, then by outlawing silent price agreements among the chief wholesale merchants¹²⁸. This was wholly unsuccessful, and for some seasons in the mid-

¹²¹ For further details see R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier ...*, *loc. cit.*

¹²² ARA VOC 1190, fl.461: "Dagregister" C. Speelman 1651/52 has a large cargo of sugars sold to a group of merchants. Fl.60.000 were to be paid at Eṣfahān at sight (10 days); the merchants mentioned are Ḥvāḡe Abū ‘l-Rezā draws on Mīrzā Šafī 600 *tūmān*, Hāḡḡī Qāsem on Mīrzā Ḥān 400 *tūmān*, Šayḥ Aḡmad Lārī on Moḡammad Moqūm 300 *tūmān*, Ḥvāḡe "Mondigaer" on "Killan ..." (*sic*) 100 *tūmān*, Yūsuf Yahūda on Yisraēl Efraīm 100 *tūmān*.

¹²³ ARA VOC 1278, fl.1843rff.: "Memorie" I. Goske, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās 28/4/1670.

¹²⁴ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1024rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1672. In the case of the VOC, negotiations of sales prices usually involved up to four meetings between seller and buyers, see ARA VOC 1349, fl.1688vff.: "Memorie" R. Casembroot, dated Eṣfahān 1/6/1679.

¹²⁵ ARA VOC 1232, fl.631rf.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 4/7/1661 and ARA VOC 1255, 879ff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/8/1667.

¹²⁶ ARA VOC 1135, fl.802rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1641. Repeatedly, VOC servants suggested a direct journey of the Taiwan ship to the Persian Gulf (without calling first at Surat), which would save one month, e.g. ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/6/1657.

¹²⁷ ARA VOC 1144, fl.582rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 30/6/1641.

¹²⁸ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/5/1671.

1670's Šayḥ Aḥmad Lārī cornered the import market for most VOC goods thanks to the connivance of the *šāhbandar* of Bandar-e 'Abbās¹²⁹.

Šayḥ Aḥmad was a merchant of considerable means and influence: he accepted a bill of exchange from the Dutch envoy J. Cunäus for expenses incurred during his stay at Lār and drew another one on Moḥammad Moqīm in Eṣfahān which amounted to fl.46.710 (ca.1.170 *tūmān*)¹³⁰; in 1653, it took him only a few hours to contract the entire VOC coffee cargo of the coming season. In spring 1656, he suggested advance purchases of the entire annual imports of Dutch sugar, copper and tin cargos at fixed prices for up to four years¹³¹. The VOC deemed Šayḥ Aḥmad Lārī, Abū 'l-Rezā Šīrāzī and Mīrzā Šafī who were the leading merchants on Bandar-e 'Abbās' import market important enough to receive annual presents just as Safavid officials in the port¹³². His operations in Iran extended North as far as Tabrīz¹³³, and his son followed him as one of the most prominent merchants of Iran¹³⁴. For wholesale merchants with their wideranging operations communication and information was crucial to adjust to changing political and market conditions: the Jewish merchant Zakarya from Kāšān, who operated from Eṣfahān, regularly informed his partners residing in his home-town about all important occurrences at court and in the capital¹³⁵. At Eṣfahān, Mīrzā Šafī, the business partner of Ḥ'āḡe Abū 'l-Rezā Šīrāzī received news of the arrival of VOC ships from Bengal and the Coromandel coast even before the Dutch. Since his partner had invested heavily in cheap, low quality sugar and a wide range of highly priced South East Asian spices, this piece of information was vital to his sales strategy in Iran¹³⁶. Šayḥ Aḥmad Lārī and other individual wholesale merchants or syndicates had the

¹²⁹ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1019rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/6/1672.

¹³⁰ C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc.cit.*, 55. Šayḥ Aḥmad Lārī, "een van d'aensienelijcxste der Compagnies ordonnaire negotianten" had built a large *kārwānsardī* just outside his hometown, *ibid.*, 46.

¹³¹ ARA VOC 1210, fl.910vf.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 3/3/1656.

¹³² ARA VOC 1324, fl.684rff.: "Memoire" D. Sarcerius, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās May 1655.

¹³³ ARA VOC 1201, fl.806r-814v, fl.813v: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 30/4/1653.

¹³⁴ ARA VOC 1297, fl.1013r-v: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 16/7/1675.

¹³⁵ BĀBĀ'Ī B. LOTF, *Ketāb-e Anūst*, ch.XXVI, see W. BACHER (1906-07), *Les Juifs de Perse au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles d'après les chroniques poétiques de Baba'i b. Loutf et de Baba'i b. Farhad*, *REJ* LI (1906), 121-136; 265-279; LII (1906), 77-96; 234-271; LIII (1907), 85-110.

¹³⁶ Data given in ARA VOC 1190, fl.375-633: "Dagregister" C. Speelman 1651/52, *passim* in numerous places.

entire Iranian market observed by agents, and could thus direct the flow of imported goods¹³⁷. Merchants would advance part of the commodities to regional wholesale dealers, who in turn would usually have to allow some time for retailing shopkeepers and peddlers to be able to clear their accounts. Provincial cities, such as Neyrīz or even Kermān, presented only rather limited markets for import goods¹³⁸. Traders who distributed their goods from cities across the surrounding countryside had to base all their dealings on credit¹³⁹. Thus almost all non-local non-retail business was based on forms of credit¹⁴⁰.

Across the Persian Gulf Area and the Arabian Seas bills of exchange and promissory notes were the motors of exchange. Loans and other forms of finance were well known and widely practised in Safavid Iran, and European records show credit relations with and among members of all religious communities¹⁴¹. Fiduciary money provided additional safety compared to the transfer of bullion and coins, which was also more expensive¹⁴²: in February 1652 Šayh Aḥmad, on his way from Lār to the coast, fell prey to highway robbers who took as much as 700 *tūmān* (fl.28.000) in specie¹⁴³. Risk-sharing and insurance was usually incorporated into the various partnership-contacts, which were the legal form taken by credit arrangements. For overland transport EIC and VOC insisted that their privileges included formulas holding local

¹³⁷ ARA VOC 1229, fl.869rff.: J. Willemsz. Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/9/1659: the merchants have "haar fachiets in alle lantstreecken boven Spahan tot d'uijterste grensen in't persisch gebied hebben leggen, Waar door machtich zijn groote Quantiteiten goederen jaarlijcx aande man te helpen."

¹³⁸ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 7/9/1682.

¹³⁹ ARA VOC 1259, 3385ff.: "Memorie" for H.De Lairese, 1665.

¹⁴⁰ There is no need here to discuss legal subterfuges (*ḥilāl*) which allowed pre-modern communities in Safavid Iran to circumvent restrictions and to disguise usury, see e.g. R. Du MANS (1660), 173f.; for the Armenians see E. HERZIG (1991), 238ff. Important for the use of credit in a XVIIth century local community is R. JENNINGS (1973), Loans and Credit in Early XVIIth Century Ottoman Judicial Records. The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri, *JESHO* XVI/2-3, 168-216. The classical study for Mughal India is I. HABIB (1964), Usury in Medieval India, *CSSH* VI/4, 393-419.

¹⁴¹ The assertion in B. FRAGNER (1986), Social and Internal Economic Affairs, *CHIr* VI, 491-567, 527, that commerce in post-Mongol Iran was exclusively cash-based is untenable.

¹⁴² See also J. RABINO (1892), Banking in Persia, *The Institute of Bankers* XIII/1, 1-56, who relates for late XIXth century: "A street porter will carry about £300 in silver, an ass load is about £600 in silver, a mule load... £800..., and a camel load £900... Consequently, to bring into a bank a sum of £25,000 would take 83 men, or 41 donkeys, or 31 mules, or 28 camels...". In the XVIIth century, caravans carrying ready money to similar and higher values were not uncommon. In cargo lists, coins and bullion appear alongside other goods, and we find some data on additional costs of sending money: E.g. ARA VOC 1185, fl.554rff.: "Factura" "De Os", dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 18/5/1651: for 32.800 rials (=Ma.229.600) the exporters paid the *ṣarrāf* Ma.229.5 (=1:1000). At Bandar-e ʿAbbās a wooden money chest cost Ma.10, money bags 2 *qazbegi* each, gunny ropes Ma.14, wages to sew in the coins Ma.5, and porters' wages Ma.1.5.

¹⁴³ ARA VOC 1190, fl.461r according to a letter by the VOC factory Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Esfahān.

governors answerable for losses caused by lack of security along the roads. Along the sealanes, piracy never ceased to be a problem and merchants tended to distribute their bullion over a number of ships to spread the risk¹⁴⁴.

Early in the XVIIth century, our sources point to high interest rates for commercial loans in Iran. However, during the XVIIth century and possibly due to the proliferation of non-bullion based transactions across the Arabian Seas, they fell to levels similar to those in Gujarat, perhaps the most important capital market in the area. In the context of the Arabian Seas, Iranian interest rates were high and European factories in Iran soon found ways to make merchants based in Gujarat accept bills of exchange drawn on Company residencies in India. Interest was charged according to the lower Surati rates (ca.12%), but both sides gained. Gujarati merchants who found it difficult to employ their proceeds in Iran saved 2% import duty for specie and 3% on seignorage in Mughal India¹⁴⁵ and reduced risks and high costs of transferring ready money from Iran to India. In 1638/39, the VOC alone drew 19 bills of exchange amounting to 6.850 *tūmān* on their Surati factory¹⁴⁶. In doing so, VOC servants hoped to free themselves from strangling credit obligations towards the chief merchants of Iran¹⁴⁷. Eventually, interest rates in Iran were brought down to levels similar to those in Surat¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁴ ARA VOC 1210, fl.932rff.: J. Barra, Al-Basra, to Surat, dated 22/9/1656: "...comptanten aen den wisselaer Mondas naen te consigneeeren ende op 5 schepen te verdeelen, te weten op de twee Jachten van Hasie Sjaesbeecq gen.t de Toockelij & Ilhaeij ijder 4000 Ra. opt schip de Hesdij toebehoorende Haga Mameth 4000 opt Jacht de Kerrimij eijgen sijnde van Saijet saetka 4000 & opt jacht de Kadderij (waarmede de selver vertrecken) soo veel als sal overschieten" [probably 8.-10.000].

¹⁴⁵ ARA VOC 1127, fl.74vf.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 1/3/1638.

¹⁴⁶ ARA VOC 1130, fl.1110ff.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Batavia, dated 20/4/1639. Interestingly, factors of the Gujarati merchant Nan Saraf had been instructed not to lend them more than 125 *tūmān*, see ARA VOC 1127, fl.142r-v: A. van Oostende, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 16/6/1638.

¹⁴⁷ ARA VOC 1135, fl.802rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1641.

¹⁴⁸ ARA VOC 1137, fl.258rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 18/1/1642: 12% for 300 *tūmān* to be repaid in Esfahān. ARA VOC 1229, fl.869r-v: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/9/1659, has interest rates of 9-12%. Late-XVIIth century Armenian documents confirm similar interest rates. P. van DAM, *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. F.W. STAPEL / C.W.van BOLTZELAER, 7 pts., s'Gravenhage 1928-54, II/3, 39, suggests that the decline of interest rates in India which had been observed during the XVIIth century was chiefly due to stricter control over accounting practices.

In a healthy commercial environment merchant networks allowed sale and purchase of goods on credit with payment effected wherever the parties agreed. In Iran, we hear of bills drawn on Eṣfahān, Bandar-e ʿAbbās and other cities, or, as shown above, on Indian market centres, according to political climate or commercial needs, and of credit lines linking

Table 1
Creditors of the VOC-factory Iran in 1637¹⁴⁹

Date	Creditor	Amount in <i>tūmān</i>	Coins		Interest	Due: where/when
			old	new		
6/11/1636	"Pantoldo"	100			20%	
23/5/1637	Ḥāḡḡī Naḡīb	1000		x	20%	
23/5/1637	Ḥāḡḡī Bakr "Duas"	750		x	20%	
7/6/1637	Ḥāḡḡī "Soubet"	200		x	20%	
14/6/1637	Ḥāḡḡī Maqṣūd	500		x	20%	
16/6/1637	Ḥāḡḡī Bakr "Duas"	250	240	10	20%	
16/6/1637	Rauwal (Bany.)	1000	x		15%	
17/6/1637	Ḥāḡḡī "Soubet"	700		x	20%	
1/7/1637	Isaac Boudet L'Estoille	585	reales		16%	Bandar-e ʿAbbās
5/7/1637	Isaac Boudet L'Estoille	250	150	100	20%	
5/7/1637	Rauwal (Bany.)	500	377	123	18%	
16/7/1637	Rauwal (Bany.)	700	x		18%	
22/7/1637	Ḥāḡḡī Naḡīb	500		x	20%	
16/8/1637	Rauwal (Bany.)	700	x		17.5%	
24/8/1637	Isaac Boudet L'Estoille	100	75	25	20%	
11/9/1637	Isaac Boudet L'Estoille	500		x	20%	
15/9/1637	Mohammad Hosseyn Širāzī	200	x		16%	
20/9/1637	Ḥʾāḡe Moḥammad Širāzī	800			15%	Bandar-e ʿAbbās
25/9/1637	Ḥāḡḡī "Soubet"	400		x	20%	
25/9/1637	Jean Allemand	43	14	29	20%	
30/9/1637	Ḥʾāḡes "Sadie" and Yūsef (J)	200	x			Bandar-e ʿAbbās: 2 months
2/10/1637	Ḥāḡḡī Moḥammad "Manchajj"	250	175	75	20%	

¹⁴⁹ From ARA VOC 1128, fl.245rff., especially fl.246r.: N. Overschie, "Transport...", dated Eṣfahān (?), 15/2/1638. The extracts in BGP No.311, 643ff. do not reproduce this list of creditors.

Date	Creditor	Amount in <i>tūmān</i>	Coins old new	Interest	Due: where/when
10/10/1637	H'āḡe Āsaf Hān/Āḡā Hasan Širāzī	200	x	15%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
10/10/1637	H'āḡe Safar Amirianc ^c (Arm.)	1800		x 20%	Esfahān
11/10/1637	Āḡā Vālī (Arm.)	1200		x 20%	
12/10/1637	H'āḡe Bołos	400		x 20%	
13/10/1637	H'āḡe Kirakos (Arm.)	450		24%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
13/10/1637	H'āḡe "Attannees" (Arm.)	500		24%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
13/10/1637	H'āḡe Bołos "Loocq." (Arm.)	300		24%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
15/10/1637	Rauwal (Bany.)	1500	x	20%	
15/10/1637	H'āḡe Martinos (Arm.)	200		x 20%	Esfahān
16/10/1637	Mollā Hādī	200		x 20%	6 months
23/10/1637	H'āḡe Krikor (Arm.)	235		24%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
30/10/1637	H'āḡe Bołos	200		20%	Esfahān: 40 days
30/10/1637	H'āḡe "Moudigeeen" Lārī	400	x	20%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
1/11/1637	Hille Beḡ	500		x 20%	
4/11/1637	Mīrzā Šayḡ Qadrollāh Širāzī	330		15%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
6/11/1637	H'āḡe Pedros (Arm.)	216	x	20%	Esfahān
10/11/1637	Rauwal (Bany.)	2355	x	19%	
10/11/1637	H'āḡe Safar Amirianc ^c (Arm.)	170		24%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
21/11/1637	H'āḡe Martinos (Arm.)	50		x 20%	Esfahān
21/11/1637	H'āḡe David (Arm.)	620		---	Bandar-e 'Abbās
21/11/1637	H'āḡe "Chamasuer" (Arm.)	150	x	---	Bandar-e 'Abbās
21/11/1637	H'āḡe Avetik (Arm.)	500		---	Bandar-e 'Abbās
21/11/1637	H'āḡe Eskandar (Arm.)	490		---	Bandar-e 'Abbās
22/11/1637	H'āḡe "onasaap" (Arm.)	220		---	Bandar-e 'Abbās
22/11/1637	H'āḡe Safar Gilānī (Arm.)	300		---	Bandar-e 'Abbās
23/11/1637	H'āḡe "Ascaat" (Arm.)	606	x [Ma.6.760 (24%)]		Bandar-e 'Abbās
23/11/1637	H'āḡe Hovhannes (Arm.)	445	x [Ma.6.760 (24%)]		Bandar-e 'Abbās
29/11/1637	Manu Rauwal (Bany.)	310	x	16%	Bandar-e 'Abbās
10/12/1637	Isaac Boudet L'Estoille	600	x	20%	
17/12/1637	Hāḡḡī Naḡīb	604	x	-	Bandar-e 'Abbās
20/12/1637	"Pantoldo"	80	x	20%	
22/12/1637	Isaac Boudet L'Estoille	200	x	20%	Bandar-e 'Abbās

government agencies and merchants of all communities. In the 1630's, the VOC who themselves borrowed for up to 20% *p.a.*¹⁵⁰ were approached the new Grand Vizir, Mīrzā Taqī who

¹⁵⁰ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Esfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 15/12/1635: 7.000 *tūmān*. The extracts in BGP 546ff. mistakenly give 70.000 *tūmān*.

promised favourable raw silk prices if they lent him 8.000 *tūmān*¹⁵¹. As long as large amounts of ready money were required for raw silk purchases from royal factors, Persian, Arab, Armenian and Jewish traders would arrive at Bandar-e ʿAbbās with little merchandise but vast amounts of coins¹⁵². Many of them were able, throughout the year, to offer the VOC credit (see table 1): interest rates varied greatly, but without a visible pattern relating the amount borrowed to the interest charged. In fact, the same individual could and would charge different rates during the year. However, it would seem as if interest rates were the outcome of individual negotiations, rather than mechanical repercussions of market conditions: for even during times of peak demand in October/November (when raw silk exports should be paid for) rates show the familiar random variability¹⁵³. Since all transactions included, sooner or later, a conversion into bullion for export to India, eventually all depended on the coins imported with money caravans from the Ottoman Empire and Russia. In case of the caravans' non-arrival detrimental effects reverberated through all sectors of the economy: in 1651/52, when an agonizing shortage of bullion was aggravated by the spiralling costs of the Safavid campaign against the Mughals in Qandahār and commerce in the capital threatened to grind to a halt, the EIC agent J. Spiller complained about the difficulties of stocking-makers in paying for raw material they had bought¹⁵⁴. Similarly, Safavid officials made daily appearances in the VOC's house in spring and pressed for timely payment of the newly agreed raw silk delivery, for the war in the East needed a fresh financial injections. But the protracted delay of the money caravan from Tabrīz had laid waste the money market of the capital and prevented debtors from honouring their bills. The VOC reassured the royal agent that on arrival of the caravan they would instruct their debtors to settle the debts

¹⁵¹ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636; the extracts in *BGP* 563ff., mistakenly have 80.000 *tūmān*. Eventually, he received 4.200 *tūmān*, which the VOC had to borrow on the open money market.

¹⁵² ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: "*Schrijfelijcke Relatie...*", ca. 1633.

¹⁵³ At Eṣfahān, October was also regarded as the best month for selling North Indian piece goods destined for Mesopotamia, Levante and Arabia, see ARA VOC 1130, fl.1228f.: J. Leendersz. Grijf, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 20/4/1639.

¹⁵⁴ See *EFI* VIII, 135: J. Spiller, to Surat, dated 28/10/1652. However, these were the years of the Anglo-Dutch war and the EIC was in a difficult position in the Persian Gulf Area: official English trade in Iran had been reduced to the disposal of accumulated stocks, although private trade of EIC servants continued unabated.

directly with him¹⁵⁵: the use of credit instruments and deferred payment was fully endorsed by the Safavid authorities¹⁵⁶. As it happened, only Mīrzā Šafī, the partner of Ḥ'āḡe Abū 'l-Rezā, met the bill at maturity¹⁵⁷, and he was again the chief payer for another eleven bills of exchange which arrived in the capital on June 18th, 1652, amounting to no less than 7.230 *tūmān* (or fl.289.200) and payable at 15 days after sight¹⁵⁸. Most of the arrangements recorded on this occasion occurred between Muslim merchants: Armenians, Jews and Hindus were of secondary importance¹⁵⁹, but the cross-community business between the Jewish merchant Abraham and the Gujarati Govendas Krishna is noteworthy.

¹⁵⁵ The VOC servants had received five bills of exchange on May 13th, 1652, payable at 10 days after sight, "wanneer self door de cooplyuden die penningen hem ["maender"] soude werde aengetelt", see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc.cit.*, 258. This may point to the possibility of using letters of credit as a multi-lateral means of payment. The bills had been drawn by a group of merchants of a large sugar cargo on partners in Eṣfahān see ARA VOC 1190, fl.461: "Dagregister" C. Speelman 1651/52. Fl.60.000 were to be paid at Eṣfahān at 10 days after sight; the merchants mentioned are: Ḥvāḡe Abū 'l-Rezā draws on Mīrzā Šafī 600 *tūmān*, Ḥāḡḡī Qāsem on Mīrzā Ḥān 400 *tūmān*, Šayḡ Aḡmad Lārī on Moḡammad Moqīm 300 *tūmān*, Ḥvāḡe "Mondigaer" on "Killan ..." (*sic*) 100 *tūmān*, Yūsuf Yahūda on Yisraēl Efraīm 100 *tūmān*.

¹⁵⁶ This can be appreciated from the contract which stipulated that more than 18.211 *tūmān* the VOC still owed the treasury must be paid as soon as possible from the proceeds of their sales in the port, "ende soo bij aldien geene cooplyuden op wissel eenigh gelt wilde aannemen, sult hetselve boven voeren ende in Espahan brengen", see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc.cit.*, 276f.

¹⁵⁷ Earlier on, Mīrzā Šafī had offered the VOC a loan of 2.-4000 *tūmān* to cover their expense. Eventually, he only paid the bills of exchange (600 *tūmān*) before the arrival of the money caravan, see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc.cit.*, 277, but, at the same time, he raised another 700 *tūmān* for copper purchases by his partner at Bandar-e 'Abbās, *ibid.* 298. A fortnight later, the Dutch envoy J. Cunāus had to ask humbly for a loan to meet current expenditure and "heeft Miersa Sephy, cooper van't coper, doen roepen en hem gevraegt, dat gemerct de caffilen van Tauris niet paresseerden, en naer sijn seggen noch wel eenige dagen conde vertoeven en dienvolgende met contant in troucque niet en conde d'Edele Compagnie accomoderen, off op sijnen naam ten laste derselver voor een maant off tot de tijdinghe van 't geleverde cooper aan sijnen broeder cregen, hier onder d'een en d'ander in dese stad geen 1000 off 1200 tho/n a deposito en soude ligten conne". Mīrzā Šafī's excellent reputation and contacts made it possible to deliver the money requested the following morning (*ibid.* 311).

¹⁵⁸ ARA VOC 1190, fl.375-633, fl.576r: "Dagregister" C. Speelman 1651/52: Mīrzā Šafī was again the chief payer. Ḥ'āḡe Abū 'l-Rezā drew on him two bills (3.600 *tūmān*), Sayyed "Sjan" 1.300 *tūmān*, the broker "Rauwal" 1.270 *tūmān*, Moḡammad Sala 100 *tūmān*. Furthermore, 410 *tūmān* were drawn by Šayḡ Aḡmad on Moḡammad Moqīm, 250 by the Jewish merchant Abraham on the Banyan Govendas Krishna, 100 by Ebraḡīm "Ornoesi" (Hormūzī?) on Ebraḡīm Efī (?), 100 by Amīn on Ḥ'āḡe Minaz, 50 by Šayḡ Aḡmad on Šayḡ Moḡammad Karīm, and 50 by the Jewish merchant Yūsuf on his co-religionary Yisraēl Yūsuf.

¹⁵⁹ Some of these merchants had occasional contacts with the EIC, but generally they dealt with the VOC, especially the Jewish merchants. Later in the decade, Jewish merchants became known as chief buyers of spices, pepper and metals such as copper and tin, see the anonymous Persian description of the *kārwānsarāīs* of Eṣfahān from the later XVIIth century, which mentions Jewish merchants concentrated in the Kār wānsarāi-ye Ġārī, selling drugs, spices and other imported goods to the retailers, see Anon., *Dar dānestan-e kār wānsarāi-ye Eṣfahān*, in: H. GAUBE / E. WIRTH (1979), *Der Bazar von Isfahan* (=TAVO B XXII), Wiesbaden, 263-285. For more details on Jewish merchants in Safavid Iran see R. KLEIN (ms.), *loc.cit.*

Table 2
Recorded bills of exchange for VOC goods drawn in Bandar-e ʿAbbās on Eṣfahān
1656/57

Bill sent	Drawer	Drawee	Amount (in Ma.)	Terms
24/5/1656 ¹⁶⁰	Hʿāḡe Ebrahīm	(himself)	20.000	
	Šayḥ Aḥmad	Hʿāḡe Moqīm	30.000	
	"Ramsie Maudouw"	Hʿāḡe Abū 'l-Režā	35.534	
	Hʿāḡe Nežām	Ġamāl (?)	35.000	
	"joots coopman alhier"	"Donia" (J)	20.000	
	"Mondie" (J)	Aaron "Serie" (J)	10.000	
	Govendas (Banyan)	"Sonder" (Banyan)	5.000	
	Mūsā (J)	Govendas (Banyan)	10.366	
June 1656	Šayḥ Aḥmad	Moḥammad Moqīm	35.000	15 days
	Baḥtiyār	Hʿāḡe Masīḥ (?)	10.000	15 days
	Sahak (Arm.)	(himself)	5.000	15 days
	Manuk (Arm.)	(himself)	1.000	15 days
	Bābā'ī (J)	"Donia" (J)	21.500	1 month
	Mūsā (J)	Govendas (Banyan)	10.000	1 month
	"Moesjael" (J)	Ya'qūb "Sadi" (J)	20.000	1 month
	"Mondie" (J)	Aaron "Serie" (J)	12.000	1 month
	Abraham "Divi" (J)	Ya'qūb "Awaz" (J)	10.000	1 month
	Ezekiel (J)	"Ahan Sjansidy" (J)	6.500	1 month
28/6/1657 ¹⁶¹	Mīrzā Šafī	(himself)	90.000	15 days
	Hāḡḡī Maḥmūd	Loṭfollāh	6.000	15 days
	Hāḡḡī Zayn (?)	Hāḡḡī Moḥammad	3.000	15 days
	Šayḥ Moḥammad "Kriel"	"Meij" od-Dīn Ġamāl	20.000	15 days
	Abraham Babu (J)	Yūsuf Abraham (J)	60.000	15 days
	Abraham Ya'qūb (J)	Yūsuf "Sahouw" (J)	20.000	15 days
	Abraham "Zasoe" (J)	Mollā "Alezia Dergoes" (J)	60.000	15 days
	Mūsā (J)	Govendas (Banyan)	100.000	15 days
	Ezekiel (J)	Šams od-Dīn (?; J)	35.000	15 days
	Masīḥ (J)	"Schiakoe" (J)	50.000	15 days

¹⁶⁰ For May 1656 see letter Salomon Trouwers, Eṣfahān, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 6/6/1656, q.i. ARA VOC 1217, fl.399rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Eṣfahān, dated 22/6/1656: the eight bills as well as another eleven that had arrived a little earlier had all been honoured, except for one default: the person - we are not told who - was not in the capital at the date of payment, but was expected to arrive shortly. Rumours circulating at Bandar-e ʿAbbās that merchants found it difficult to pay on time, were brushed aside impassively by the Dutch who stated "t'zijn maer blaauwe uijtluchtjes der coopluijden dat door den slapen basaer in voldoeningh van hun wissels buijten den vervaldaegh wat uijtsel soecken, daer zij selffs wel beeter weten dat een coopman zijn credit verliest wanneer zijn vervallen wissel niet prompt betaelt dierhalven doet haer de penningen na behooren uijtkeeren." For June 1656 see ARA VOC 1217, fl.396rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Eṣfahān, dated 12/6/1656. Varying terms of payment applied and the Jewish merchants in particular had received a more flexible treatment.

¹⁶¹ ARA VOC 1224, fl.370rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Eṣfahān, dated 28/6/1657. In May/June 1657, Bandar-e ʿAbbās had sent a first series of eight bills, on which no further details are reported, see ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 2/7/1657.

"Geijdader" (Banyan)	"Veijdader" (Banyan)	12.500	15 days
Bābā'ī (J)	"Donia" (J)	80.000	15 days
"Mondij" (J)	Aaron "Zerrie" (J)	50.000	15 days
"Capatia" (Banyan)	"Ramsie" (Banyan)	30.000	15 days
"Ramsie" (Banyan)	"Gangoe" (Banyan)	16.000	15 days
H'āḡe Nežām	Ġamāl	45.000	15 days
Šayḥ Aḥmad Fahr od-Dīn	Ġamāl	4.000	15 days
"Sit Sjan" (Banyan)	Mr. Andrews	41.068	15 days
"Dieuw kan" (Banyan)	"Moraer gocomannij"	7.500	15 days
Mīrzā Šafī	Moḥammad "Masson"	30.000	8/9/1657
<hr/>			
21/7/1657 ¹⁶² Bābā'ī (J)	"Donia" (J)	17.000	1 month
"Mondij" (J)	"Rerrij" (J)	4.400	1 month
Abraham (J)	N.N. (J)	6.600	1 month
Mūsā (J)	Yahūda (?; J)	4.400	1 month
Ezekiel (J)	Šams od-Dīn (?; J)	2.200	1 month
Abraham Ya'qūb (J)	Yūsuf Ya'qūb (J)	2.200	1 month
Mūsā (J)	Govendas (Banyan).	4.400	1 month

In the mid-1650's mounting competition by Gujarati and Malabari carriers as importers to the Persian Gulf Area induced the VOC to accept forms of deferred payment¹⁶³. Stricter Safavid government control of trade had already driven some old merchant houses temporarily to abandon Bandar-e 'Abbās for other ports. Instead, we find among the buyers of Dutch goods a larger number of Jewish traders and in the years 1656/57 many who had invested in Dutch imports in Bandar-e 'Abbās drew bills of exchange on coreligionaries and other traders in Eṣfahān (see table 2)¹⁶⁴. The years 1656/57 are otherwise linked to efforts at forced conversions of Iran's Jews¹⁶⁵: European observers, but also Moḥammad Ṭāher Vaḥīd Qazvīnī's *Abbās-nāme* and

¹⁶² The entire VOC cinnamon cargo, almost 80.000 *pond*, had been sold to a group of Jewish merchants. Seven bills of exchange had been accepted, due at Eṣfahān, see ARA VOC 1224, fl.389rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Eṣfahān, dated 21/7/1657; on the sale see also ARA VOC 1224, fl.308rff.: id., to Batavia, dated 3/9/1657.

¹⁶³ Bills of exchange now were usually payable at a fortnight (and up to one month) from the date of presentation, whereas earlier sales contracts mostly specified three months.

¹⁶⁴ For details see R. KLEIN (ms.), *Jewish Merchants...*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁵ The forced conversions began at Eṣfahān towards the end of 1656. V. MOREEN (1981b), *The Persecution of Iranian Jews during the reign of Shah 'Abbās II 1642-1666*, *HUCA* LII, 275-309, 287 and EAD. (1987), *Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism* (=American Academy of Jewish Research. Texts and Studies VI), New York / Jerusalem, 64, mistakenly suggests as "the most complete date" "a Friday in early October 1656, corresponding to Wednesday, October 8th, 1656". Her reference is probably to Arak'el DAWRIŽEC'Ī (1669), *Girk' patmuṣ'eanc'*, Amsterdam; French version in M. BROSSET (ed.) (1874-76), *Collection d'historiens Arméniens*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, vol. 1, 267-608, 489. But the date "(meecr.8 oct.)" only marks the beginning of the year in the Great Armenian calendar (with the corresponding A.D. 1656 being a comment of the translator), see also Arak'el DAWRIŽEC'Ī, *loc. cit.*, 488. Incidentally, M. BROSSET

Babā'ī b. Lotf's *Ketāb-e Anūst* (where the information is part of an edifying discourse) stress that the conversion was facilitated by the desire to escape extra-legal obligations and extortions¹⁶⁶. Many Jews thus resorted to accept money presents (*en'am*) and *ġizya* exemptions granted as a matter of law to new Muslims, which may have freed extra capital¹⁶⁷. If the comparatively small sums committed to these purchases reflect a relatively modest scale of trade and a cautious attitude in times of contracting sales, the large number of buyers reveals their familiarity with credit based operations which required a minimum of security and reliability. The effects of the persecutions began to show from summer 1657: we hear that "all Jews in Eṣfahān, Šīrāz and Lār are at present badly tormented by this Persian ruler. They have been ordered to accept the Muhammadan faith or, otherwise, to vacate the aforementioned cities and to settle *extra muros* without being allowed to take up any trade, which has greatly distressed and worried these people. Many of their excellent merchants and more of their wealthy [men] considered offering precious presents to his Majesty, if he only showed willingness to revoke his order and restituted their previous freedom. But so far the gifts have not succeeded in changing the King's mind. This is why many people have already apostasised and adopted the Moorish faith, albeit with tears in their eyes, only to be allowed to carry on peaceful trade. This violence causes the Company great embarrassment, as many powerful Jewish merchants used to come here [*scil.*: to Bandar-e 'Abbās]

himself probably used the Julian rather than the Gregorian calendar. The identical error had been made previously in E. SPICEHANDLER (1975), *The Persecution of the Jews of Isfahan under Shāh 'Abbās II (1642-1666)*, *HUCA* XLVI, 331-356, 341; see also: H. KUČUKI-YOANNESOV (1918), *Armjanskaja litopisi o evreysky v Persii XVII v. i o messii Sabbatai Zevi*, *Yevreyskaya Starina* X, 60-76. The earliest reference to the forced conversion is in a letter of the Carmelite Fr. Dionysius, dated 3/1/1657, see H. CHICK (ed.) (1939), *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Missions of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols., London, 464f. Mīrzā Moḥammad Tāher Vahīd Qazvīnī, *'Abbāsname yā šarḥ-e zendegānī-ye 22 sāle-ye Šāh 'Abbās-e sānt*, ed. E. Dehgān, Arāk 1329/1951, mentions the conversion for the year *tahqīq-e āl* (begins March 1656); for details see R. KLEIN (ms.), *Jewish Merchants...*, *loc.cit.*

¹⁶⁶ R. DU MANS (1660 [but prepared earlier]), *Estat...*, *loc.cit.*, 46, has a *ġizya* rate "selon la taxe ancienne, [d'] un medical d'or; mais a present, on leur serre les poulces plus fort [thus in reality they were forced to pay more than what the law required] ...ce qui fait qu'il s'en destache de jour en jour quelques-uns pour suivre le grand chemin". B. FRAGNER (1986), 548, legalistically only quotes R. DU MANS as speaking of an annual "equivalent of one *mīsqāl* of gold". Conversely, conversions would mean for the treasury the loss of tax revenue, to which a certain lump payment for *en'am* would have to be added. The *'Abbāsname* may be exaggerating in claiming that the *ġizya* formed the financial basis of state finances, but more importantly crown land revenues were affected: all localities in which the measures were applied according to Babā'ī b. Lotf's *Ketāb-e Anūst* were, in fact, *hāṣṣe*-lands (Hamadān from 1653/54, see K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 122). Tabrīz is only mentioned in Arak'el DAWRIŽEC'I (1669), *Girk' patmuf'eanc'*, *loc.cit.*, but in his home town the Grand Vizir may have personally seen to the implementation of the measures. A. NETZER (1986), *The Fate of the Jewish Community of Tabrīz*, in: M. SHARON (ed.) (1986), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization (Fs. D. AYALON)*, Jerusalem/Leiden, 411-419, merely juxtaposes sources without an attempt at interpretation. The conversions were not enforced evenly across the empire: R. DU MANS (1660), 194, states that "nonobstant que, en quelques cantons de la Perse, l'on les aye fait Mores ils frequentent tousiours la synagogue...".

¹⁶⁷ The *en'am* was between two and four *tūmān*, depending on the community (see J.B. TAVERNIER, *loc.cit.*, 421, on Eṣfahān, where 4 *tūmān* per person were distributed) and was calculated in gold *dīnār*. The Safavids issued gold coins on festive occasions, the ascension to the throne of a new Šāh or on *nourūz*. Conversely, when the Kāšī Jews were allowed to return to the religion of their ancestors (perhaps in 1661) they were ordered to pay 5 *tūmān* "par homme" and, as community, an additional 62 *tūmān*, see Babā'ī b. Lotf's *Ketāb-e Anūst*, *loc.cit.*, ch.XXX.

from Lār every year to contract most of the Company's spices. Now, not a single merchant dares even think about initiating any negotiation, and they all huddle sadly in their homes with tear-stained eyes"¹⁶⁸.

The Jewish merchant community, however, was not crushed. In winter 1657/58, for example, Jewish merchants bought most of the pepper imported by the VOC at an unusually high price of 13.75 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat*¹⁶⁹. 'Evāz Beğ, formerly *vazīr* of Lār, employed much of his capital in trading ventures with Jewish merchants, possibly based in Lār¹⁷⁰. When a number of powerful merchants in Iran suffered severe setbacks in the 1660's, Jewish merchants were listed among the more important purchasers of Asian import goods¹⁷¹. But in the second half of the 1660's, when Iran suffered greatly from the shortage of ready money the fortunes of Jewish merchants, too, vanished. Of 25 bills of exchange sent to Eṣfahān in June 1668, four had not been honoured by March 1669: transfer of money had to revert onto muleback¹⁷². The deepening crisis in the mid-1670's sealed the fate of the heads of the weakened merchant communities: Ya'qūb Babu, the Jewish merchant whose dealings with the VOC alone had regularly exceeded 1.000 *tūmān*, the Banyan "Gangoe", whose business was worth several thousand *tūmān*, and others fell prey to the latest shortage of credit which drained resources from their operations¹⁷³. Some years later the shortage of ready money was such that the VOC had to consider returning to the old system of drawing promissory notes on Surat¹⁷⁴.

¹⁶⁸ ARA VOC 1215, fl.857rff.: J. Willemsz. Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 30/8/1657.

¹⁶⁹ ARA VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 1/3/1658. One year earlier, the price was 11 *lārīn*, and even six months earlier Malabari pepper was sold at 13 *larīn*, for references see below. The absence of lists of bills of exchange from 1658 onwards prejudices our knowledge on individual Jewish traders in Safavid Iran.

¹⁷⁰ For 'Evāz Beğ see above, also for the origins of the Lārī merchant community. We cannot discern a comparable concentration of Jewish merchants in the Safavid capital: not by chance the *nasīr* in Eṣfahān was a jeweller, not a wholesale merchant, see Babā'ī b. Loṭf's *Ketāb-e Anūst*, loc. cit., ch.XXIV. In the poem, most Jewish merchants in the capital are of Lārī, Šīrāzī or Kāšī descent.

¹⁷¹ ARA VOC 1254, 905ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 16/3/1665.

¹⁷² ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669. Abraham Babu, however, remained among the most respectable merchants alongside Šayḥ Aḥmad and Mīrzā Šafī.

¹⁷³ ARA VOC 1321, fl.1019vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/12/1675. The failure of Babu to honour his obligations was particularly shocking: he had accepted bills of 500 and 1.000 *tūmān* only in March. The VOC had a his cargo of 150 bags of *rūdās* confiscated in Bandar-e 'Abbās as security; eventually he paid the bills to the amount of 200 *tūmān*, but then fled to Arabia.

¹⁷⁴ ARA VOC 1321, fl.1019vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/12/1675.

This conjuncture together with the extortions merchants had suffered at the hands of governors of Bandar-e ʿAbbās let the number of traders travelling to the port dwindle to some fifty individuals in 1677¹⁷⁵. Veterans of the market place retired¹⁷⁶ and new faces emerged such as one Ḥāḡḡī Kerbelāʾī who had inherited vast assets from his brother and entered the trading world of Iran in a leading position. A sceptical report from 1679 considered operations of the second generation of established merchant houses, e.g. those of Šayḥ Moḥammad Ṭāher, son of Šayḥ Aḥmad, financially unsound for being based exclusively on credit. At the time, his detractors thought his standing might improve when he inherited his fathers assets and he appears indeed ten years later among the important merchants of Southern Iran honoured with an annual present by the European Companies¹⁷⁷.

Merchants plying the trade between Surat and Bandar-e ʿAbbās may have had to reckon with lesser operational overheads. On the other hand they faced numerous expenses some of which European Companies could avoid thanks to their capitulations: interest rates for the financing of exports from Surat amounted to 12-15% *p.a.*, 4% *ad valorem* was the export duty at Suhali, another 4% the freight costs, 10% the import tax at Bandar-e ʿAbbās¹⁷⁸. Freight rates were charged either *ad valorem* or per unit (bag, bale etc.), and could be paid before departure or at the destination. The Portuguese dominated the voluminous freight trade between Sind and the Persian Gulf Area until well into the XVIIth century: local traders depended on Portuguese loans which were given only if in turn these traders committed themselves to hiring freight space on armed Portuguese vessels. This allowed the Portuguese shipowners to demand high rates¹⁷⁹. For the trade to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, stiff competition governed the freight market¹⁸⁰, but generally rates on Indian, Persian, Armenian and Arabian ships were considerably lower than on European vessels. While the EIC actively promoted the freighting of merchandise of local merchants on

¹⁷⁵ ARA VOC 1329, fl.1547vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/6/1677.

¹⁷⁶ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1889vff.: "Deductie" R. Casembroot, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 13/2/1680.

¹⁷⁷ On the earlier assessment see ARA VOC 1349, fl.1688vff.: "Memorie" R. Casembroot, dated Esfahān 1/6/1679. In fact, in 1682 he found it difficult to honour his bills, see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2721rff.: Report R. Casembroot, dated Batavia 25/22/1682. For the positive assessment ARA VOC 1445, fl.2269rff.: Expenses Factory Iran 1686/87.

¹⁷⁸ ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to Batavia, dated 8/4/1636.

¹⁷⁹ ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: Journal Gr. Cornelisz., 1631/32: from Sind to Masqat 10%, to Bandar-e Kong 20%, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās 30%, to Al-Baṣra 35-40% per *arroba* weight (of 16 *man*, perhaps the *man* of Hormūz of 0.961kg; for the weight see A. NUNEZ (1554), *Lyvro dos pesos da Yndia...*, *loc. cit.*). Different freight rates applied to large bales of textiles: 14 rupees (presumably to Bandar-e Kong), 16 rupees to Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Al-Baṣra but only 8 rupees to Masqat.

¹⁸⁰ See e.g. ARA VOC 1284, fl.2310rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 7/3/1671: prices from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Surat: the rates for a bag of tobacco and a passenger were respectively on a VOC vessel Ma.36 and 120, on an EIC vessel Ma.26 and 90, and on a Banyan vessel Ma.16 and 70.

their vessels, the VOC had long resisted to enter the freight trade on a large scale. Demand for freight space between Surat and Iranian ports on ships of both Companies skyrocketed during Safavid-Mughal wars. Conversely, the Mughal attempt to corner the freight trade between 1653 and 1662 greatly diminished opportunities¹⁸¹. Freight services, in particular on English and only to a much lesser degree on Dutch ships, besides safer travel in the face of European armed vessels, offered local merchant informal access to market intelligence: The earliest freight journeys between the Coromandel coast and the Persian Gulf Area on English ships were a success for the Muslim merchants involved who could skillfully exploit oversupply of spices in the Bay of Bengal and contemporary scarcity in Bandar-e ‘Abbās¹⁸². In the late XVIIth century Šāh Suleymān’s court seems to have decreed that for safety reasons no freight from Iranian ports should be carried on non-European vessels¹⁸³. If the freight trade represented an important part of commerce at Bandar-e ‘Abbās, it was even more crucial for those ports in Iran which were not subjected to such a strict government control and where East India Company-trade was less conspicuous.

Table 3: Freight rates on local vessels from Masqaṭ in 1674¹⁸⁴

Destination	Journey	<i>bahar</i> /ca. 790kg dates	weighable (ca.250kg)	bales (textiles)	chests	horses
Sind	Ship	11.5-15 rupees	12 lar.	36-40 lar.		
	Craft	25-30 lar.	7 lar.	25 lar.		
Kutch		25-30 lar.*	25-30 lar.			
Vengurlā		26 lar.	20-25 lar (<i>rūnā</i>)		Ma.8	20 pagodas
Rajapur		33-35 lar.	32 lar. (<i>rūnā</i>)		Ma.8	20 pagodas
	2nd journey:	Ma.400				
Mokha		40 lar.*		Ma.20 (big) Ma.14-16 (small)	Ma.9-12**	
	return	2rx.(Masqaṭ)/3rx.(Al-Baṣra)				
Al-Baṣra			Ma.10	Ma.10	Ma.4-5**	
Bandar-e ‘Abbās/Bandar-e Kong			Ma.4***	Ma.2.5-3	Ma.2.5**	

¹⁸¹ For some figures, albeit incomplete, on VOC freight trade see H. van SANTEN (1982), 55ff. and table IV. 55ff., but see also A. DAS GUPTA (1985), *Indian Merchants and the Western Indian Ocean. Early XVIIth Century*, MAS XIX/2, 481-499. Information on EIC freight trade from IOR is highly unreliable, as shown by comparison with Dutch sources. For details on freight trade and warfare see R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier...*, *StIr*.

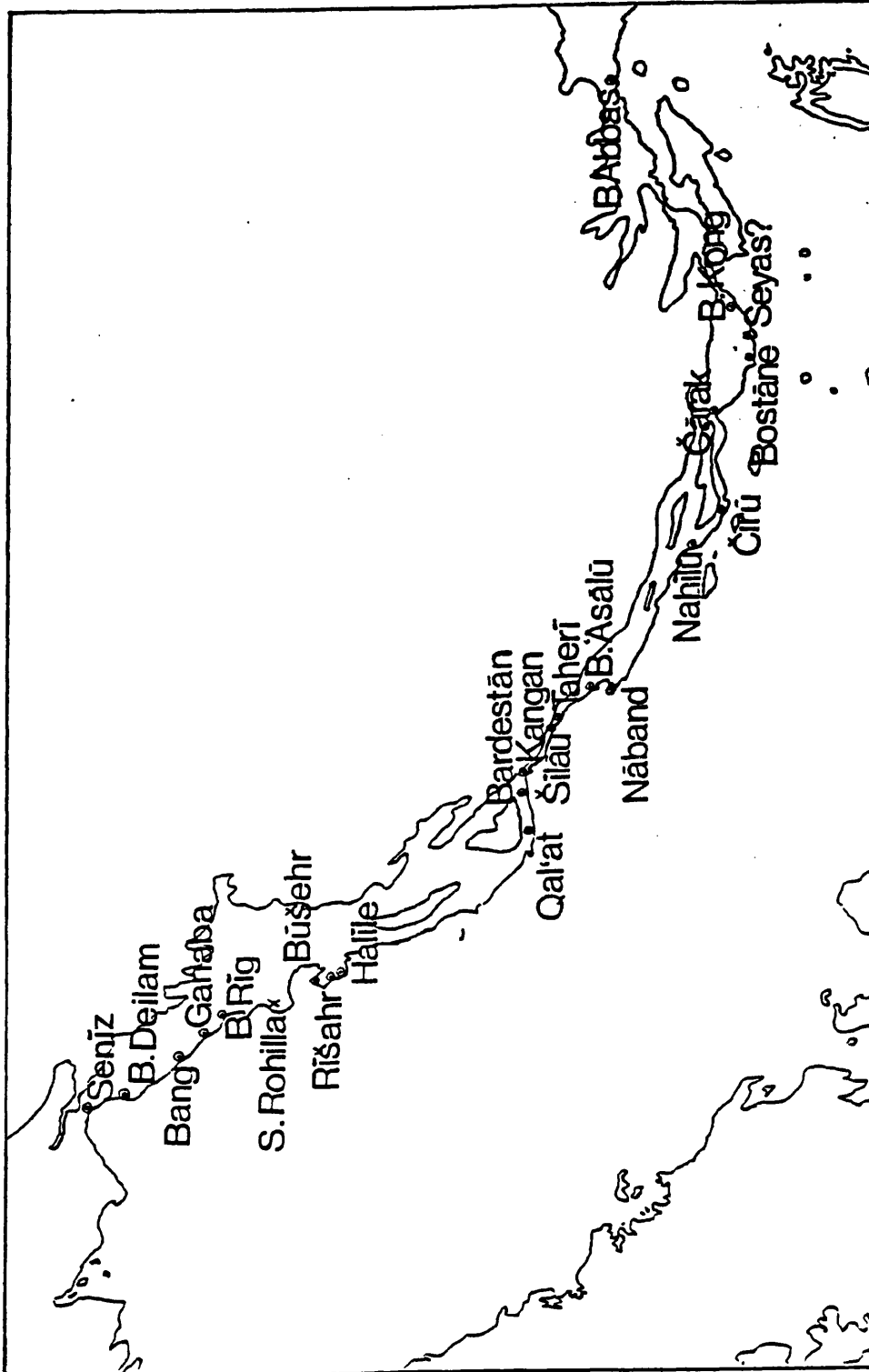
¹⁸² ARA VOC 1108, fl.869rff.: Ph. Lucasz., aboard "*Amsterdam*", to N. Overschie, dated 28/12/1632.

¹⁸³ ARA VOC 1278, fl.1809rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/5/1670.

¹⁸⁴ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 20/2/1674. Notes: * = payable on arrival; ** = pair of chests of loaf-sugar; *** = in addition: bale of cotton (336 kg): Ma.8.

Map 9

Ports and Settlements on the Iranian Coast
(From Dutch XVIIth Century Nautical Maps)



Bandar-e Kong

Bandar-e Kong¹⁸⁵ emerged in the course of the XVIIth century as a viable alternative to Bandar-e ‘Abbās. Only in the course of the XVIIth century, caravan tracks which connected Bandar-e Kong to the trans-Iranian route network were endowed with *kārwānsarāis* and other infrastructural improvements¹⁸⁶. The port offered a reasonably sheltered anchorage somewhat offshore, but, as elsewhere in the area, landing was not easy with low water. The English report of 1614 does not mention the port¹⁸⁷, but after the fall of Hormūz it attracted an ever growing share of the straits’ shipping. During the later 1620’s Bandar-e Kong was among the Iranian coastal settlements ravaged by Portuguese armadas under the command of Ruy Freire D’Andrade¹⁸⁸. The raids eventually prompted Safavid officials to grant the Portuguese favourable conditions for establishing a *feitoria* Kong. In addition, the Safavids ceded half the port’s customs revenue¹⁸⁹. Initially the agreement had been reached without seeking the assent of either the Viceroy at Goa or the Šāh; in fact, D’Andrade’s Persian interlocutor was the *nāḥodā* of Bandar-e Kong, who acted on behalf of the *Hān* of Šīrāz¹⁹⁰. Some observers believed the

¹⁸⁵ For surveys see A.W. STIFFE (1899), *Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf*. V. Kung, *GJ* XIII, 1899, 294-297 and A. EQTEDĀRĪ (1348/1969-70), *Ātār-e šahrhā-ye bāstān-ye...*, Tehrān, 377ff. See also H. NŪRBAŠ (1358/1979-80), *Bandar-e Lengeh dar sāhel-e Ḥaliḡ-e Fārs*, Bandar-e ‘Abbās.

¹⁸⁶ Traveller accounts stem from the last two decades of the XVIIth century: W. HEDGES (1681-87), *The Diary of ~*, ed. H. YULE, 3 vols. (=HS LXXIV/V/VIII), London 1897-99; J. AUBIN (ed.) (1971), *L’ambassade de Gregorio Pereira Fidalgo à la cour de Chah Soltan Hosseyn 1696-1697*, Lisboa; G.F. GEMELLI CARERI (1699), *Giro del mondo*, 5 vols., Napoli. R. POHANKA (1984), *Karawanenwege und Karavanserais in Laristan: Die Straßenabschnitte Lar-Djahrom, Lar-Khundj und Lar-Bastak*, *AMI* N.S. XVII, 285-308, 300, believes many of the surviving, undated roadside buildings only reach back to the Qāḡār-period. For the XVIIth century route see also R. KLEIN / H. GAUBE (1989/92).

¹⁸⁷ IOR E/3/2/159, fl.267r-269r; instead, the document has "Batane", possibly Bostāne.

¹⁸⁸ See AHU C.I. 18A/147, fl.33r: "...he assentando dar hū asalto em Perçia o fis em Congo, ganhando os soldados e capitães cō grão valor a pouvoação e hū baluarte cō des pessoas dartelharia de bronze e ferro queimando dous navios he algũas terradas matando caualos e xaquiando a t"...". For the context of the raids see L. CORDEIRO (ed.) (1898), *Dois capitães da India...*, and C.R. BOXER (1935).

¹⁸⁹ See the Dutch version in ARA VOC 1103, fl.220v-222v, "Artijculen gecontracteert tusschen den Doorluchtigen Hertogh van Sieras ende Don Refrero", and, from another version, *BGP* 683ff.; "Capitain Ruij Frere 't gelael alias Capiteijn Tamor" is probably "Ruy Freire [*scil.*: D’Andrade] Ḡālāl (?) alias Capitão Mór". This version was enclosed in *BGP* 351ff., see below; the EIC received their version later, see *EFF* IV, 140ff.: E. Heynes et al., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to London, dated 17/3/1631. After initial disapproval, official Portuguese sources now rejoiced at "a autoridade o soberania que Ruy Freire tem no estreito" which won him the favourable capitulations, see ANTT DRI XXIX, fl.84r. The history of the fortress of Bandar-e Kong, sometimes considered a work of the Portuguese, is not illuminated by our sources; see also W. KLEISS (1980), *Europäische Befestigungsarchitektur in Iran vom XVI. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert*, *AMI* N.S. XIII, 167-178.

¹⁹⁰ ANTT DRI XXIX, fl.84r.: Viceroy Cde. de Linhares to King Philip III, dated Goa 18/8/1631, based on the *relação* of the Masqatī *vedor da fazenda*; the problematic account in P. CRAESBEECK (ed.) (1647), *Comentários...*, Lisboa; new ed. J.G. LEITE 1940, 255ff., has "Xariaria" as D’Andrade’s counterpart. He is perhaps identical with Hoseyn Ḥān Šahriyār, who appears a little later as Šāh Šafī’s factor for dealings with the VOC. Such a career has been documented for other officials of the *Hān* of Šīrāz: Ḥ’āḡe Qāsem, "procureur van sijn hoogh van Siraes by syn Magt"

agreement with the *Hān* would not last¹⁹¹, but in late 1630 / early 1631 Šāh Šafr's confirmation was obtained¹⁹². After the assassination of the *Hān* in December 1632 the events were represented at court in a conveniently different light: *ʿetemād od-doule* Mīrzā Taqī maintained the Šāh had not been consulted at all¹⁹³. How much the Portuguese had relied, for their establishment at Bandar-e Kong, on Emām Qolī Hān's goodwill and personal interest¹⁹⁴ (while still officially at war with Iran) is difficult to tell, but not long after his assassination conditions deteriorated sufficiently for them to consider moving the factory to Rīšahr¹⁹⁵.

The administration of the Portuguese *feitoria* and collection of the customs share were to be coordinated from Masqaṭ¹⁹⁶, and were evidently linked to the Portuguese desire to exercise greater control over the important Middle Eastern trade out of Sind: after the fall of Masqaṭ, Duarte Da Costa Homem, was appointed "administrador da fazenda real na Persia e no

(ARA VOC 1109, fl.91v) later became the Šāh's factor. For 1622, P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 339, has a Šahriyār Governor of Moğostān. The title *nāhoda* does not correspond to an identifiable office in the Safavid hierarchy; possibly, it is Persian for *capitão*, or, a misspelling for *dārūge* or, less likely, *kadhoda*, see also below. In the 1650's, we hear of *nāhoda* Ḥasan, vice-governor at Bandar-e Kong. One of his crafts was under the command of *nāhoda* Ramažān, see ARA VOC 1208, fl.277r.: "*Daghregister*" Al-Bašra 1654.

¹⁹¹ HAG LM XV, No.23 (7-8:5/1), fl.16: Cde. de Linhares to King Philip III, dated Goa 8/11/1632 (cfr. *BFUP* VIII 1958), speaks of further negotiations (concerning Hormūz) with the "Cão de Xiras".

¹⁹² *BGP* 351-360, 356: A. Del Court, Ešfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 20/12/1630.

¹⁹³ ARA VOC 1116, fl.392r-404v, fl.398rff.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1635: "...sulex [*scil.*: the 1630 agreement] ten tijden van den Hartoch Emancoulican geschiet was, en[de] den Coninck dienaengaende niet grondelijck daer van tot noch toe en was geïnformeert".

¹⁹⁴ Enemy reports had it that they were trying to exclude EIC and VOC from the Iranian trade; Ruy Freire D'Andrade, in particular, was reported to have offered the *Hān* of Šīrāz an annual present of 5.000 *tūmān* in addition to "tgene wij van thollen, ende aendersints betaelen, ende daerenboven hondert duijsent mamoeij (tot een gratuiteijt)", see ARA VOC 1106 non-fol. "*Schriftelijcke Relatie*" on trade in Gujarat, Hindustan and the Arabian Seas (1633); according to the same report, D'Andrade had confiscated 40.000 *lārīn* worth of pearls from vessels which had cast anchor off Bandar-e Kong the previous year.

¹⁹⁵ HAG LM XIXD, No.86 (63:2/5): Antonio Moniz da Silva to the Viceroy, dated 30/11/1634 (cfr. *BFUP* XII 1959). For Portuguese Masqaṭ's contacts with Rīšahr in the 1630's see also ANTT DRI XXXVIII, fl.27rff.: Viceroy Pedro da Silva to King Philip III, dated 5/2/1637. *BGP* 523ff.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1635, claims the Portuguese *did* temporarily move their *feitoria*. An earlier attempt to transfer it to Qešm was vetoed by the *hān* of Bandar-e ʿAbbās, at the instigation of local merchants, *do*. ARA VOC 1116, fl.392r-404v, fl.398rff.

¹⁹⁶ ANTT DRI XXIX, fl.84r, specifies that the *vedor da fazenda* of Masqaṭ shall oversee the customs revenues at Bandar-e Kong. See also HAG LM XVIB, No.28 (8:1) (cfr. *BFUP* IX 1958): "em conformidade disso havia partido o feitor de V.M^{de} a cobrar os direitos". On posts at the "feitoria de Congo" see AHU C.I. 16/35: Decision of the *conselho ultramarino*, dated 14/2/1644, which confirms that "por serem officios q não tem maes q os ordenados, não cosstumão a ir providos deste R^{mo} e os Viço Reis os prouem na India...".

Sinde"¹⁹⁷. Many of the Hormūzī merchants were now resident in Sindi, but the Portuguese initially considered these Persian merchants enemies. Soon they realised, however, that they had to treat the community well were they not to forfeit income from the sale of *cartazes*, from freighting goods and from customs to be paid at Masqaṭ¹⁹⁸. In fact, to the chagrin of the *Estado* passes were even issued locally to merchants and officials resident at Bandar-e Kong¹⁹⁹. Conversely, Mughal officials from Sind sent their fleets to Masqaṭ and Bandar-e Kong²⁰⁰. Shortly after 1630 most private trade into Iran seems to have passed through Bandar-e Kong without much interference by government agencies²⁰¹. The relative freedom of trade in the port made collection of customs duties an arduous task for the *Estado*²⁰². But by around 1640 it had become a regular port of call for vessels travelling under Portuguese protection. The customs house now yielded handsome revenues. At one point in the 1630's, even part of the EIC's share in the customs revenues of Bandar-e 'Abbās was due to be paid in Bandar-e Kong²⁰³. The Dutch had to acknowledge that threats to Portuguese *cafilas* also curtailed the Safavid officials' income thus giving them an easy pretext for reprisals against the VOC factory Bandar-e 'Abbās²⁰⁴. If

¹⁹⁷ ANTT DRI LX, fl.331rf.: Letter of Viceroy D.Filipe Mascarenhas, dated Goa 18/12/1640.

¹⁹⁸ As early as January 1630 the new formulary for *cartazes* issued for shipping from Sind to the Persian Gulf included Bandar-e Kong among the authorised destinations, see HAG LM XIII A, No.321 (77:1/6), fl.267: Letter of Viceroy Cde. De Linhares to King Philip III, dated Goa 25/1/1630 (cfr. *BFUP* V 1956). See AHU C.I. 8/116: "Assento do conselho da fazenda", dated Goa 4/6/1625, on Persian merchants in Sind, and ANTT DRI XXII, fl.117vff. on the dangers of alienating them.

¹⁹⁹ See the disapproving letter of regent Margarida to Viceroy Cde. Aveiras, dated 9/3/1640 (HAG LM XXIB, No.3, fl.366; cfr. *BFUP* XX 1962): "...foi concedido ao governador do Congo, Necodá, um seguro de navios pimenteiros".

²⁰⁰ ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: Journal Gr. Cornelius, 1631/32. So important was this traffic that they declined Dutch offers to escort three or four ships *p.a.* to Bandar-e 'Abbās, for, they argued, they would loose the trade to Masqaṭ and other Portuguese forts.

²⁰¹ See e.g. ARA VOC 1108, fl.869rff.: Ph. Lucasz., aboard "schip Amsterdam", to N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 28/12/1632 who reckoned that trade with private merchants at Bandar-e 'Abbās was unlikely to grow, "soo lange de Portugiesen Mooren ofte andere Natien den selven liber ende onbecommert in Bandar Congo gauderen, door welcken abundanten toevoer niet alleene 't landt van alle sorteringen van lijnwaeten en[de] cleeden vervullen, maer ons de speceryen van nagelen, peper, Gember, Suijckeren, Confituyren etc. |a ende andere coopmanschappen van India installich maecken op vijle prijzen dringen ende ons de merckt van onse eijgen goederen stellen". Some reports claimed that merchants who brought ashore their goods at Bandar-e Kong, then travelled on to Bandar-e 'Abbās, see ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: Journal Gr. Cornelius, 1631/32.

²⁰² See Anon. (1633) [tpq], *Relação das plantas e descripção de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações que os Portugueses têm no Estado da India*, ed. A. Botelho da Couse VEIGA, Lisboa 1936, 18: "a Alfandega deste porto de Congo não tem rendimento Certo, porque nunca os Mouros acabão de pagar..."

²⁰³ See *BGP* 523ff., 529: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1635.

²⁰⁴ This awareness is best expressed in the lengthy assessment to be found in ARA VOC 1135, fl.647r-668r: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/3/1641.

Bandar-e Kong rose to prominence after the Portuguese had established their *feitoria*, non-Portuguese ships bound for Al-Başra also called at the port chiefly in order to avoid the stricter Portuguese customs régime at Masqaţ²⁰⁵.

In the mid-XVIIth century, Bandar-e Kong fell into the jurisdiction of the *vazîr* of Lārestān. The chief local officials were *dārūge* and *šāhbandar*²⁰⁶. For decades they were appointed by the *vazîr*, an arrangement which allowed the latter to develop independent commercial interests in the port. When, against longstanding custom, governor and *šāhbandar* at Bandar-e Kong were appointed by the imperial court in 1656, ‘Evāz Beğ feared his unorthodox policy might prove his undoing²⁰⁷. However, it seems the new officials had been instructed primarily to reverse the privileges granting the Portuguese 50% of the port’s customs revenue²⁰⁸. Bandar-e Kong benefitted greatly from the commercially minded policy of ‘Evāz Beğ, whose son served as governor of the port before succeeding his father as governor of Lār²⁰⁹. Customs rates were kept lower than those at Bandar-e ‘Abbās²¹⁰. The port served primarily for disembarking goods for Central Iran. The volume of transactions was low, at times not even sufficient for defraying customs duties, in which case local officialdom found it lucrative

²⁰⁵ *EFT* VI, 243f.: Agent Merry, Eşfahān, to London, dated 5/6/1640; see also ARA VOC 1134, fl.222rff.: A. van Oostende, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/5/1640.

²⁰⁶ See J. AUBIN (ed.) (1971), 12. His main witness for the mid-1690’s is G.F. GEMELLI CARERI (1699); on the author and textual dependencies see A. MAGNAGHI (1900), *Il viaggiatore Gemelli Careri (secolo XVII) e il suo "Giro del mondo"*, Bergamo. In 1654/55, *Nāhodā* Ḥasan was vice-governor at Bandar-e Kong under the governor "*šāhbandar* Ḥalīfe Āgā", see ARA VOC 1208, fl.277rff.: "*Daghregister*" Al-Başra 1654. W. HEDGES (1681-87), vol.1, 205, has the *šāhbandar* as governor, just as G. PEREIRA FIDALGO, see J. AUBIN (ed.) (1971), 33. For the history of the term *dārūge* in Iran see A.K.S. LAMBTON (1338/1959), The Evolution of the Office of Darugheh, *Mağalleh-ye Mardom Šenāsf* III, 1-10; for the (early) use of the term *šāhbandar* in port administration in the Indian Ocean region see W.H. MORELAND (1920), The Shahbandar in the Eastern Seas, *JRAS* XXVIII, 517-533.

²⁰⁷ ARA VOC 1224, fl.269rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/12/1656.

²⁰⁸ ARA VOC 1224, fl.832rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 30/11/1657. Eduardo Da Costa, *vedor da fazenda*, promptly appeared in Eşfahān to protest about withholding their dues.

²⁰⁹ ‘Evāz Beğ first moved to the office of *vazîr* of Māzandarān and later to that of *divān-beği*, see ARA VOC 1241, fl.572r-579v, fl.575r: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Amsterdam, dated 15/2/1664; for his son’s succession in Lār see ARA VOC 1242, fl.1087r-1093v, fl.1092r: *do.*, dated 20/6/1664. For the son’s tenure at Bandar-e Kong see M. GODINHO (1665), *Relaçāo...*, *loc.cit.*, 123.

²¹⁰ *GM* III, 4-46, 40: J. Maetsuyker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 24/12/1655, on Bandar-e Kong "alwaer door den heusen ommeganck van den gouverneur van Lhaer vrij beter onthael genieten ende matigen tol te weten 7 in plaets van 10 pr. cento betalen", which compares favourably with Bandar-e ‘Abbās’ harbour under Moḥammad Qolī Beğ Lale.

to be helpful with loans at low interests²¹¹. Later, the *hāns* of Lār had a rampart built to defend settlement and ships against attacks by pirates²¹². Thus, additional shipping was attracted, chiefly from Bandar-e ‘Abbās²¹³, a development which allegedly slashed the income of the royal customs house in the latter port to less than a quarter of levels reached under Šāh ‘Abbās I²¹⁴. At one point, the governor of Lār even entreated the Dutch to transfer their operations to the port, offered to build a storehouse for them and to plead their case at court²¹⁵. Our sources also suggest that Bandar-e Kong was home-base to a significant number of merchants, perhaps even more than Bandar-e ‘Abbās²¹⁶, and that Safavid port officials were known to have owned long-haul trading vessels, which travelled East and West²¹⁷.

The *Estado da India* realised the growing volume of shipping in the second half of the century and, in an attempt to strengthen their position in the Arabian Seas, became increasingly reluctant to accept lump payment *en lieu* of a the moiety of customs revenues²¹⁸. They also

²¹¹ ARA VOC 1252, 702-726, 716ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665: "...daer [*scil.*: Bandar-e Kong] seldom vande aengebrachte goederen meer der uijt de handt werde geset, als tot betaelinge van haerer thollen benodight sij, welcke benoodigte penningen veeltijts door den Congosen Regent en Sabandaer wegen den laarsen Gouvern. daer resideerende aende cooplijden wert verstreckt, om nevens een cleen gewin in Spahan weder betaelen...".

²¹² In the 1630's Bandar-e Kong had been described as "hūa praya da costa brava sem abrigo nenhū" in A. BOCARRO (1635), *Livro das plantas...*, *loc. cit.*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 88, but see, for the 1660's, M. GODINHO (1665), *Relação...*, *loc. cit.*, 123.

²¹³ ARA VOC 1245, pp.773-801, 794ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664: at the time of governor Allāhverdī Hān, Dutch reports claim that "nu de helft van de scheepen ende fregats hier [*scil.*: at Bandar-e ‘Abbās] niet aancomen maar merckten in mascatta en Congo".

²¹⁴ ARA VOC 1241, fl.631r-641r, fl.638v: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 17/3/1664.

²¹⁵ ARA VOC 1253, 1535ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/5/1665 and do. 1/6/1665.

²¹⁶ References to traders from Bandar-e Kong occur in archival sources of all provenance; e.g. ARA VOC 1416, fl.1539vff.: Shipping list Surat 1684/85: ‘Abd aš-Šayḥ’s "*Ḥoseyni*", arriving from Bandar-e Kong, carryied among other goods no less than 85 bags of silver ‘*abbāsīs*. References to his trade also in P. AGATHANGELUS de St.Theresia, *A Chronicle of Events Between the Years 1623 and 1733 Relating to the Settlement of the Order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia (Bussora)*, ed. H. GOLLANCZ, Oxford/London 1927, s.v.; for his correspondence with the Portuguese Viceroy see *BFUP XXXV/II* 1968, 407.

²¹⁷ See e.g. the "Masty" (?) of *šāhbandar* Mīrzā Mortazā, arriving at Surat 24/2/1682, see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2554vff.: "Notitie..." (Shipping list Surat 1681/82), carrying 6 small bags of gold ducats, 22 small bags of silver ‘*abbāsīs*, 3 small bags of fine pearls, 170 bags of *rānds*, 538 of dates, 177 of tobacco, 13 of almonds, 2 of textiles, 36 chests *kīšmīš* and seven of rosewater. In the mid-1650's, *nāḥodā* Ḥasan, vice-governor at Bandar-e Kong, sent his "*Ġouhari*" to Al-Bašra, see ARA VOC 1208, fl.277r.: "*Daghregister*" Al-Bašra 1654.

²¹⁸ For 1663/64 *DR XV*, 309ff., 319, when the *vedor da fazenda* agreed with the *šāhbandar* on 1.200 *tāmān p.a.*, but see also comments in ARA VOC 1241, fl.572rff., fl.577r: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/2/1664.

insisted on their share of revenue accruing from the Bāhṛayn pearl fisheries²¹⁹. In order to enforce compliance with the original agreements Portuguese vessels regularly captured Persian-owned ships at the mouth of the Persian Gulf or threatened reprisals when the full amount due was not paid by the port officials²²⁰.

At about the same time, the Safavids tightened their administration of the coastline: Bandar-e Kong was subordinated to *ḥān* and *šāhbandar* of Bandar-e ‘Abbās²²¹. Unified administration of the ports eventually meant that Safavid legislation was now being implemented, especially regulations regarding precious metal exports, which previously had been complied with superficially at best²²². Attempts to eliminate Bandar-e Kong as an unwelcome competitor of the royal customs at Bandar-e ‘Abbās soon led Safavids and *Estado da India* to the brink of open armed conflict. The Portuguese had been ordered to quit the port as early as 1654²²³. But in 1672, the *ḡānešm* of the *ḥān* at Bandar-e ‘Abbās gathered troops which had been conscripted in the coastal plain of Mīnāb to anticipate an attack from the sea²²⁴. Hostilities could be quelled

²¹⁹ See ARA VOC 1279, fl.1024r-1028r, fl.1026v: Fr. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1672. For earlier information see ARA VOC 1144, fl.535rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Batavia, dated 25/2/1643, who has the Portuguese collect "den halven thol van Congo, Baran, Cattijffa ende daer omtrent geleegen plaetsen". ARA VOC 1162, fl.190rff.: "Daghregister" N. Verburgh / W. Bastineq (1646/47) report that Eṣfahān believed the Portuguese still collected 1.000 *tūmān* annually from Bāhṛayn. This practice is indirectly confirmed in ANTT DRI LIX, fl.94r-v: A. Godinho, Bāhṛayn, to Maṣqāṭ, dated 9/10/1648. P. LUFT (1968), 216f., N.248, mistaken to follow others who hold that the Portuguese had renounced all receipts from the Bāhṛaynī pearl fisheries.

²²⁰ See e.g. for a Sindi ship during the monsoon 1669/70: ARA VOC, fl.885r-897v, fl.893r: I. Goske, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 24/4/1670: 2000 *tūmān* were demanded as price of release, "haer aenpart in den Congosen thol ruijm 3000 thoman beloopende door den persiaensen coninck jngehouden"; a similar situation arose in 1678, see HAG LRV III, fl.47r-v: Viceroy A. Paes De Sande, to the *nawāb* of Surat, dated 27/8/1678 (BFUP XIII, 1959), and in 1680, when concurrently with negotiations in Iran a vessel of Persian merchants was intercepted. The Portuguese withheld goods to the value of 1.250 *tūmān*, see *ibid.* IV, fl.47r: *do.* dated 27/8/1680.

²²¹ In the first years of Šāh Soleymān's reign it was planned to combine the charges of *ḥān* and *šāhbandar* of Bandar-e ‘Abbās; when the appointed candidate Maḥmūd Mo'men died on his way to the port the arrangement was altered and two new appointees were named. The "Zabandaarschap van Gamron en Congo", which had been awarded for two years, was divided, "gelijck dat van Gamron bij hem self [*scil.* the *šāhbandar*] en dat van Congo bij zijn zoon is bedient geworden", ARA VOC 1255, 879ff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/8/1667. However, as early as 1640 the *šāhbandar* of Bandar-e ‘Abbās had tried to prevent an English vessel laden with Surati freight goods to the alleged value of 9.000 *tūmān* which had called at Bandar-e Kong from leaving for Al-Baṣra without paying customs duty at Bandar-e ‘Abbās, ARA VOC 1134, fl.222rff.: A. van Oostende, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/5/1640.

²²² See e.g. ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178r-2224v, fl. 2219r: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/4/1683: "Zeeker broeder van d'alderijste sjolphase cooplieden genaemt Chodja Sackara, en marckarra, in congo een groot capitael afgebragt hebbende, omme tot jncoop van paerlen, als anders te dienen, heeft den sabandaer begeert, dat 5 pr. cto. gel. vant uytvoeredne gelt gedaen wert, betalen soude".

²²³ See GM II, 770-819, 812: J. Maetsuyker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 26/1/1655.

²²⁴ ARA VOC 1295, fl.393r-423v, fl.412vf.: Fr. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1672.

when the Portuguese privileges were confirmed at court²²⁵. In 1674, a new *šāhbandar* bought the taxfarm of the Persian Gulf ports for an unprecedented 165.000 rixdollars and initially declined even to negotiate with the *Estado*²²⁶. A blockade of the port eventually resulted in a payment of 1.500 *tūmān* for two years arrears of the Portuguese share of customs' duties and a present worth 300 *tūmān* to the *vedor da fazenda*. Similar humiliating occurrences let the Safavids consider closing the port altogether and resettling its population at Bandar-e 'Abbās. In July 1675, a royal decree prevented caravans from traveling to Bandar-e Kong, and all merchant shipping was to be forced into Bandar-e 'Abbās²²⁷. Yet, these orders were not accompanied by effective control over the maritime foreland, and they were bound to remain dead letter. Instead, deliberately long delays of customs clearance at Bandar-e Kong were intended to discourage landing merchandise at that port, with the *šāhbandar* claiming that the royal customs at Bandar-e 'Abbās needed to be given precedence²²⁸. At the same time, the EIC tried to pressurize the Portuguese into mutually issuing *cartazes* which allowed journeys to both ports, Bandar-e 'Abbās and Bandar-e Kong²²⁹. Nine Surati vessels carrying textiles and bound for Al-Baṣra which had not reached similar agreements with the Portuguese were forced into Bandar-e Kong²³⁰. Instead of closing the port the Safavids dispatched *mostouft-ye ḥāṣṣe* Mīrzā Rāzī later in 1680²³¹, who was to examine Portuguese claims of 9.000 *tūr* in arrears. He gathered an army of 1.000 men²³² which faced an armada sent by Viceroy Antonio Paes De Sande²³³. Eventually,

²²⁵ There were doubts among outsiders whether the Portuguese had effectively been paid arrears of three years, see ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 29/4/1673; just as the EIC in Bandar-e 'Abbās, the Portuguese were given a second key to the customs house.

²²⁶ See the reports in ARA VOC 1304, fl.436r-460v, fl.441r: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1674 and ARA VOC 1297, fl.32r-34r, fl.33v: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 2/10/1674.

²²⁷ GM IV, 83-99, 92f.: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 7/2/1676. See also ARA VOC 1314, fl.135r-140r: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/9/1675. However, the Safavids paid the Portuguese 570 *tūmān* for 1675, see ARA VOC 1307, fl.638rff.: *do.*, dated 21/12/1675.

²²⁸ See ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935v-1942v, fl.1940vf.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/5/1680: "...den sabandaer present hier en niet in Congo zijn residentie hout daerhaer goederen niet eerder vertholt noch gelargeert werden, dan hij daar komt, 'twelck ordinarij niet wel eerder dan half Junij of primo julij geschiet".

²²⁹ J. BRUCE (1810), *Annals of the Honorable EIC*, 3 vols., London, vol.2, 393.

²³⁰ DR XXIX, 809f.: R. Casembroot, dated Šīrāz, 3/8/1680 with appendix dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 21/8/1680.

²³¹ See CTC² IV, 217f.: Šāh Soleymān's *fermān* (20/7/1680) names the official as "hum Ministro da Fazenda da minha côrte, e Provedor Mór dos contos do meu thesouro"; on the Safavid official see V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 123ff.

²³² See DR XXIX, 809f: Arrival at Batavia of *fluytschip* "Sparwoude" from Iran, 10/12/1680: carrying letter of R. Casembroot, dated Šīrāz 3/8/1680.

Admiral D. Rodrigo Da Costa and the Šāh's officials reached an agreement, which granted the *fazenda real* duty-free trade only to resident Portuguese, while 10.75% import duties were to be levied on the goods of other Portuguese private traders²³⁴. The extremely favourable rates for resident Portuguese merchants were doubtlessly due to the personal interest taken in the matter by the long-serving, but disenchanted former Portuguese *superintendente* at Bandar-e Kong, Manuel Mendes Henriques, who had become one of the richest and most influential merchants of the port²³⁵. But just as in 1630's the Grand Vizir disapproved of capitulations which, despite consultations held at Eşfahān, had been attained between two subordinate officials²³⁶. Furthermore, the practicalities of the agreement were not quite clear. One source claims that it was task of the Portuguese to enforce payment of custom duties²³⁷ and they continued to force Persian Gulf shipping into Bandar-e Kong on a large scale, much in the way they used to a century earlier at Hormūz. This proved lucrative for both *fazenda real* and Safavid officialdom²³⁸ and trade at Bandar-e Kong only suffered temporarily in the mid-1680's when the VOC mounted a blockade against Safavid ports²³⁹. On the other hand, it was not until the

²³³ On his career see A.P. SANDE E CASTRO (1951), *Antonio Pães de Sande. "O Grande Governador"*, Lisboa, which also contains a number of relevant documents.

²³⁴ CTC² IV, 216f.: "Concertos", dated Bandar-e Kong 15/9/1680 stipulates an annual lump sum of 1.000 *tūmān* as well as yearly presents of 100 *tūmān* to the Portuguese "superintendente". Payment of 8.000 *tūmān* of arrears as claimed in ARA VOC 1370, fl.2476r-2509v, fl.2482vff: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1681, is not mentioned.

²³⁵ This assessment of his standing in Abbé B. CARRÉ De Chambon (1699), *Voyage des Indes Orientales mêlé de plusieurs histoires curieuses*, 2 vols., Paris; Engl. ed.: C. FAWCETT III, 3 vols., (=HS N.S. XCV-XCVII), London 1948, vol.1, 107ff., is echoed in our archival sources.

²³⁶ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648v-2667v, fl.2652r-v: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 6/3/1682 for disputes between the taxfarmer and the *e'temād od-doule*. Some later accused Mirzā Razī of having taken 6.000 *tūmān* to plead the case of the Portuguese at court, *ibid.*, fl.2664v.

²³⁷ See G.M. GEMELLI CARRERI (1699), vol.2, 277.

²³⁸ For the extraordinary profitability of Bandar-e Kong in the *Estado da India* see C.A. HANSON (1981), *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal 1668-1703*, Minneapolis; Port. ed. *Economia e sociedade no Portugal barroco 1668-1703*, Lisboa 1986, 235, Table VII.

²³⁹ See the dossier on a dispute between François Martin, on behalf of the CIO, and the VOC' Persian factory, ARA VOC 1409, fl.1713rff.: H'āḡe Minaz' "Suleymān" (hired by the CIO servant L'Estoilie) had attempted to unload at Bandar-e Kong, despite the promise of her *nāḡoda* not to do so. When the "Batavia Merchant" after fighting off Masqaṭī attackers proceeded to confiscate her cargo she escaped to Būšahr thus contravening the "Translaet verbant schrift van de naghoda van 'tschip Sullemanij gegeven in de golf van persia aan d'E. heer casembr. sal.r: ...t zij beslooten En vastgesteld door mij Naghoda Mohiet Naghoda van het schip Sullemanic dat wanner het openbaar wert, dat aan eenige havenen van persia de vragtgoederen kome te lossen of te vertoonen, aan ymand deselve ook soo Ick eenig quade Gerute wegens de Hollantse Comp.e uytstrooye zoo sal Ick schuldigh En strafbaar blyven, dese woorden hebbe Icq bȳ maniere van voorwaarde En tot bevestinge gesz. ter derde dage van de maand remsaam in het jaar 1095". [The shipowner was a well-known Armenian merchant, see C.R. BOXER (1976), A Portuguese Document of 1670 Concerning Khwaja Minaz, *Indica* XIII/1-2, 83-92]. For another report of shipping at Bandar-e Kong in the mid-1680's see ARA VOC 1416,

end of the century that the Portuguese obtained another *fermān* officially reconfirming 50% as their share of the customs revenue at Bandar-e Kong²⁴⁰.

Much of Bandar-e Kong's trade was linked to transshipment of goods (especially Sindi textiles and South-East Asian spices) at Masqaṭ²⁴¹, and to the forwarding trade to Al-Baṣra²⁴². In addition, Bandar-e Kong emerged as an important market for Baḥraynī pearls in the Persian Gulf proper, a purpose for which the VOC temporarily set up an establishment in the 1690's²⁴³. With Bandar-e Kong so strongly integrated into a regional network of port cities and markets tensions between Safavids, Portuguese and Yaʿariba ʿUmān were a constant source of disruption to peaceful trade. Repeatedly, designs were discussed which envisaged Safavid expansion across the straits and talk of intervention disquieted ʿUmān. However, these projects materialised neither when inspired by the Portuguese desire to recapture Hormūz or Masqaṭ, as in 1653²⁴⁴, nor when prompted by Safavid plans to eliminate Masqaṭ as a rival to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, such as the combined land-sea operation suggested by the *šāhbandar* in 1664²⁴⁵. On the other hand, Portuguese vessels (and those carrying the *Estado's* *cartazes*) which cast anchor off Bandar-e Kong were always exposed to Masqaṭī raids²⁴⁶. From the 1670's at the latest, the constant

fl.1739vff., dated 21/6/1685.

²⁴⁰ HAG LM LIX (45:4), fl.233f: Viceroy Cde. de Vila Verde to King Pedro II, dated 8/2/1695 (see *BFUP* XLVI 1984). On the subsequently embassy under Gregório Pereira Fidalgo see J. AUBIN (ed.) (1971). For the wider context see also J.H. da Cunha RIVARA (1867), *A Índia no tempo do Viço-rei Conde de Vila-Verde 1693-98*, *CTiss* II, 223-226, 247-253.

²⁴¹ For the 1630's see A. BOCARRO (1635), *Livro das plantas... de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, in: *APO*² IV-II-1/2, 87ff. For the post-Portuguese period ARA VOC 1304, fl.508rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 4/9/1674.

²⁴² E.g. *DR* XXX, 487ff., 489: on Basran shipping (letter of R. Casembroot, dated 9/4/1681) and *DR* XXXII, 1324ff.: 13 Surati ships (letter of R. Casembroot, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 14/6/1682). In 1682 no less than 23 ships were counted at Bandar-e Kong, see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744r-2776v, fl.2756v: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 7/9/1682.

²⁴³ See e.g. B.J. SLOT (1985), *Širkat al-Hind aš-Šarqī al-Hūlandiya wa al-Baḥrayn, Al-Wattqa* VI, 65-70. For an earlier expedition see ARA VOC 1146, fl.823rff., dated 22/5/1643: "Instructie" H. Walchaert / H. Costerus.

²⁴⁴ As early as late 1650 see ANTT DRI LX, fl.331rf.: Letter of Viceroy D.Filipe Mascarenhas, dated Goa 18/12/1640, where the Portuguese would provide shipping services and in return obtain Hormūz; on negotiations regarding Masqaṭ conducted with the "Cão de Lara" and the "xeque de Cassapo" (i.e. Hasāb) HAG LM XXIII A, No.10 (23:2), fl.148: King João IV to Viceroy Cde. Obidos, 7/2/1653 (see *BFUP* XXIII 1963).

²⁴⁵ See ARA VOC 1242, fl.1087rff.: H.v. Wijecq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Amsterdam, dated 20/6/1664.

²⁴⁶ ARA VOC 1245, 773ff., 795b: H.v. Wijecq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664: In 1663/64, they demanded the extradition of the Portuguese *vedor da fazenda* and the Jewish merchant Abraham Babu. ARA VOC, fl.885r-897v, fl.893r: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 24/4/1670: on that occasion, the superior firepower of the Portuguese fleet of 13 sails put the Arab crafts to flight; in 1673, 25 armed crafts from Ġulfar attacked a Sindi and Kanara vessels off Bandar-e Kong, see ARA VOC 1285, fl.406rf.: F. De Haze, Šīrāz, to Amsterdam, dated 19/10/1673; in 1674, 20 Masqaṭī vessels attacked 4-5 of the *Estado's* ships, see the Dutch report in ARA VOC 1291, fl.561r-566v.

hazard of ʿUmānī pirates in the Persian Gulf inevitably engulfed trade at Bandar-e Kong, but towards the end of the century, Bandar-e Kong's position was strengthened when new alliances were forged, with Portuguese and French acquiring the status of Safavid allies²⁴⁷.

Trade at Bandar-e Kong at times followed trajectories markedly different from those of commerce at Bandar-e ʿAbbās: throughout the period examined, private trade, whether locally based, Indian, Armenian or European dominated the port; early on Safavid officials participated actively in commerce as shipowners and, at least in the mid-XVIIth century, local administration of Lārestān vigorously promoted the port's development. Conversely, the port's prosperity seems to have suffered less from the deleterious effects of centrally appointed port officials. This difference was perhaps among the reasons why this port more than Bandar-e ʿAbbās was integrated in the interregional trading network which linked ports such as Masqaṭ and Bandar-e Kong as points of transshipment to Al-Baṣra.

Al-Baṣra Between Afrāsiyāb and Ottomans

Although nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, Al-Baṣra was distant and difficult to control. At the turn of the century the Ottoman governor sold the city to the local family Afrāsiyāb²⁴⁸, who subsequently relied on Portuguese naval assistance²⁴⁹ against Safavid expeditions led by Emām Qolī Ḥān in 1624/25 and 1629²⁵⁰. ʿAlī Pāšā and Ḥusayn Pāšā maintained the independence of the port city and its district, which extended North as far as Al-Qurna and some 35 miles East of Al-Baṣra²⁵¹, until 1668/69. Ḥusayn Pāšā remitted a merely

²⁴⁷ The best account of the turn of the century is A. KROELL (1976), *Louis XIV, la Perse et Mascate*, Paris, but most of the Portuguese sources still a detailed study; for the origins of the Luso-Safavid alliance see e.g. BNL Pomb. Ms.439, No.52, fl.114r: King Pedro II to Cde. De Vila Verde, dated 16/8/1696: "por lhe ter sanguinado o Porto de Congo e aprisionado hum barco de Comorão, ordenando que a nossa armada fosse em dereitura do Porto do Congo para socorrer e ajudar ao Perça nesta inuazão, e escreuendolhe e propondolhe hũa liga contra o Arabio he ordenado ao superintendente paçasse a Axpão para tratar este negocio e segurar ao Perça que brevemente lhe heria Embaixador deste estado o que não fizestes logo por serem necessarios para Esta missão groços cabedais, e esse estado senão achar para semelhantes despesas".

²⁴⁸ As yet, there is no certainty concerning the chronology of this period, see ʿA. AL-ʿAZZĀWĪ (1935-53), *Taʾrīḥ al-ʿIrāq bayna iḥtilālāy*, 5 vols., Baḡdād, vol.4, 47, 139; S.H. LONGRIGG (1925), *Four Centuries of Iraq*, Oxford, 99ff.

²⁴⁹ Details in L. CORDEIRO (ed.) (1898), *Dois capitães da India...*, *passim*.

²⁵⁰ Conversely, ʿAlī Pāšā complained bitterly to the English (and Dutch) about the assistance given to the Safavids, see *EFT* III, 324f.

²⁵¹ On the extension at the advent of Ḥusayn Pāšā see ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijfelijck relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

notional annual tribute to Istanbul and when the honorific title *vezīr bāṣā* was bestowed on him by the Ottoman Sultan, the latter's reason was "solely to guard his empire at the Persian border" as one European merchant put it²⁵². Ḥusayn Pāšā's autocratic rule caused much discontent among the city's élite: his estranged uncles appealed to Istanbul and were rewarded with the governorships of the provinces of Al-Qaṭīf and Al-Ḥasā, whence they invited Murtaḍā Pāšā, governor at Baġdād, to join an expedition against Al-Baṣra in 1653/54²⁵³. Ottoman troops occupied the city, but were forced into renewed retreat and Ḥusayn Pāšā's rule was restored. Only in 1668, Ḥusayn Pāšā was effectively expelled with the help of his relative Yahyā Āġā. Ottoman control over Al-Baṣra remained precarious, however, and repeated assaults by tribal Muntafiq and Ġazā'ir forces were often repelled only at the last moment. In the late 1680's the city suffered from devastating floods and the plague²⁵⁴. In 1694, the port fell to Mānī' Al-Muġāmis, an event which paved the way for the invasion by Farāġollāh *vālī* of Ḥoveize and a short Safavid annexation a few years later²⁵⁵.

Port administration in Afrāsiyāb Al-Baṣra was different from both Bandar-e Kong and Bandar-e 'Abbās: notably, there was no evidence for some sort of bureaucratically rotating officialdom or instances of mutual control. Under 'Alī Pāšā Afrāsiyāb the port was governed by the *šāhbandar*, one Muḥammad Āġā, whose confidant Ḥ'āġe Aḥmad in turn supervised the public scales²⁵⁶. In the XVIIth century the customs house levied duties of 6.5-7.5% *ad valorem* on imports. Four per cent of these were levied nominally on behalf of the Ottoman Sultan even under

²⁵² ARA VOC 1188, fl.461rff.: D.v. Adrichem, Al-Baṣra, 1651/52. On the career of this VOC servant see D. van ADRICHEM (1662), *Journael van ~'s Hofreis naar den Groot Mogol Aurangzeb*, ed. A.J. BERNET KEMPERS (WLV XLV), Den Haag 1941.

²⁵³ The account in S. LONGRIGG (1925) is more reliable than C. HUART (1901), *Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, Paris. See also the short sketch in R. MANTRAN (1962), Baghdad à l'époque Ottomane, *Arabica Suppl.*, 311-324. An important Ottoman version of the events can be found in Murtaḍa Effendī Naẓmizādeh (1730), *Gulšan-i Ḥulafā'*, Istanbul. Elsewhere, I intend to deal in greater detail with events of the early 1650's in Al-Baṣra on the basis of new eyewitness accounts and diaries kept by European merchants.

²⁵⁴ ARA VOC 1425, fl.460rff.: W. Bullestraate, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 26/9/1687; ARA VOC 1434, fl.555rff.: A. Verdonck, Al-Baṣra, to Batavia, dated 2/6/1688.

²⁵⁵ Al-Baṣra fell to Iran again in the following century, see S.M. KAŠMĪRĪ (1350/1961), Taṣarrof-e Baṣra be-dast-e Īrāniyān dar zamān-e šāhryāri-ye Zand, *BT* VI/1, 87-126; VI/2, 69-104.

²⁵⁶ Muḥammad Āġā had previously also been governor of Al-Baṣra before 'Alī Pāšā's son Ḥusayn had been named to fill the post, see ARA VOC 1152, fl.271rff.: "Daghregister" N.v.d. Cappen, 1645.

Afrāsiyāb rule²⁵⁷. For exports, the rate was 5% under Ḥusayn Pāšā, except for the Dutch who were granted a 2/5 reduction²⁵⁸. Having ousted Ḥuseyn Pāšā, the Ottomans seem to have retained the customs régime of the Afrāsiyāb. One report explained the Ottoman *bāšā* could not reduce the customs rate since he had to remit larger sums to Istanbul than the independent ruler²⁵⁹ and he refused French demands to see their capitulations with the Ottoman Sultan applied in his port, which would have entitled them to a 3% customs rate²⁶⁰. On the other hand, both the Dutch and English were granted a lower rate of 3-4% in the mid-1680's²⁶¹. The port operated a strict régime of *entrepôtsage*, from which no individual merchant of Company was exempted²⁶² and which created a cosmopolitan group of resident traders who sold remaining goods as *vaktls* of foreign merchants.

It seems that before ca. 1640 European coins were recoined in large numbers at Al-Bašra, but according to reports from the mid-1640's Spanish rials were used in all transactions²⁶³, but we also hear that the Afrāsiyāb earned 8% on recoinning imported rials into *lārtn*²⁶⁴. The city's

²⁵⁷ For a first report see *EFI'* VI, 245ff.: W. Thurston et al., Al-Bašra, to London, dated 22/6/1640. Erroneous data therein contained is corrected in *EFI'* VI, 251ff., dated 28/8/1640: not only 5% of the sales' price, but 6.5% were levied on textiles; however, ARA VOC 1146, fl.902rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/2/1644, claims the English only paid 4-5%. Indigo paid 10 *lārtn* per "fardle which containes 117 vaqueas [i.e.: *wuq'iya*: in the Ottoman Empire ca.1.3kg], which is 3 maunds, 23 seare, 6 1/2 pice of Suratt" as well as an extra 0.5% as weighing fee. Other weighable goods paid 8%, of which 7.5% were shared by the ruler and the *šāhbandar* and 0.5% went to the "waigher". Cfr. for the composition of the 6.5% tariff in 1645 ARA VOC 1152, fl.64rff.: D. Sarcerius et al., Al-Bašra, to Amsterdam, dated 6/8/1645: 4% for the Ottoman Sultan, 1% for his broker, 0.5% weighing fee, 0.5% for the supervisor and 0.25% for the guards of the public scales, 0.25% for the lighters and porters. A special 7.5% rate applied to drugs and spices. A 7.5% rate is recorded for the mid-1660's: ARA VOC 1251, 1356ff.: P. Smid, Al-Bašra, to Colombo, dated 14/8/1665.

²⁵⁸ ARA VOC 1181, fl.836rff.: "Articulen" Ḥusayn Pāšā, May 1651.

²⁵⁹ ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rf.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Bašra, dated 19/10/1670. In 1681, the Ottoman governor did not lease out the *šāhbandarship*. Instead he appointed one Ottoman military in the hope to purge the practice of levying extraordinary duties, see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, dated 17/9/1681.

²⁶⁰ See ARA VOC 1379, fl.2721rff.: Report R. Casembroot, dated Batavia 25/22/1682. On the origins of French-Ottoman capitulations see also: A. HORNIKER / N. STEENSGAARD (1968), *The First French Capitulations: 1536 or 1569*, *ScEcHR* XVI, 168-170. The Portuguese immediately made identical requests, see *ibid*.

²⁶¹ For the VOC: ARA VOC 1416, fl.1666vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/4/1685; for the English: ARA VOC 1430, fl.1436rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Ešfahān, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 31/8/1685.

²⁶² See ARA VOC 1152, fl.271rff.: "Daghtregister" N.v.d. Cappen, 1645.

²⁶³ On charges of the Afrāsiyāb government for recoinage see S. LONGRIGG (1925), 111. For recent numismatic research see also C. TOLL (1987), A hoard of Ottoman Turkish Silver Coins from Baḥrayn Minted at Bašra in 982-1032 A.H.=1574-1623 AD, in: *Fs. G.Jarring* (=Turcica et Orientalia), Stockholm, 149-166. For Spanish rials: ARA VOC 1152, fl.266rff.: D. Sarcerius, Al-Bašra, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 25/9/1645.

²⁶⁴ See S. LONGRIGG (1925), 111.

money market was boosted whenever warfare blocked overland transit trade through Iran or restrictive taxation discouraged Ottoman merchants from carrying specie to Iran. In fact, in the early 1660's, precious metal flows from the Levant converged on Al-Baṣra: the Safavids attempted in vain to redirect this traffic through Iran, where the absence of Ottoman merchants gave rise to some concern²⁶⁵, but Ḥuseyn Pāšā's autocratic rule hurt this branch of trade, too. Later, Ottoman officials engaged in the lucrative export of silver coins to neighbouring Ḥoveize and Douraḡ.

Al-Baṣra's hinterland was vast: merchants arrived from Aleppo, Damascus, Maṣīl, Baḡdād and minor market centres²⁶⁶. Therefore, Al-Baṣra could be affected by the Ottoman-Safavid struggle for 'Irāq-e 'Arab despite its long independence from either of the two foes. Disruptions of trade occurred when warfare rendered traffic along connecting overland routes impossible²⁶⁷. Along the sealanes, no serious obstructions of traffic bound for Al-Baṣra on the part of the Safavids were recorded after the 1620's, although the covetous eye of individual Safavid port officials would occasionally fall on a richly laden vessel on its way to Al-Baṣra²⁶⁸. More detrimental were the protracted wars prior to the eviction of Ḥuseyn Pāšā: in 1665, he confiscated provisions and boat-loads of goods which travelled upstream from Al-Baṣra in order to feed his ill-prepared forces defending the province near Al-Qurna²⁶⁹. In the maritime foreland, English and later Dutch vessels began to threaten the strong position of the Portuguese

²⁶⁵ See H.v. Wijcq, *Bandar-e 'Abbās*, to Batavia, dated 7/4/1663, summarized in: *DR XIV*, 290ff. Ottoman merchants failed to import into the country the coveted precious metals, "cunnende Persia van sich selfs weynig contanten uytgeven", see H.v. Wijcq, *Bandar-e 'Abbās*, to Batavia, dated 31/5/1664, summarized in *DR XV*, 416ff. See also below, Pt. 3.

²⁶⁶ ARA VOC 1210, fl.937rff.: J. Barra, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 20/10/1656.

²⁶⁷ For the situation in the 1620's see C. RÖMER (1989), *Die osmanische Belagerung Bagdads 1034-35/1625-26. Ein Augenzeugenbericht*, *Der Islam LXVI/1*, 119-136.

²⁶⁸ Somewhat surprisingly, the governor of Bandar-e Kong prevented an English ship from leaving for Al-Baṣra in spring 1640, after the peace of Zuhāb, see *EFI'* VI, 245f: W. Thurston et al., Al-Baṣra, to London, dated 22/6/1640. IOR G/36/102B, on the other hand, is mistaken in blaming Safavid-Ottoman hostilities for slackening trade, as suggested in D. Rizk KHOURY (1991), 63: except for an aborted expedition into Āzarbāiḡān the two empires were at peace. On the other hand, the Afrāsiyāb-Ottoman struggle for the fortress Zakiya, the Cretan wars, and the Dutch blockade of Safavid ports in 1645 reduced the volume of trade in that season, Nevertheless, sufficient coins were exported to sustain the trading season in Sind, *EFI'* VIII, 60f.: J. Spiller, Sindi road, to Surat, dated 8/12/1646.

²⁶⁹ This episode is recorded both in Ottoman and Basran chronicles, see S. LONGRIGG (1925), 114, and archival sources. However, some of the latter specify that the merchants thus dispossessed on their way to Baḡdād were Armenians, not Basran traders, see ARA VOC 1528ff.: J. Vogel, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 8/3/1666.

in the Portuguese trade from ca. 1640²⁷⁰. However, control over the transshipment points Masqaṭ and Bandar-e Kong always guaranteed the Portuguese merchants a significant share of Al-Baṣra's trade.

Reports on Basran trade in the mid-XVIIth century observed that local merchants were less well endowed with liquid capital and were generally less powerful than those who traded at Bandar-e ʿAbbās. Traders resident in Al-Baṣra were said to be able to absorb at best up to a quarter of the annual imports²⁷¹. Even Aleppine and Baḡdādi traders with their small scale transactions seem to fit the classic image of the peddler, except that many of them based their business chiefly on low-cost textiles²⁷². Although Al-Baṣra had long-established locally resident merchant communities and religious leaders and Sunnī population of Al-Baṣra entrusted the government of the city to a Turkish merchant Ḥāḡḡī Müsellem(?) during the anarchic mid-1660's²⁷³, merchants had as little a function in the city's government as elsewhere in the Persian Gulf Area, both under Ottoman and local clan government.

²⁷⁰ See ANTT DRI XLVII, fl.129rff.: Viceroy Cde. Aveiras to King João IV, dated 31/1/1641: "Sobre o damno que fazia aos Portugueses o comercio dos Ingrezes a Bassorá" (see also ANTT DRI XLVIII, fl.47v).

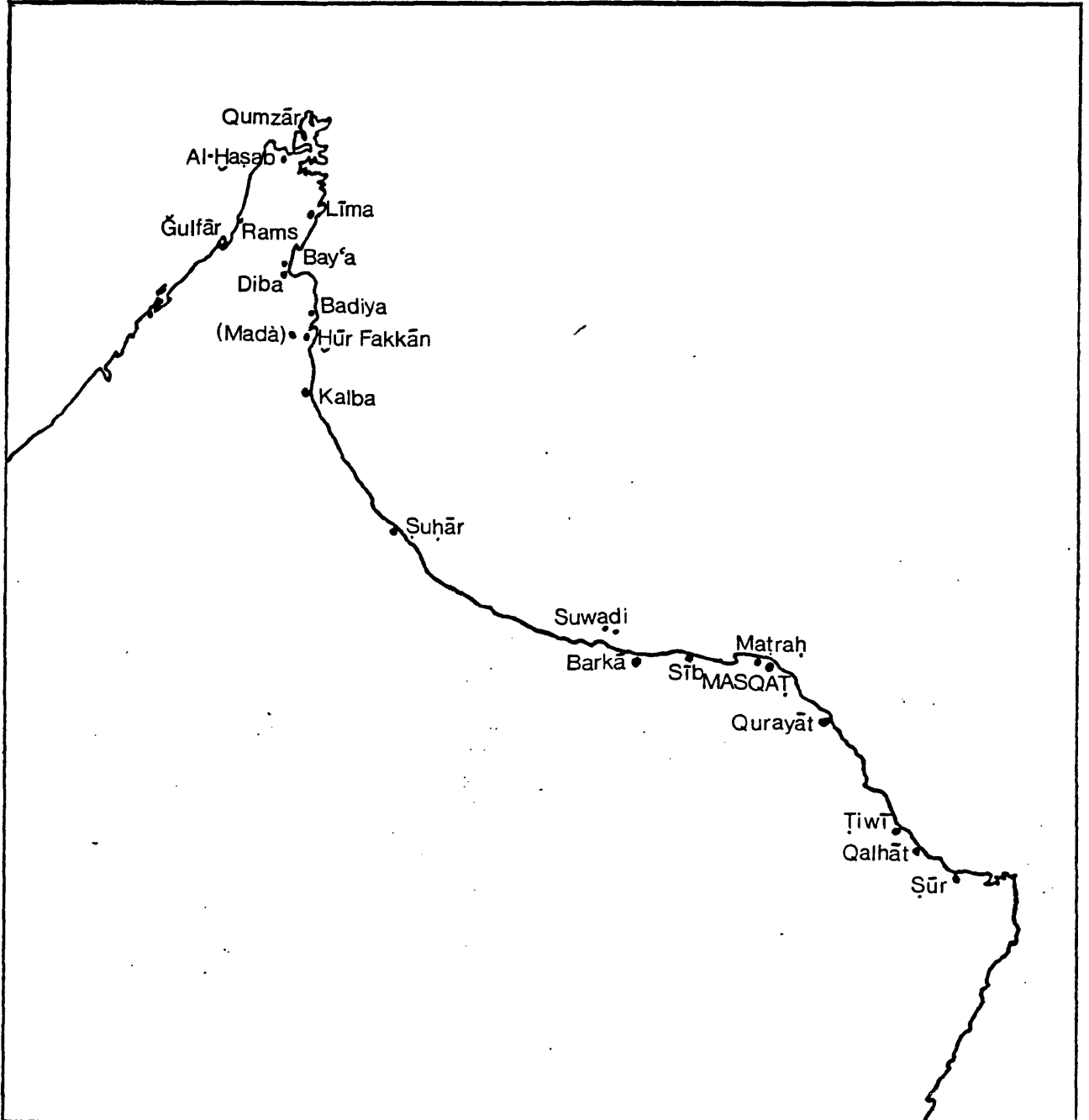
²⁷¹ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schriftelijk relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

²⁷² ARA VOC 1152, fl.266rff.: D. Sarcerius, Al-Baṣra, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 25/9/1645: "...t'een rijck alleps ofte Bagadets coopman is, die 4 a 5.000 Rln. te verhandelen heeft, en door d'bancq d'een door d'ander niet meer als 6 a 700 Rln. te besteeden hebben, t'welcq meest in Sindische als swarte Ammadabats. ende Cambaische sorteeringe (die hier altijd wel getraceert ende begeert alsmede de meeste winsten sijngevende) employeeren". On the particularly detrimental conditions in 1645 see above, but this assessment is repeated in later reports, too.

²⁷³ ARA VOC 1251, 1561: A. Brouwer, Al-Baṣra, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 27/1/1666: "met het vluchten van bovengenoemde [*scil.*: governor Ibrāhīm Āḡā and *šāhbandar*] hebben de opperste priesters die turex gesint waren al 't rapaelje van de stadt bij den anderen getrocken ende zoo met een groot geschreeuw de stadt voor den turcksen keyser opgeroepen, dat soo lange geduyrt heeft tot 12en deser dat zij priesters 't gouvernement een seeker turex Coopman gen.t Hasie Mossellem op gedragen hebben, men seyt dat het zelve door last van den bassia van bagadet zoude geschiet zijn, daar grotelyck aen twijffelen, alsoo Hassen Bassia de lantwegh soo besloten hout, dat daar niemant passeren can".

Map 10

Portuguese Ports in 'Umān



Port Cities and Local Powers in XVIIth Century Portuguese 'Umān

The history of 'Umān has long been interpreted as characterised by a contrast of coastal settlements and tribal groups of the interior. This bipolarity often disregards vested interests held by clans from the hinterland of ports in maritime affairs. In the XVIIth century, these emerged when the struggle to overcome tribal and regional discordances bore fruit with the rise of the the Ya'āriba Imamate²⁷⁴. This movement of unification parted from the interior, with the election of Nāṣir b. Muršid as Imam in 1624. At the same time and possibly as a reaction to the fall of Hormūz, the Portuguese strove to recapture and fortify a string of small ports North of the Bāṭina²⁷⁵, but eventually the Ya'āriba took all port cities: Masqaṭ, the last Lusitan stronghold, fell in 1650. Not all Bāṭina tribes, however, welcomed the advent of the Imamate and for the 1630's A. Bocarro reports the oppression suffered by the *ṣayḥs* in the immediate hinterland of Masqaṭ at the hands of the Imamate²⁷⁶. The Al-'Umayr, who controlled the access road from Masqaṭ into inner 'Umān through the Sumayil Gap²⁷⁷ and held large estates in the lower Bāṭina²⁷⁸, were among the clans who joined the forces of the Imamate rather late²⁷⁹. The *mulūk* of Sumayil had emerged as independent rulers during the turmoil preceding the rise of Ya'āriba²⁸⁰ and were said to have once dominated the entire coastline from Masqaṭ to Ra's Al-Hadd. Considering the vicinity of their estates to Masqaṭ and the strategic location of Sumayil it is perhaps not surprising to see them taking the side of the Portuguese: the clan's leader entered

²⁷⁴ For a recent account of the rise of the Ya'ariba see R.D. BATHURST (1967), *The Ya'rūbī Dynasty of Oman*, PhD Oxford; important additions and qualifications are found in J. WILKINSON (1977) and ID. (1987). A.A. AL-ASHBAN (1979), *The Foundation of the Omani Trading Empire under the Ya'aribah Dynasty 1624-1719*, *ArSīQ* I/4, 354-371, sums up previous knowledge. All of the former, but also, despite its title, R. BATHURST (1972), *Maritime Trade and Imamate Government: Two Principal Themes in the History of Oman to 1728*, in: D. HOPWOOD (ed.) (1972), *The Arabian Peninsula. Society and Politics*, London, 89-106, concentrate on the dynastical history of the interior and devote little space to the litoral.

²⁷⁵ Some ports changed hands several times, e.g. L. CORDEIRO (1936), pt.3, 312 for Ḥur Fakkān, and the accounts in ID. (ed.) (1898); see also A. BOCARRO (1635), *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2.

²⁷⁶ See A. BOCARRO (1635), *Livro das plantas...*, *loc.cit.*, 73. Reports on oppressive rule were also received from other coastal areas ANTT DRI XLIV, fl.262rff.: Letter of Pedro Da Silva, dated 6/3/1639, mentions Sūr, Qurayāt, Badiya, Ḥur Fakkān, Dibā, Rams and Ġulfar.

²⁷⁷ The paramount strategic importance of the Wādī Sumayil is shown in its impressive display of XVIIth century watchtowers and forts, dominating that most important of all transmountainous routes, cf. E. D'ERRICO (1983), 301f.

²⁷⁸ See J. WILKINSON (1987), 217.

²⁷⁹ ARA VOC 1288, fl.444v: Report R. Padtbrugge, dated Colombo, dated 25/10/1672.

²⁸⁰ Portuguese chroniclers know one "Xeque Amer", see A. BOCARRO, *Decada XIII...*, *loc.cit.*, 641ff., who I believe is the *malik* of Sumayil 'Umayr b. Ḥimyar.

into close commercial relations with *casados* at Masqaṭ²⁸¹, and in a combined land-sea operation, in 1616, assisted the *Estado*'s navy with 800 men to evict Muḥannā' b. Muḥammad al-Hudayfī from Ṣūhār²⁸². In four decades of his rule Ṣūhār had developed into a thriving *porto franco* for all shipping trying to avoid costly Portuguese *cartazes*, customs duties and trade restrictions²⁸³. This evasion presumably impinged on both customs receipts in Masqaṭ and transit revenues of the Al-ʿUmayr²⁸⁴. ʿUmayr b. Ḥimyar's successor Manī' b. Sinān Al-ʿUmayrī maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese and ʿUmānī chroniclers, both Ibn Qayṣar's "Vita Nasiris" and Ibn Ruzayq's "History of the Imams"²⁸⁵, concur in stating that the young Al-ʿUmayr was adamant not to yield his lands and strongholds to the Yaʿāriba. After inspiring and joining various abortive insurrections, he was eventually dislodged and killed while gathering forces in the port of Liwā north of Ṣūhār. His son ʿUmayr b. Muḥammad²⁸⁶ sought refuge in Portuguese Ṣūhār.

There was then, in the Bāṭina, a tribal élite with important interest in overseas trade. Apart from the port of Ṣūhār, which the Portuguese lost in 1643²⁸⁷, a number of other ports served the ʿUmānī interior and established communication with Masqaṭ which was cut off from the interior by narrow passes difficult to negotiate for pack animals. It was said of Sīb and Barkā that "without them [Masqaṭ] cannot breathe. As its population is growing fast, it needs much victuals, of which most are brought in from outside [*scil.*: by sea]"²⁸⁸. Sīb, in particular, which

²⁸¹ See A. BOCARRO, *Decada XIII...*, *loc.cit.*, 643.

²⁸² The expedition has been retold by C.R. BOXER (1983), *New Light on the Relations Between the Portuguese and the Omanis, 1613-1683*, *JOMS* VI/1, 35-39; the account in S.B. MILES (1919), 183f., is misleading.

²⁸³ A. BOCARRO, *Decada XIII...*, *loc.cit.*, 641f., on one occasion speaks of "dezoito e vinte fustas descarregar n'este porto muita roupa, pimenta e outras fazendas defezas por lei."

²⁸⁴ The reason for ʿUmayr b. Ḥimyar's alliance with the Portuguese given in A. BOCARRO, *Decada XIII...*, *loc.cit.*, 642, is a Ṣūhārī raid on the *malik*'s lands in the Bāṭina.

²⁸⁵ However, ʿAbdullāh b. Ḥalfān IBN QAYṢAR al-Ṣūhārī, *Strat al-Imam Naṣir b. Muṣṣid*, Masqaṭ [s.a.; ca. 1977], the sole contemporaneous ʿUmānī source has only a few lines on the Imam's exploits during the last decade of his reign. See also Ḥumayd b. Muḥammad IBN RUZAYQ, *Al-fath al-mubīn fī strat as-sāda ʿAlī Bā Saʿādiyyīn*, Masqaṭ 1977, see also G.P. BADGER (ed.) (1871), *History of the Imams and Seyyids of ʿOman by Salīl Ibn Razīk from AD 661-1856*, London.

²⁸⁶ See SIRHAN b. SAʿĪD Al-Izkawī [attr.], *Kaṣf al-ḡumma al-ḡāmiʿ li-ahbār al-umma*, Bayrūt 1977 [new ed. Masqaṭ 1980]; see also: E.C. ROSS (ed.) (1874), *Annals of Oman from Early Times to the Year 1728 AD*, *JASBeng* XLIII, 111-190, 162, and Ibn Ruzayq.

²⁸⁷ *ACE* III, 2f.: "Sobre a fortaleza de soar...", dated 19/1/1644.

²⁸⁸ Anon. (1633) [tpq], *Relação das plantas e descrição de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações que os Portugueses têm no Estado da Índia*, ed. A. Botelho da Cossa VEIGA, Lisboa 1936, 13.

had been taken by Ruy Freire D'Andrade "because it was important for trade at Masqaṭ"²⁸⁹, was described as "one of the outlets for [*scil.*: 'Umānī] goods destined for Masqaṭ and... [the port whence] goods are distributed throughout Arabia [i.e. 'Umān]". Security of this port was so vital for Masqaṭ's local trade that at times the salary of the *capitão* was paid from the share of the Masqaṭ's customs revenue reserved for the local *ṣayḥs*. Barkā, on the other hand, was the most important port for the cities of 'Umān's interior²⁹⁰.

Throughout the XVIth and XVIIth century, Masqaṭ's population remained relatively small²⁹¹. The two major changes were the establishment of a sizeable European colony, composed largely of Portuguese, and the influx of refugees from Hormūz, when the English honoured an agreement stipulated with the Portuguese and permitted the evacuation of 2.500 men and women from Hormuz in 1622²⁹². Conversely, shortly before the surrender of Masqaṭ in 1650 a ship carrying 700 refugees slipped out of the besieged port²⁹³. Many others, Portuguese and Balūčī *laškart*s, were slaughtered by the victorious Ya'āriba forces, but in 1651 several *casados* still resided in the town²⁹⁴. Sindi and Gujarati Muslim traders and their families, too, suffered greatly during the siege of 1648, when in four months they mourned more than 300

²⁸⁹ See L. SILVEIRA (ed.) (1991), *Livro das plantas das fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental...*, Lisboa, 47. The manuscript edited by Silveira, just as the Bocarro's text published in *APO*², has only a plan of the fort at Sīb, but not of the identical construction at Barkā.

²⁹⁰ See A. BOCARRO (1635), *Livro das plantas...*, *loc.cit.*, 79. In the mid-1630's the garrison at Sīb comprised eight Portuguese soldiers and 30 *laškart*.

²⁹¹ Exact figures are not available, but information from Portuguese chroniclers would point to 5.000 inhabitants; for the late XIXth century J. LORIMER (1908), II-C, 1185, reckons with 3.000 inhabitants *intra muros*, 5.000 in the suburbs and 2.000 foreigners. For XIXth century figures see F. SCHOLZ (1990), *Muscat, Sultanat Oman. Geographische Skizze einer einmaligen arabischen Stadt*, 2 vols., Berlin, vol.1.

²⁹² See E. MONNOX (1622), *History at Large...*, *loc.cit.*

²⁹³ The arrival of the ship is mentioned in a report of the Portuguese captain of Diu dated 18/1/1650, see AHU C.I. 21/12, Viceroy F. Mascarenhas, Goa, to King João IV, dated 18/12/1650. Many Portuguese lives had been lost during the four months' siege in 1648: the Augustinian vicar calculated that in the first three weeks of October alone 110 Christians had died, see ANTT DRI LIX, fl.82r-84v: "Protesto Seg.do do V.dor da faz.^{da} ao S.^{or} Cap.^{am} geral Dō Gilianes de n.^{ra}", dated 24/10/1648. The document does not specify how many of them were non-combattants. The Augustinians had been present in Masqaṭ from 1595 to 1650, see BNL Ms. FG 177, Fr. Manuel da Purificação, "Memorias da Congregação Agostinhana na India Oriental", fl.269.

²⁹⁴ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538r-546v, fl.546r: E. Boudaens, "*Schriftelijck relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

deads²⁹⁵. A not insignificant number of the survivors left after the surrender of the fortress, and in 1651 the community was a pale shadow of its former self²⁹⁶.

The Ya'āriba Imamate and Trade at Masqaṭ

During the two years leading up to the expulsion of the Portuguese from Masqaṭ their overseas trade monopoly was being undermined in the immediate vicinity of Masqaṭ by the Ya'āriba and their followers who had been excluded from the export trade in Masqaṭ: a fort built in Matrah, a small settlement in a bay adjacent to Masqaṭ, safeguarded their export trade of dates and horses against Portuguese reprisals²⁹⁷. The truce of 1648 stipulated the establishment of Matrah as a neutral zone and exemption of Arab merchants from Masqaṭī customs duties. The distinction between vessels of the "Arabs" and those of the Imam still contained in the deliberations of the council at Masqaṭ had been replaced by a formula referring to the Imam and his vassals²⁹⁸. In an ironic twist of history, the *alfandega* at Masqaṭ was deprived of some of its revenue by a practice later known as "colouring": Banyan traders avoided yielding customs duties by declaring their goods belonged to Arab merchants who were exempted from payment²⁹⁹.

After the conquest of Masqaṭ the Ya'āriba could be expected to select as *vālī* a member of a family which held an interest in the port's trade: the appointee, a certain Ibn Bal'arab, was perhaps a member of the Ya'āriba branch of Rustāq³⁰⁰. If the identification is correct, the choice of the clan was a shrewd move: the *ṣayḥs* of Rustāq who had a large stake in Masqaṭ's trade, were considered, among the followers of the Imam those hit hardest by incessant warfare. In fact, when in 1648 spies in the enemy's camp anticipated interclan strife when he learnt about Nāṣir

²⁹⁵ ANTT DRI LIX, fl.86r-v: "Protesto dos mercadores de Sinde e Cambaya", dated Masqaṭ 24/10/1648.

²⁹⁶ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538r-546v, fl.546v: E. Boudaens, "*Schriftelijk relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

²⁹⁷ ANTT DRI LIX, fl.70r-v: "2º assento em junta do conselho de Mascate", dated 12/9/1648, when the council considered accepting the *fait accompli*. The text in ACE III, 488ff. mistakenly reads "*congo*" (dates) as toponym. On the occupation of the Portuguese fort at Matrah in 1647 see AHU C.I. 20/72: Deliberation of the *conselho ultramarino*, 23/1/1649.

²⁹⁸ ACE III, 507ff.: "Capitulações de pazcs", dated 15/12/1648.

²⁹⁹ ACE III, 509ff.: *Regimento* for F.De Tavora D'Ataide, *capitão geral* of Masqaṭ, dated 11/2/1649.

³⁰⁰ See IBN RUZAYQ, *Al-fath...*, loc.cit., 87. ACE III, 507ff.: "Capitulações de pazcs", dated 15/12/1648, has among the Ya'āriba dignitaries signing the truce one "Aly ben Adula Rostagui". Rustāq was the cradle of the Imamate's revival under the Ya'āriba. For the genealogy see J. WILKINSON (1987), 218f. This branch was known to proudly brandish their descent from Bal'arab, forebear of Nā.īr b. Muršid.

b. Muršid's imminent death, the Portuguese envisaged forging an alliance with the disenchanting Rustāqīs on the basis of their business interests³⁰¹. Over the years, the *Estado* had always been able to count on disunity among the *šayḥs* and even immediately after the fall of Masqaṭ some of them ventured to Goa to beseech of the Viceroy assistance in their struggle against Ya'āriba supremacy³⁰². As it happened, this project came to naught and the Portuguese turned to other potential allies further North³⁰³.

For some years, the Imamate found it difficult to integrate maritime Masqaṭ and its trading concerns into its polity³⁰⁴. On the basis of what little evidence there is, Ya'āriba attitude towards maritime trade prior to the XVIIIth century has been interpreted either as inherently divisive or reinforcing tribal allegiances. The maritime theme (trade and buccaneering) recurring in attempts at state formation in 'Umān is viewed either as means of providing the Imamate with resources independent which would bring the rulers into conflict with the characteristic Ibādī quest for balancing the interests of 'ulamā' and tribes, or as an opportunity for reinforcing patronage links. However, both interpretations fail to take into account the need to accommodate local clans in the new power structures who held vested interests in trade³⁰⁵.

³⁰¹ HAG Livro de regimentos e instruções V, fl.25v, in: *ACE* III, 509ff: *Regimento* for F.De Tavora D'Ataide, *capitão geral* of Masqaṭ, dated 11/2/1649, and *ibid.* 512, "os Arábios de rotagá que são mais visinhos a Mascate são aqueles que mais padeçẽ cõ a guerra que o Imamo tem cõnosco por todo o seu comẽrço estar naquella fortz."

³⁰² AHU C.I. 21: Viceroy D.Filipe Mascarenhas to King João IV, dated 18/12/1650: "...não foi o Sucesso sem sentim^{to} de algũs xeques, de que resultou chegar aqui hum a solicitar da parte de m.^{tes} outros a tornamos a Arabia por estarẽ algũas cabildas dispostas a se conformarẽ comnosco". See also *ibid.* No.XIII, Lobo Gomes de Abreu to King João IV, dated 20/12/1650, on letters received after the fall of Masqaṭ from Arab *šayḥs* suing the Portuguese relief forces for peace. On the strategy of playing the local leaders off one against the other see ANTT DRI LX, fl.127: King João IV to the Viceroy, dated Lisboa 18/2/1649.

³⁰³ Under the command of Antonio De Sousa Coutinho an alliance was forged with the *šayḥ* ("xeque malek") of Al-Hasab; the Portuguese had already begun to fortify the place when the Imam's forces succeed in expelling them: ANTT DRI LVI, fl.406: Viceroy D.Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde De Obidos, to King João IV, dated 28/1/1653; see also Anon. (1653), *Relação de Iornada que fes o governador Antonio de Sousa Coutinho ao estreito de Ormus...*, Lisboa, p.1-6. A Portuguese request to supply builders for these fortification works was met with a refusal by the governor of Lār in 1652, see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journaal...*, *loc.cit.*, 351. Somewhat later, the feitor at Bandar-e Kong, Duarte Da Costa Homem, reported that renewed secret contacts with the *šayḥ* had been exposed and that the area had been subjected to a second punitive expedition: HAG LM XXIIIB, No.220 (34:1/3), fl.357f.: Letter to the Viceroy, dated 18/11/1653, see *BFUP* XXIII 1963.

³⁰⁴ The lack of sufficiently detailed contemporaneous Arabic sources makes it a virtually impossible to arrive at safe conclusions regarding tribal alliances in mid-XVIIth century coastal 'Umān. The core-periphery (plus interior-seaboard) divide believed by J. WILKINSON (1987) to represent the underlying structure of 'Umān's Islamic history offers a suitable framework to interpret the shreds of evidence collected from outside a very disparate range of sources.

³⁰⁵ See J. WILKINSON (1977) and (1987), *passim*, for his "Imamate cycle", a model aimed at explaining cycles of rise and demise of the Imamate over 1500 years of 'Umānī history, which he believes can also be applied to the XVIIth century. For the "Gegenmodell" see T. BIERSCHEK (1983), *Weltmarkt, Stammesgesellschaft und Staatsformation in Südost-Arabien (Sultanat Oman)*, Diss. Bielefeld [Saarbrücken 1984], 114ff.

There were in the aftermath of the fall of Portuguese Masqaṭ a number of factors which threatened the port's entrepôt function: without the credible menace of an armada the customs house would cease to generate revenue³⁰⁶. The Portuguese practice of issuing passes had been central in directing the flow of trade towards Masqaṭ, whence armed convoys were provided to escort shipping to Al-Basra³⁰⁷. Before long, the 'Umānīs became "masters of the navigation and the commerce" in the Western Indian Ocean³⁰⁸, but for now Banyan merchants complained that all that was left of Masqaṭ's trade was exchange with the immediate hinterland amounting to an annual turnover of perhaps fl.20.-25.000³⁰⁹. Traffic decreased even more when a Portuguese armada of 40-50 vessels blockaded the sealanes to and from Masqaṭ for almost a year³¹⁰. At one point, the Imam was allegedly prepared to surrender the port. The *Estado* reactivated their intertribal policy, won over a number of clans and vowed to grant them a third of the future revenues from the customs houses which they intended to reestablish at Masqaṭ and Matrah. An imminent insurrection was quelled just in time by Ya'āriba loyalists and Imam Sultān unleashed a severe castigation over the defiant leaders³¹¹. Such harsh measures needed to be counterbalanced: valiships were promised for timely submission and were a way of integrating potential adversaries into a network of allegiances³¹². The Imamate soon realised that control

³⁰⁶ The Portuguese were, of course, well aware of this nexus, see ANTT DRI LIX, fl.82r-84v: *protesto* of the *vedor da fazenda* Valentim Correa to D. Gil Eanes de Noronha, dated Masqaṭ 15/12/1648.

³⁰⁷ See e.g. the "*Schrijfelijske Relatie*" on trade in Gujarat, Hindustan and the Arabian Seas, ARA VOC 1106 non-fol., of 1633, which comments on the *cartaz* system allowing for travel to the Persian Gulf ports of Masqaṭ, Rams, Bandar-e Kong and Al-Basra "door fergatten ende cleyn vaertuich, alle welcke gemelte negotianten aen d'een ofte ander der gemelte Portugeese fortē de gestelte gerechticheit van tholl oock daerenboven het convoij appart betaelen moeten...". Persian Gulf convoys are amply documented, see e.g. the early Dutch report on Basran trade in ARA VOC 1135, fl.647r-668r: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/3/1641, which has escorts of 6-10 armed frigats.

³⁰⁸ Thus F. MARTIN (1665-94), *Mémoires...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.1, 215, in the wake of the raid on Diu in 1668, see also below. Aboard Portuguese ships captured in Masqaṭ harbour some 'Umānīs had successfully taken to buccaneering quickly acquiring a certain notoriety in the Arabian Seas, see ARA VOC 1188, fl.538r-546v, fl.546r: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijfelijske relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

³⁰⁹ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538r-546v, fl.546r: E. BOUDAENS, "*Schrijfelijske relaes...*", Surat 29/11/1651. The immediate hinterland of Masqaṭ was poor, with some tribesmen from the interior engaged in semi-sedentary pastoralism, see ARA VOC 1288, fl.440r-v: Report R. Padtbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672. The bay of Qalbū was home to a community of Arab fishermen and some Balūčīs, see A. BOCARRO (1635), *Livro das plantas...*, *loc.cit.*, 66, and P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.4, 352.

³¹⁰ See *EFF* VIII, 165ff.: J. Spiller, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to London, 28/2/1653.

³¹¹ HAG LM XXIIIB, No.220 (34:1/3), fl.357f.: Duarte Da Costa Homem, Bandar-e Kong, to the Viceroy, Goa, dated 18/11/1653, see *BFUP* XXIII 1963.

³¹² The conferment of a valiship in practice meant little more than the recognition of a tribal chief's command over his military force: it would be his responsibility to administer justice on behalf of the Imam and to remit to the *bayt al-māl* whatever of the revenue he collected was not considered necessary for the upkeep of the local military force. For a

of such a delicate environment as Masqaṭ required the respected authority of an important clan such as the al-ʿUmayrī³¹³.

A significant shift in the Imamate's policy with regard to the seaboard seems to have occurred around 1670. These changes were linked to Imam Sulṭān's illness, which prompted him to call upon the "young Imam" to handle all state affairs³¹⁴, but it is noteworthy that they coincided with a similar trend to strengthen central government hold over port cities in Safavid Iran and Al-Baṣra in the wake of the 1660's-crisis. If the Imam's son soon took a personal interest in skimming off some of the profits to be made at Masqaṭ, he also intended to develop the locational advantages of Masqaṭ. A reduction of the expenditure for mercenary military forces was favoured³¹⁵. Instead more resources were earmarked to complete, at long last, the fortification works at Masqaṭ and to fit out ʿUmānī shipping more appropriately³¹⁶. Our sources indicate that the reshaping of the policy went hand in hand with a turnabout in the port administration in 1671/72 with a clear design on the part of the Imamate to attain a more immediate and extensive control over the revenues of Masqaṭ. Perhaps the most prominent victim of this policy was the old ʿUmayrī *vali*. Although he had tried to respect new priorities by devoting much attention to the fortification works³¹⁷, he was relieved of his functions some time between December 1671

succinct outline of some features of the administration of the Imamate see J. WILKINSON (1987), 179ff. and ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.485r-v: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 20/2/1674.

³¹³ The identification is tentative and based on reports of Dutch agents visiting Masqaṭ in August 1670 who met one "Waelie Ommer", see ARA VOC 1279, fl.466: J. Harekx, "Vertoog ...wegen den handel ...op de cust van Arabien...", dated Batavia 19/10/1671; possible alternative readings of "Ommer" include the personal and clan name ʿUmar. For the difficulty presented by the "MR" root in ʿUmānī genealogical literature see also J. WILKINSON (1977), 229f. It is, however, significant, that before the establishment of united Imamate rule in ʿUmān, the Yaʿāriba had sided with the ʿUmayyids in their fight against the Nabāhina, see J. WILKINSON (1987), 219.

³¹⁴ See ARA VOC 1288, fl.439v: Report R. Padbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672. This partial retirement may explain the confusion regarding the date of accession of Balʿarab, cfr. J. WILKINSON (1987), 351, N.33, who gives 1680.

³¹⁵ ARA VOC 1288, fl.439v and fl.445: Report R. Padbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672, where he mentions the Imām's intention to rid himself of the Balūḫī mercenaries. A conscription system was introduced instead which, if need arose, could rely on 300-400 peasants from villages in the proximity of Masqaṭ. In 1673, G. Wilmsen reckoned that the Imam kept a garrison of merely 100-150 men in the fortresses of Masqaṭ, see ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.484rf.: Report, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 20/2/1674. The new soldiers did not give the idea of military prowess, however, see E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, loc.cit., 149.

³¹⁶ In the early 1670's the Imam's fleet consisted of 8-10 large and 10-12 small vessels, as well as 40-50 small crafts, see ARA VOC 1285, fl.411r-v: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 13/9/1673.

³¹⁷ ARA VOC 1288, fl.439v: Report R. Padbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672.

and May 1672³¹⁸, but it seems that the 'Umayrī *šayḥs* retained private business interests in the port. The valishop was not abolished, but the Imam's *vaktl* outgrew his importance. Whether or not the Imam's plenipotentiary at Masqaṭ, Muḥammad Šayḥ 'Abdullāh Sulaymān, was a relative of the Imam is not unequivocally clear from our sources³¹⁹, but in 1672 all revenue yielding offices in Masqaṭ were in the hands of men of either the Imam's household or of the clan of Muḥammad Šayḥ 'Abdullāh Sulaymān³²⁰. When E. Kaempfer visited Masqaṭ in 1688, he recorded that the administration had been handed down from the old Governor to his son³²¹. The Rev.J. Ovington learnt from Cpt. Edward Say, who had lived several years in Masqaṭ, that then the Governor was rather close to the Imam³²².

Our sources do not permit us to establish a causal sequence, but the Imamate's closer control over Masqaṭ coincided with spreading discontent, as the population of the city grew tired of the relentless conflict with the Portuguese. Abbé Carré, who touched the coast in August and September 1672, captured the openly rebellious mood prevailing in Masqaṭ and shows all the discrepancies between 'Umānī maritime expansionism and Masqaṭī commercial pragmatism when he summarizes: "The Arabs in the place, weary of the continual war which hindered their commerce and had brought to them only ruin and continual losses, made known to the Imam, their king, that they could no longer submit to live in the misery to which they had been reduced for so many years". Only shortly before a Portuguese armada had annihilated a convoy of fully laden 'Umānī trading vessels bound for Al-Baṣra³²³. With its overseas supply lines cut off,

³¹⁸ In August 1670, Dutch agents still mention "Waelie Ommer", see ARA VOC 1279, fl.466: J. Harckx, "Vertoog...", dated Batavia 19/10/1671. In December 1671, however, G. Hartsinck distinguishes between the *vāli* and the Imam's representative Šayḥ 'Abdallāh, see ARA VOC 1284, fl.2247r. See also ARA VOC 1288, fl.430f.: Report R. Padtbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672, and *ibid.* fl.975: "Memorie" R. Padtbrugge for J. Harckx, dated Masqaṭ, 2/5/1672. Charges of mismanagement of the Imam's finances were brought against him, which can only mean that he did not meet the demand for extra revenue despite the repeated expansion of the tariff, see below.

³¹⁹ See ARA VOC 1288, fl.975: "Memorie" R. Padtbrugge for J. Harckx, dated Masqaṭ, 2/5/1672.

³²⁰ ARA VOC 1288, fl.444v: Report R. Padtbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672. ARA VOC 1297, fl.1019r: N. Ritsert, Masqaṭ, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 18/3/1675, says the *vāli* of Masqaṭ was the *vaktl*'s brother.

³²¹ E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc.cit.*, 149.

³²² See J. OVINGTON (1696), *A Voyage to Suratt in the Yeare 1689*, London, 429. For an account of E. Say's shipwreck off the 'Umānī coast and his subsequent residence in Masqaṭ see A. HAMILTON (1727), *A New Account of the East Indies*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, vol.1, 56ff.

³²³ See Abbé CARRÉ (1699), *Voyage...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.1, 115ff. At the same time, 'Umānī fleets regularly raided Portuguese settlements and allied ports on the coasts of Western India and East Africa, see e.g. the attack on Bombay in 1661/62 and the raid on Diu in 1668, whence the 'Umānīs allegedly carried 3.000 captives, see ACE III, 564f. and ARA VOC 1273, fl.1924r-1951v, fl.1940r: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 28/2/1669. For XVIIth century

Masqaṭ was suffering famine, and the Dutch merchant Wilmsen confirms that many had come to detest the Imam's high-handed manner of running the state. He reckoned that about half of 'Umān's population would be only too happy about an act of insurrection, but his report also is testimony to the effective crushing of old local élites. For as it was "nobody dares to bell the cat, because they are totally powerless and have lost their leaders. They certainly would rebel if only they had a good leader"³²⁴. When, on one the rare occasions that he left 'Umān proper, the Imam³²⁵ came to Masqaṭ in summer 1672 he found that many inhabitants had abandoned the city out of fear of the Portuguese³²⁶. The European threat was serious enough for the Imam to enlist support from the pirates settling on the Iranian Coast, rumours circulated among Indian merchants of Al-Baṣra that the Imam considered seeking protection by the Ottomans³²⁷, and the Dutch believed the Imam sought their friendship to counterbalance the Lusitan armada³²⁸. When eventually a truce was negotiated, the Portuguese demanded a harbour in 'Umān, which they intended to fortify, whence they wished to be granted unrestricted trade throughout the country, and where they would be given permission to sell their prizes. In encounters with the Imam's

'Umānī raids in East Africa see J. KIRKMAN (1983), *The Early History of Oman in East Africa*, *JOMS* VI/1, 41-58 (which, however, also covers the XVIIIth and XIXth century), J. STRANDES (1888), *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika*, Berlin, 229ff., G.S. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE (1983), *Some Aspects of Portuguese-Swahili Relations 1498-1698*, in: *L'histoire à Nice*, Nice, vol.1, 1-14, and, especially for somewhat later events, C.R. BOXER / C. De AZEVEDO (1960), *Fort Jesus and the Portuguese in Mombasa 1593-1729*, London.

³²⁴ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.484vf.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674. Subsequently, the Imam's commanders found it increasingly difficult to recruit crews for the naval expeditions. SIRHAN b. SA'ĪD Al-Izkawī [attr.], *Kaṣf al-gumma...*, *loc.cit.*, 164, contains no reference to disgruntled subjects under Sultān b. Ṣayf, but Portuguese reports confirm systematic purges of local élites, as early as 1639, see ANTT DRI XLIV, fl.262rff.: Letter of Pedro Da Silva, dated 6/3/1639.

³²⁵ The editor of Abbé Carré (vol.1, 116, N.1-2) is mistaken in assuming that the Imam was Bil'arab b. Sultān. He bases his assumption on IBN RUZAYQ, *Al-faiḥ...*, *loc.cit.*, 90ff, whose chronological reliability is reputedly very poor. It is possible, however, that the Imam visiting Masqaṭ in summer 1672 was in fact Bil'arab, the "young Imam" of the Dutch sources, for we know that his father had been struck with a severe illness that very summer. However, there is nothing in Carré that would justify such an identification.

³²⁶ See Abbé CARRÉ (1699), *Voyage...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.1, 116; the same occurred when Portuguese sails were sighted off Ṣūḥār, see *ibid.*, 126f.

³²⁷ See Abbé CARRÉ (1699), *Voyage...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.3, 830. This information was obtained in April 1674; on Al-Baṣra *ibid.* 862.

³²⁸ For Dutch-'Umānī contacts see W. FLOOR (1982a), *First Contacts Between the Netherlands and Masqaṭ ...in 1666*, *ZDMG* CXXXII/1, 289-307, who follows closely the events as related in the Dutch correspondence. For the Imam's letter to the Dutch inviting them to establish a factory in his port see *GM* III, 525-580, 570: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 25/1/1667. However, VOC ships had visited Masqaṭ much earlier, see e.g. the report prepared by E. Boudaens in 1651. In the 1630's/40's trusted middlemen were dispatched to gather commercial intelligence in Portuguese 'Umān see ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636, when Armenian servants were sent disguised among the envoys of Bandar-e 'Abbās' *šāhbandar*, who, it was said, maintained a constant correspondence with his counterpart in Masqaṭ. For the contacts in the 1640's see ANTT DRI LV, fl.70r-v: Letter of D. Gil Eanes De Noronha, *Capitão Geral* of the straits of Hormūz, dated 1/10/1644.

vakf they made it quite clear that they would not agree to any contracts unless signed and ratified by the Imam's son, perhaps the clearest sign for how far the "young Imam" had gone in taking over the commercial policy of the Imamate. The Imam's representative declined granting any privileges and would only allow them to establish a factory at Masqaṭ. Exemption from customs duties he would offer only on a reciprocal basis³²⁹. In the event, Admiral Antonio de Mello De Castro accepted a truce under less specific terms³³⁰, which only lasted for a few months and did not entail peaceful commercial contacts. When the Imam considered privileges for the Europeans we hear of two contending factions one of which disputed the rightfulness of such a policy³³¹. Abbé Carré was probably correct in believing that the negotiations were merely a *ruse de guerre* by which the Imam hoped to buy some respite for himself and his country.

By the 1660's, Masqaṭ had developed into a prime port of call in the Western Indian Ocean³³². In the monsoon 1664 usually reliable sources speak of 125 to 150 ships unloading and transshipping goods at Masqaṭ. Ships calling at Masqaṭ paid a mere 2,5% duty *ad valorem* (corresponding to the *zakāt*), compared to an official rate of 10-12% in Bandar-e 'Abbās and 9% in Bandar-e Kong³³³. In the 1660's, merchants and *nāḥodas* appreciated the negligible interference of the administration with trade³³⁴ and many had come to prefer it over the Safavid ports as point of transshipment. A lively forwarding trade linked the port to Bandar-e Kong, Bandar-e Rīg and Al-Baṣra³³⁵. Especially the independent Malabar and Konkani trade was being

³²⁹ ARA VOC 1285, fl.5r-6r: Director and council, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/12/1672: the harbours envisaged by the Portuguese were "Joerfokoon" (Hūr Fakkān) and "Zetaab"(?).

³³⁰ See CTC² IV, 233: *capitulações* between A.De Melo de Castro and the Imam of Masqaṭ of 1672.

³³¹ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1024rf.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1672.

³³² In the late 1650's the English considered removing their operations from Bandar-e 'Abbās to Masqaṭ. Their requests - control of one of the fortresses and part of the town of Masqaṭ, authorisation to keep a garrison of one hundred men, a share of the customs receipts - were flatly refused by the *šāhbandar*, see R. BATHURST (1967), 165. See for the expedition of H. Rainsford to Masqaṭ *EF²* IX, 230f. and J. BRUCE (1810), *Annals...*, vol.1, 549. For corresponding Dutch reports see *GM* III, 247-291, 275f.: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 26/12/1659. Again in 1667, the French envoy to Iran De Lalain advocated the occupation of Masqaṭ, which he thought should be turned into the CIO's base in the Arabian Seas, see L. LOCKHART (1946), 364.

³³³ ARA VOC 1252, 702-726: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665.

³³⁴ Immediately after the Ya'āriba occupation in 1650, no customs duties whatsoever were claimed, see ARA VOC 1188, fl.538r-546v, fl.546r: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijftelijck relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

³³⁵ ARA VOC 1242, fl.1087r-1093v, fl.1091r: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, 20/6/1664.

increasingly attracted to Masqaṭ³³⁶. But soon we learn that Masqaṭ operated a more differentiated system of tariffs, which combined *ṣarṭ* rules on levying duties on Muslims, *ḍimmi*s and *ahl al-Ḥarb* with political expediency. Thus, the new 10% rate in spring 1666 is probably not just a quadruplication of previous tariffs, as reported in European sources, but corresponds to a special rate for non-Muslim traders³³⁷. Somewhat puzzlingly, its introduction coincides with the closure of the port for foreign vessels³³⁸. In addition to customs duties the Imam's *vakt* demanded a share of all transactions and a fee which both buyer and seller had to pay³³⁹. For residents, customs regulations and other taxes partly coincided: in 1673, Muslim merchants only paid the *zakāt* rate; Banyans who used to pay no import taxes, now were required to render 5%, if they could prove they were houseowners (in which case a heavy duty was levied on the real estate), otherwise the rate was 10%. A punitive tariff of 8% applied to imports of Muslim and Banyan traders based in enemy lands, such as Kutch and the lands of Shivajī³⁴⁰. In the course of 1674 some sort of *entrepôtsage*-duty was introduced, which applied to all importers, whatever their creed, a clear departure from Ībādī prescriptions.

³³⁶ ARA VOC 1245, fl.520r: H.v. Wijcq "aan den E. heer Seeph bimhaly (*sic*) vrij souvereyjn heer over Oost Arabien en de Zeecusten daar aen gelegen", dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 4/4/1665: ever since the Dutch had conquered territories in Malabar they considered opening a factory at Masqaṭ and asked the Imam for permission. The name Ṣayf b. 'Alī is, of course, problematic: according to ACE III, 507ff. a relative of the Imām, "xeque sefo benaly ben salj el-casmy", was instrumental in drawing up the *capitulações*..., dated 15/12/1648. One can also speculate whether the much-lamented absence of an Arabic linguist in the Dutch factory - H. De Jager, student of Leiden's renowned orientalist Golius, arrived only later - forced VOC servants to use a formulary dating back some two decades.

³³⁷ ARA VOC 1259, 3305-3330, 3311: H.v. Wijcq and H. De Lairese, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/3/1666. The exact reasons for these measures are not mentioned in our sources but we hear that duties for imports were soon reduced again to 2.5%, only to be raised afresh in 1671/72, first to 5%, later to 7.5%; ARA VOC 1279, fl.954r-957r, fl.955v: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/5/1672 Dutch reports from the 1660's, on the other hand, suggest a flat rate for merchants of all creeds, although the *uṣṭ* rate would usually only apply to non-Muslim merchants. On taxes on merchants collectable under Ībādī law see J. WILKINSON (1987), 181.

³³⁸ GM III, 598: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 5/10/1667, on the closure of the Imamate's ports to all foreign shipping. The 'Umānīs may have been dreaded retaliations by the Portuguese fleet of well in excess of 100 sails which was being fitted out, see R. BATHURST (1967), 122. On the other hand, the years 1665-1670 were punctuated by an uninterrupted series of 'Umānī raids along the shores of the Indian Ocean; see for hostilities with Yemen: R.B. SERJEANT (1983), Omani Naval Activities off the Southern Arabian Coast in the late XIth/XVIIth Century, from Yemeni Chronicles, *JOMS* VI, 77-89.

³³⁹ ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 29/4/1673.

³⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.490r: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674.

The resident merchant community was small; most of them were immigrants from Sind and Gujarat³⁴¹, but we also learn about two wholesale merchants, Ismāʿīl Al-Baṣrī (who in the late 1660's had built a large *ḥān* where his fellow countrymen were catered for during their sojourns in the port) and Ismāʿīl Al-Bandarī who had arrived from the Iranian coast³⁴², and about resident Armenian traders³⁴³. Some Indian traders left with the Portuguese, but legend has it that a Banyan merchant was instrumental in the fall of Portuguese Masqaṭ³⁴⁴. By the late 1660's the decimated Indian communities from various parts of the subcontinent had recovered³⁴⁵. In the 1670's, Banyan merchants owned up to 40 houses outside Masqaṭ - some of which may have fallen into their hands from defaulting debtors - and were involved in trade with 'Umān's interior. Banyans permanently resident in Masqaṭ dwelled in a separate quarter in the Southwest of the city³⁴⁶. But not all Indians in Masqaṭ were traders: we hear of builders, carpenters, and, there were perhaps also some shipbuilders. In 1668, 3.000 captives were brought to Masqaṭ from a raid on Diu, who, as late as 1672, could still be seen squatting on the

³⁴¹ ANTT DRI LIX, fl.86r-v: "Protesto dos mercadores de Sinda e Cambaya", dated Masqaṭ 24/10/1648 and ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674; for the XIXth century see also C.H. ALLEN (1981), *The Indian Merchant Community of Masqaṭ*, BSOAS XLIV/1, 39-53. Much of the Sind trade from Portuguese Masqaṭ was conducted by Indian traders albeit sometimes aboard Portuguese-owned shipping, see *EFF* V, 126ff., 127: W. Fremken et al., Tatta, to Surat, dated 18/12/1635.

³⁴² ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.483v: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674,

³⁴³ See e.g. K. MEIER-LENGO (ed.) (1965), *Die Briefe E. KAEMPFERS* (=Abh. AWLit. math.-nat.wiss. Klasse No.VI), Mainz, 267-314, No.25: E. Kaempfer, Batavia, to R. Du Mans, Esfahān, dated ca.Oct.1689.

³⁴⁴ Many accounts have the romantic tale of one Narutem, who revealed weaknesses of the Portuguese position to Imamate forces. He saw no other means, the tale goes, of preserving the honour of his daughter whom the Portuguese *Capitão Geral* demanded in marriage. The elements of the story evidently make up part of a stock repertoire of legends current among 'Umānī Indians, see C.H. ALLEN (1981), 40f., N.19, but the story can already be found in ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.485r.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674. Contrary to a widely read misinterpretation, IBN RUZAYQ, *Al-faṭḥ...*, loc.cit., 87, states that only the family of this trader was granted tax exemptions for his services to the Imamate - not the entire community.

³⁴⁵ J. Vogel says of the town it "is well populated by all kinds of Indians, see ARA VOC 1259, fl.3366-3376, 3375. For the provenance of the various communities see C.H. ALLEN (1981), *passim*.

³⁴⁶ See ARA VOC 1288, fl.442v, fl.435v: Report R. Padbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672; for the Banyan quarter see *ibid.* fl.439v. J. LORIMER (1908), II-C, 1182f., has a Maḥalla Banyān, near the customs house, but it seems as if by the late XIXth century the remnants of the old Banyan quarter in the Southwest had been taken over by the Balūčīs, who occupied some 40 houses in the area known as "Wādī al-'Awr".

overcrowded beach of Mukalla³⁴⁷. In the XVIIIth century, Masqaṭ was home to one of the largest communities of Indian expatriates in the Western Indian Ocean³⁴⁸.

What characterises the mid-1670's and introduces a new phase in Masqaṭ's commercial history is the dominance exercised over all trade by the Imam's representative. Exasperated reports of endless squabbles over customs rates demanded from VOC residents, which were raised and reduced according to political expediency, occupy most of the correspondence between Masqaṭ and Bandar-e ʿAbbās. The merchants complained that trade regulations were subjected to frequent alterations by the Imam's *vaktl* who controlled the *banksāl* and was wont to exploit his violently defended first right of purchase³⁴⁹. Foreign trade, the corollary of Masqaṭī naval might in the Arabian Sea, hardly features in the biographies extolling the virtues of ʿUmān's Imams in local chronicles. Characteristically, the XIXth century author Ibn Ruzayq, after having praised the deeds of Sulṭān b. Ṣayf I, goes on to mention "what through inadvertence has been overlooked by most historians [namely that] he fostered trade"³⁵⁰. But if the last decades of the XVIIth century was marked by large scale maritime operations of the Imamate, private merchants were given permission to participate in the port administration: in 1682, a Muslim merchant Ḥāğğī Muḥammad leased the taxation of trade activities in Masqaṭ³⁵¹. From the 1680's the quality of Masqaṭī maritime enterprise changed and ʿUmān became a serious contender for paramountcy in the Arabian Seas.

³⁴⁷ On the raid see ARA VOC 1273, fl.1924r-1951v, fl.1940r: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 28/2/1669. On the situation in Masqaṭ: ARA VOC 1288, fl.439v: Report R. Padtbrugge, dated Colombo, 25/10/1672.

³⁴⁸ C. NIEBUHR (1774ff.), *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen anliegenden Ländern*, 3 vols., København, 85, estimated the Banyan community of Masqaṭ to count some 1.200 heads in 1765.

³⁴⁹ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 20/2/1674, also mentions certain strategic products (mostly to do with the fitting out of the navy such as coir, planks, iron) which the Imam alone was allowed to purchase. The paramount importance of the *vaktl* in the port's commerce is also evident from an account book of 1704 preserved in Bodl.Ms.Engl.b.7, which I intend to deal with in greater detail elsewhere.

³⁵⁰ See Humayd b. Muḥammad IBN RUZAYQ, *Al-faiḥ*..., *loc. cit.*, 89.

³⁵¹ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2721rff.: Report R. Casembroot, dated Batavia, 25/11/1682.

Part 1

EXPORTS

INTRODUCTION

A historiographical sketch would show that research into XVIIth century Persian Gulf trade has tended to privilege commerce with Europe. Conversely, recent work on the activities of European traders in Indian Ocean waters and lands has shown that they depended entirely on local intelligence and that their successful operations were only possible against the backdrop of fully developed regional and interregional networks of exchange, which could easily accomodate European private and Company traders. It would thus be mistaken to blame the comparatively rich source base (in particular the archives of East India Companies, but also travellers and missionary accounts) for the bias in the historiography of Persian Gulf trade. Documents on commerce with Europe have doubtlessly been preserved more fully, but the archives are also full of scattered data on interregional trade of the Persian Gulf Area. In the chapters that follow we shall attempt to redress the balance. We shall focus on intra-Asian exchange of classes of non-luxury goods which were important enough for Europeans to warrant a substantial documentation in their correspondence, without necessarily dislocating previously existing trade networks.

Trade between Europe and Iran, probably the most thoroughly researched field in the commercial history of the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area, focussed on a very narrow range of expensive commodities: raw silk, Kermān wool (*kork*) and carpets. Raw silk (chiefly from the Northern provinces of Šīrvān, Gīlān and Māzandarān) was arguably the country's most important export commodity for the European trade and has captured the imagination of most previous studies¹. Only a small portion of the product entered Asian trade circuits². At the turn of the XVIIth century, silk from Ḥorāsān in particular travelled overland to Lahore and via Hormūz to Sind³. Sind apparently received Iranian raw silk via Bandar-e 'Abbās well into the 1630's⁴, but

¹ Thus the contributions in C. BIER (ed.) (1987), *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart*, Washington; see also most recently E. HERZIG (1990a), The Iranian Raw Silk and European Manufacture in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries, *JEECh* XIX, 73-89, and, in greater detail, ID. (1993), The Volume of Iranian Raw Silk Exports to Europe in the Safavid Period, *IrSt* XXV/1-2, 61-79.

² But see on the Armenian silk trade through Hormūz *DRI* I, 218ff., 220: King Philip II of Portugal, Lisboa, to Goa, dated 15/3/1608, reacting to letters from Goa, dated 24/12/1606: "Foi-me proposto que devo mandar que os armenios chofalines que tratam em seda e ruibarbo, sejam livres dos direitos que lhe pede el-rey de Ormuz e em seu nome meus ministros, com que teem destruido aquelle trato; e que gosem dos privilegios de que gosam os mercadores portuguezes, por esta nova contratação da seda da Persia ser de grande beneficio para elles, e por isso não sejam obrigados a pagar nas alfandegas mais que os direitos reaes", and ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 18/12/1631, on exports of raw silk to India by Persian and Armenian merchants.

³ See R. FERRIER (1976), 203.

⁴ ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: Journaal G. Cornelisz., ca.1632.

raw silk was also carried overland in small consignments to India⁵. Some believed Japan was a potential outlet for Iranian raw silk, where it might capture a share of the market so far supplied by China. But most of the time reports judged the quality of Iranian silk inferior to the Chinese produce⁶. In fact, as early as 1619, even the Bay of Bengal was supplied from China⁷. The bulk of Iranian raw silk reached Europe via the Levant and Russia through Armenian merchants, while exports via Bandar-e ʿAbbās were largely in the hands of the East India Companies. Their often semi-governmental relationship with the Safavids may account for the prominence of the royal factors in the port's trade throughout the period here examined. Even after the abolition of the Šāh's monopoly on raw silk exports, the Safavids tried repeatedly to recapture the market for raw silk. In the mid-1630's, for example, Šāh Šafī planned to purchase all the silk from Gīlān but had to abandon the project when the treasury failed to find the pay for his army which was to be sent against the advancing Ottoman forces⁸. But although sales to the Companies meant badly needed cash income for the Safavids no consistent fiscal policy was put in place to discourage purchase of raw silk from private merchants⁹. The court retained a certain degree of control over the collection of the harvest, its distribution and prices. In fact, governors of the raw silk producing provinces were known to fix purchase prices by granting peasants advance payments during the dire season¹⁰. Servants of the *Hān* of Šīrāz assisted the VOC in collecting raw silk on the markets of Qazvīn and Ardabīl and throughout Gīlān, just as Mīrzā Taqī, governor of the latter province, offered his services¹¹. After the *Hān*'s assassination his former factor Ḥāǧe Qāsem,

⁵ See BGP 390ff.: A. Del Court, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated, 3/11/1632, on the Armenian Safar who travelled to India with 17 bales.

⁶ See e.g. COEN VII/2, 1189ff.: C. van Neyerode, Firando, to Batavia, dated 21/10/1627; e.g. GM I, 247ff.: J. Specx, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 15/12/1629.

⁷ See P. BELCHIOR dos Anjos (1619), *Discurso sobre o comercio da seda da Persia*, see: F. Mendes da LUZ (ed.) (1952), *O conselho da India*, Lisboa, 588-606, 596.

⁸ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636. In 1636/37 the court reserved all purchases of the *ḥarwārf*-variety, see ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1637. Whether this was a policy decision or a reaction to high prices caused by that year's plague in Gīlān can not be decided here.

⁹ Additional duties could be as low as 14 *qazbegī* per *man-e Šāh*, see ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: invoice; extracts in BGP 629.

¹⁰ BGP 196ff., 199: H. Visnicht, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 17/8/1626.

¹¹ BGP 351ff., 354ff.: A. Del Court, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, 20/12/1630. On the latter's career see also H. BRAUN (1971). ARA VOC 1109, fl.66rff.: W. De Leeuw, aboard "*Utrecht*", to Batavia, dated 10/8/1632, says that Mīrzā Taqī and the Jewish merchant Ḥāǧe David "met haer beyde alle de syde, die in Persia valt meest onder haer hebben, ...en 't staet in haer handen meest om die soo hoch ende leech te stellen als sij selver willen". In 1636, Mīrzā Taqī sold similar qualities of raw silk as official at 42 *tāmān* (an especially low price which enabled him to obtain a loan

who had entered Šāh's services initially promised to offer raw silk at rates current in the *bāzārs* of Qazvīn and issued a written commitment that all merchants were free to sell raw silk to the VOC¹². The involvement of state agencies in the raw silk trade was partly reflected in the choice of the main markets for the commodity, most notably when the monopoly relocated temporarily relocated the hub of activity to Eṣfahān. But private Armenian and Ottoman silk traders would travel to Šīrvān and Gīlān for purchases, Qazvīn was the open market which distributed raw silk from the Caspian provinces throughout the Middle East¹³. Attempts of the European Companies to relocate the trade to Lār were resisted both by royal factors (notably H'āḡe Qāsem) and Armenian merchants (such as H'āḡe Nazar, head of the New Ġolfan community) who dominated the market¹⁴. The East India Companies paid the royal factors for their raw silk a price higher than the current market rate, which had to balance revenue losses caused by their privileges¹⁵. The market price, on the other hand, was often determined by demand in the importing nations, a situation which inevitably brought about speculative price fluctuations: around 1650, Armenian exports of raw silk to Italy were substantial enough to influence the price structure in the producing area of Gīlān¹⁶. High hopes were dashed when exporters learnt that their thrust onto the European market coincided with annual increases of 100% and more of imports of cheaper Bengali raw silk¹⁷. Unacceptably high silk prices could bring commerce at Tabrīz to a low ebb, which in turn caused unsold transit products to pile up high in Eṣfahān's storehouses. In moments of crisis, Armenian merchants who rejected the prices demanded for raw silk, would return from

of 4.200 *tūmān* from the VOC) and as private entrepreneur at 51 *tūmān*.

¹² ARA VOC 1135, fl.727ff.: "Transport", dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 20/4/1641.

¹³ IOR G/29/1, fl.89vff.: W. Bell et al., Eṣfahān, to London, dated 27/3/1621, on Qazvīn as marketing centre for raw silk "both from Xervann and Guylan" before the temporary forced relocation of the market to the new capital under Šāh 'Abbās I. Qazvīn's market also attracted many Russian clothsellers, IOR G 29/1/16, fl.28vff.; J. Purefey, Qazvīn, to Eṣfahān, dated 29/5/1622.

¹⁴ On Qazvīn: ARA VOC 1116, fl.394r: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1635; on Lār: ARA VOC 1115, non-fol.: *id.*, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 9/8/1634 and *do.* 27/10/1634.

¹⁵ Thus, Grand Vizir Mīrzā Taqī argued that the Companies had been granted freedom of customs duties not to free capital for private purchases but for contracts with the Safavid court only, ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 15/6/1637.

¹⁶ GM II, 403-444: C. Reniers, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 10/12/1650: since "veele Armenische coopliden, die voorlede jaer soo in Aleppo, Livorno als Venetia een goeden markt hebben aengetroffen, dat gespin, in Gylan van 28 1/4 tot 37 4/5 thoman de charge geresen, voor dien prijs omtrent 900 cargo hebben wechgevoert...".

¹⁷ See O. PRAKASH (1985), *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720*, Princeton, 185 and Table 2. The situation for Armenian silk exporters from Iran worsened when adverse climatic conditions from 1654 to 1656 reduced the volume of available raw silk and pushed up purchasing prices.

the producing areas and flood Eṣfahān with unemployed ready money¹⁸. The share of Iranian raw silk production destined for domestic production is difficult to determine, but would appear not to have exceeded half the total production (see table 4).

Table 4
Selected Data on XVIIth Century Iranian Silk Production (per bale à 36 *man-e Šāh*)

Year	Gilan	Māzandarān	Šīrvān	Qārābāg/ Georgia	Horāsān	Other	Total	Domestic Consumption
1618 ¹⁹	2.250	ca.1.580	ca.835		ca.945	few	ca.5.610	ca.2.500
1637 ²⁰	2.100	150	250	300			ca.2.800	ca.1.000
1649 ²¹							ca.4.000	ca.1.000
1653 ²²	1.290	100	350	300	40		ca.2.080	
1665 ²³	200	240-260	much		100-120			

Similarly, the procurement of *kork* for European markets²⁴ met with a constant demand for the domestic market where it served the luxury sector²⁵. The original accounts of J.B. Tavernier, which had prompted the VOC's interest in the commodity, apparently had exaggerated

¹⁸ See *EFF* VIII, 288f.: J. Spiller et al., Eṣfahān, to London, dated 8/9/1654. The Safavid official in charge of the silk trade exploited the conjuncture by selling mixed bales of coarse and fine silk at a price 10 *tūmān* above the market price. No silk was available in the capital in 1656, the reason being "dat 't selve gespin deses Moussons seer sober geteelt, en vrij duijg geweest is, waer door veele treffelijcke Armenische coopluijden een machtich Capitael uijt de gijlanse quartieren (dat in die costelijckheden niet besteedt heeft connen werden) weder terugge naer Sphahan gevoert hebben...", ARA VOC 1210, fl.914r-922r, fl.918v: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 21/11/1656.

¹⁹ Report Th. Barker/E. Pettus q.i. R. FERRIER (1976).

²⁰ ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1637. The extracts in *BGP* 610ff. contain many errors, e.g.: "Cheruan" (i.e. Šīrvān) read as Kermān, "weynich in Lār" read as "vooral in Lār".

²¹ ARA VOC 1170, fl.885rf.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 12/2/1649.

²² ARA VOC 1201, fl.777rff.: D. sarcerius, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/4/1653.

²³ ARA VOC 1259, 3385ff.: "Memorie" for H. De Lairese, dated Batavia, 1665.

²⁴ The possibility of exports by the EIC are mentioned in IOR G/36/84, fl.325f.: Factory Surat to factors in Iran, dated 12/4/1659; for the VOC see ARA VOC 1226, fl.832rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 30/11/1657, on the first expedition to Kermān at the request of the Heren XVII. See now R.P. MATTHEE (forthcoming), *The East India Company Trade in Kermān Wool 1658-1730*, in: *Proceedings of the Table Ronde Internationale sur les Études Safavides*, Paris March 1989. I understand that W. FLOOR prepares a short study for the XVIIIth century.

²⁵ For a detailed description of the production and distribution of Kermān wool see: H.v. Wijck, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664, summarised in: *DR* XV, 192ff., especially on its use for the royal *boyūār*.

possible profits and quantities²⁶, but at one point the total volume of exports was reckoned to be up to 30.000 *pond*²⁷. Supply was limited, however, and export was subject to government regulations²⁸. Advance financing of the season's production, credit arrangements between merchants, brokers, nomadic producers, and the involvement of local officials in the marketing of the produce. The local governor intervened more than once in matters of "Kermān wool" exports by the European Companies, either at the request of local craftsmen, who feared shortages of their most important raw material, or instigated by competing merchants²⁹. On one occasion, the governor of Kermān was accused of having inspired the local weavers to complain "to the *vazīr* that wool became more expensive and rare in the city due to purchase and export by the Europeans; therefore, they would no longer be able to supply their weaves at the earlier prices. This, the *vazīr* believed" and kept the VOC agent and his wool purchases arrested³⁰.

The most striking difference between Medieval accounts and data from XVIIth century European Company sources regarding exports from the Persian Gulf Area to Asia is the seemingly greater share of manufactures in earlier times. At the turn of the XVIIth century a list of exports to India via Hormūz included "gold, silver, raw silk and silk cloth, brocades, horses, madder, alun, tūtia, rhubarb and rosewater and other goods"³¹. But the few surviving freight lists would point to a less marked seachange (see below). Yet, although Iran's exports to Asia were extensive - at the turn of the XVIIIth century, Ch. Lockyer considered the English ships

²⁶ ARA VOC 1233, fl.69rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 13/3/1660; see also J.B. TAVERNIER (1676), *Les six voyages...*, 93ff.; later, other more important reasons created discord between Tavernier and the VOC, see H.v. QUELLENBURGH (1684), *Vindiciæ Batavicæ ofte refutatie van het tractaet van J.B. Tavernier...*, Amsterdam, and the relevant passages in J.B. TAVERNIER.

²⁷ See ARA VOC 1259, 3385ff.: "Memorie" for H.De Laiesse, 1665; the VOC initially exported in excess of 10.000 *pond*, see DR XIII, 3ff. There seems to have been some overland export by English traders via Aleppo and/or Izmir, see ARA VOC 1229, fl.869rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/9/1659.

²⁸ See DR XXV, 320f., on royal *fermāns* to the governor of Kermān confirming the VOC's authorisation to purchase Kermān wool.

²⁹ E.g. IOR E/3/50/5920: EIC Broker, Kermān, to Esfahān, dated 26/6/1694: no permission to export in excess of 700 *man p.a.*. The VOC were expected to keep a servant at Kermān, GM V, 439ff., 487: W.v. Oudhoorn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 31/1/1692.

³⁰ ARA VOC 1330, fl.967rff.: F.L.Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/8/1677. English reports, too, speak of an increased number of weavers, see especially IOR G/36/92, fl.41f.: Presidency Surat to Factory Persia, dated 23/2/1684-85; see also R. FERRIER (1969/70), 387, who writes: "There was, it seems, some attempt to protect the local industry".

³¹ P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, pt.2, 382.

plying the trade between Surat and the Persian Gulf the richest in the world³² - exchange of the Persian Gulf Area with Asia has been generally viewed as being characterised by a negative balance of trade. In this perspective, Iran and Mesopotamia are seen as conduits for gold and silver which flowed East to settle accounts for imports and boosted income of Indian courts. Despite a not insignificant degree of monetisation of at least the urban environments in the countries concerned, trade in precious metals should not be considered as inherently different from the exchange of other commodities³³. Since coins were traded alongside bullion³⁴ (especially silver 'abbāsī and ducats) it would also be misleading to draw unqualified conclusions on inflationary pressure from the processes of appreciation and depreciation discussed below (or, indeed, from comments of the volume of coins available)³⁵. Broadly speaking gold was sent to South India, while silver was absorbed by the Mughal Empire. Earlier in the century much of the Companies' Iranian trade was financed with imported specie³⁶, but from ca.1640 the flow of precious metals was gradually reversed³⁷. Around 1640, larger sums of precious metals were

³² See C. LOCKYER (1711), *An Account of Trade in India*, London, 251.

³³ IOR E 3/6/792, Report Th. Barker, q.i. R. FERRIER (1976), 203, explains that in 1618 merchants plying the trade between Northern India and Iran had turned away from silk exports and bought coins instead.

³⁴ For XVIth century see V. MAGALHÃES GODINHO (1967-71), *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, 4 vols., Lisboa, 1981-83, vol.2, 125ff. In studies of XVIIth century Indian monetisation Red Sea and Persian Gulf are all too often viewed jointly as sources of precious metals for the subcontinent. A recent expression of the *communis opinio* which has Safavid Iran serving the emerging world economy as Eastward conduit for American silver, but only based on material collected for the extreme ends of the chain, America/Europe and India/China disregards developments in the Middle East, is O. PRAKASH's paper given at the Deutscher Historikerkongress 1988. For the wider contexts see also ID. (1986), Precious Metal Flows in Asia and the World Economic Integration in the XVIIth Century, in: W. FISCHER (ed.) (1986), vol.1, 83-96, A. ATTMAN (1986), *American Bullion in the European World Trade 1600-1800* (=Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothenburgensis. Humaniora XXVI), Göteborg and W. BARRETT (1990), World Bullion Flows 1450-1800, in: J.D. TRACY (ed.) (1990), *The Rise of Merchant Empires*, Cambridge, 224-254. The period 1640-1660, which inaugurated the alleged stabilization of the silver value in Europe, is covered only superficially in standard studies for the EIC monetary policy in Asia, see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1963/64), The East India Company and the Export of Treasure in the Early XVIIth Century, *ECHR* XVI, 23-38 (up to 1640), ID. (1967), Treasure and Trade Balance, the East India Company's Export Trade 1660-1720, *ECHR* XXI, 480-502 and ID. (1978), ch.VIII. The equivalent study for the VOC uses only few archival sources for mid-XVIIth factories in the *westerkwartieren*, F.S. GAASTRA (1983), The Exports of Precious Metal from Europe to Asia by the Dutch East India Company 1602-1795, in: J.F. RICHARDS (ed.) (1983), *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern World*, Durham, 447-475, particularly App.IV, Table I.

³⁵ In Safavid Iran, gold coins were too large for in daily transactions (ARA VOC 1430, fl.1535vff.: J.v. Heuvel, Esfahān, to Batavia, dated 15/7/1686), nor did they set a standard for silver emissions. Nor, indeed, was there a fixed mint ratio gold:silver. It would seem to be misleading, therefore, to speak of bimetallism.

³⁶ However, even in the 1670's, the East India Companies were expected to pay for royal raw silk with ready money, preferably new 'abbāsī nou-dāng-o-nīm struck in Tabriz, see ARA VOC 1329, fl.1547vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/6/1677.

³⁷ However, as late as 1640 some considered precious metal transfers from Mocha to Bandar-e 'Abbās, see ARA VOC 1134, fl.161rff.: J.S. Worstbeem: Report on Mochan trade, dated Surat, 13/10/1640.

available in the Persian Gulf Area for exports to Surat: the export of *leeuwendaalders*, a coin particularly suited for the Levant trade³⁸, had been inaugurated and a particularly severe devaluation of the Ottoman silver *âqçe* in 1640/41³⁹ may have occasioned increased Eastward outflows of silver: in 1640/41, precious metals were ranked first among exports from Al-Basra aboard ships in convoys guarded by Portuguese armadas⁴⁰. At the Coromandel coast, Safavid silver *‘abbāsī*s found it difficult to compete against Japanese silver imports⁴¹, in Mughal India the Surat mint ceased to be farmed out by the emperors in 1641⁴², perhaps a first step towards what has been labelled a "monetarist" policy bent on attracting precious metals later in the 1640's⁴³. Increased silver influx into Mughal India may be reflected in changes to the gold-silver ratio recorded for ca.1640⁴⁴. In addition, the overland route was blocked by the Qandahār wars, which caused stocks of ready money to lie idle at Eṣfahān⁴⁵. All this may have accounted for a fall of average interest rates for commercial loans in Iran from 20% to 15% *p.a.* in 1640/41⁴⁶. Although the VOC had struggled ever since the times of J.P. Coen to make their intra-Asian trade

³⁸ J. DILLEN (1923), Amsterdam als wereldmarkt der edele metalen in de XVIIde en XVIIIde eeuw, *De economist*, 538-550, 583-598, 717-730, especially 586. Later, the *leeuwendaalder* was even imported by English Levant traders for export purposes, see J.I. ISRAEL (1986), The Phases of the Dutch straatvaart 1590-1713, *TG XCIX*, 1-36, 20, N.102. In the East the *leeuwendaalder* became known as *ârslânî* or *asadî*, hence *esedî gurûş* (misread by R. MURPHEY and I. TURAN as "gurûş of Lyons" in their translation H. SAHILLIOĞLU (1978), 287, N.48), later as *abû 'l-kalb*. The coin soon circulated in increasing numbers in specimens with an intrinsic value reduced by a third, see R. MANTRAN (1962), *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 263. For imports of debased coins through Izmir see J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.1, 9ff.; see also W.E.van DAM van Isselt (1917), Valsch geld in onze nederzetting in de Levant (tweede helft der XVIIde eeuw), *BVGO Vth ser. IV*, 297-308.

³⁹ See H. SAHILLIOĞLU (1978), Osmanlı para tarihinde dünya para ve maden hareketinin yeri 1300-1750, *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi I*, 1-38; Engl. transl.: The Role of International Monetary and Metal Movements in Ottoman Monetary History 1300-1750, in: J.F. RICHARDS (ed.) (1983), 269-304, 285ff. See also Ş. PAMUK in the forthcoming Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire. H. GERBER (1982), The Monetary System of the Ottoman Empire, *JESHO XI*, 308-324, stresses the importance of precious metal exports as decreasing inflationary pressure.

⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1135, fl.647rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/3/1641.

⁴¹ ARA VOC 1135, fl.682r-v: Factory Masulipatnam to factory Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 28/11/1640.

⁴² W.H. MORELAND (1923), *From Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in Indian Economic History*, London, 177. However, see now also C.R. SINGHAL (1953), *Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, Bombay and M.P. SINGH (1985), *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1556-1707*, New Dehli.

⁴³ See H. van SANTEN (1982), 76f.

⁴⁴ J.J. BRENNIG (1983), Silver in XVIIth Century Surat: Monetary Circulation and the Price Revolution in Mughal India, in: J.F. RICHARDS (ed.) (1983), 477-496, fig.1.

⁴⁵ See for details R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier...*, *StIr*.

⁴⁶ ARA VOC 1135, fl.647rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/3/1641. VOC servants believed that their restraint in borrowing led to this welcome reduction of interest rates.

a self-financing enterprise, they joined the profitable export of precious metals from Bandar-e 'Abbās only somewhat belatedly in the monsoon 1640/41⁴⁷.

Table 5
Precious metal exports Bandar-e 'Abbās to Surat 1651 (non-VOC shipping) ⁴⁸

Departure	Ship	Shipowner	Freighter	tūmān	Coins
21/3/1651	<i>Aleppo Merchant</i>	EIC	EIC	1.250	
			N.N.	5.500	*
21/3/1651	N.N.	Āḡā Maḥmūd	N.N.	2.307	atd
30/3/1651	<i>Expedition</i>	EIC	EIC	1.000	
			private	3.000	
5/4/1651	<i>Sekandari</i>	Mīrzā Maḥmūd	N.N.	1.497	ar
7/4/1651	<i>Salāmati</i>	Mughal	N.N.	2.664	ar
11/4/1651	<i>Falk</i>	EIC	EIC	500	
6/5/1651	<i>Silk Merchant</i>	EIC	EIC	2.000	
			private	3.500	
			N.N.	2.000	*
18/5/1651	<i>Sekandari</i>	Mīrzā Maḥmūd	do.	55	
19/5/1651	<i>Aḥmadī</i>	Ḥāḡḡī Aḥmad	N.N.	2.000	
19/5/1651	"D'Faccij"	Sayyed "Saetca"	do.	200	
			N.N.	400	
28/5/1651	<i>Salāmati</i>	Mughal	Mughal	1.306	ard
26/10/1651	<i>Aleppo Merchant</i>	EIC	private	200	
			N.N.	3.000	*
12/11/1651	<i>Falk</i>	EIC	N.N.	3.600	
27/11/1651	<i>Seahorse</i>	EIC	EIC	3.000	
			private	11.000	
			N.N.	2.000	*
				51.979	[fl.2.079.160]

⁴⁷ GM I, 663ff.: A.v. Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 22/12/1638, for the decision to reduce coin imports to Iran. For coin exports: ARA VOC 1135, fl.735r: "Corte factura" "Snoeck", dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 5/4/1641, which carried 8 bags with 500 rials each and 4 chests containing 12.500 'abbāsīs each. F.S. GAASTRA (1983), 465, has the first VOC-export of *capitaal* in 1643. See also ID. (1986), *The Dutch East India Company and its Intra-Asian Trade in Precious Metals*, in: W. FISCHER (ed.) (1986), *The Emergence of a World Economy 1500-1914*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 97-112. In the same season 1640/41, the EIC carried coins for local merchants in their vessels "Diamond" (500 tūmān; ARA VOC 1134 fl.198rf.: A. van Oostende, Esfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 13/2/1641) and "Expedition" and "Diamond" (2nd journey; to Coromandel). Coins were also on the vessel of the *sar-e ḥayl* of Golkondā, and that of Ḥāḡḡī "Chiaetbeecq" of Surat, see ARA VOC 1135 fl.669rf.: Shipping list Bandar-e 'Abbās 1640/41.

⁴⁸ ARA VOC 1188, fl.567rf.: "Notitie...", non-VOC shipping list Surat 22/2/-27/12/1651; Import and export data is not complete; and ships carrying coins exported via Al-Baṣra have been excluded.

a = 'abbāsī; t = lārīn; r = rial (peso-a-ocho).

d = ducats (gold coin corresponding to Venetian ducat)

* = data given in "small bags"; in the early 1650's they could contain the equivalent of 50, 70, 80 or 100 tūmān, see ARA VOC 1208, fl.456rf.: Surat shipping list, essentially covering the non-VOC shipping in 1654. A 50-tūmān bag held 2.500 'abbāsīs, a 100 tūmān bag twice as much; they weighed just above 18 and 36 kg respectively. Shipping lists do not allow us to determine the size of individual bags. As these are not official documents but data compiled by the Dutch on the basis of information passed on unofficially from staff in the customs house, Table III shows the larger figure in an attempt to make up for imports not recorded.

The Safavids anticipated a dangerous development and from December 1643 a first decree forbade all exports of rials, rixdollars, ducats and new *‘abbāsīs* to Surat⁴⁹. Laws regarding bullion exports were notoriously difficult to enforce and from 1643 even larger amounts of coins than before travelled to India⁵⁰. In 1649/50, Dutch exports of precious metals from Iran to India reached more than 25.000 *tūmān*⁵¹. The amount did not fall under the equivalent fl.500.000 in coins during the following decade⁵². Restrictive Safavid legislation let merchants ponder risks and gains carefully, but ample opportunities to circumvent controls existed⁵³. If recorded figures are impressive, the total outflow was much higher, for even the table does only show some exports to from Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Surat and fails to appreciate drainage overland, exports from Al-Baṣra and minor Iranian ports as well as an unquantifiable amount of coins smuggled or unaccounted for. In 1653, the VOC exported at least fl.500.000 (ca.12.500 *tūmān*) worth of coins⁵⁴, the following year just under fl.600.000 (15.000 *tūmān*). Gujarati bullion exports from Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Surat resumed, too, and in April/May 1654 alone amounted to at least 38.000 *tūmān* (see table)⁵⁵. In 1657, VOC ships carried in excess of fl.1.000.000 worth of precious metals. Transfers to Surat by Indian merchants have been recorded for April/May 1657 only, but extrapolated to the trading season also peaked (see table) and significantly exceeded Dutch exports. It must borne in mind that not all bullion that was embarked at Bandar-e Kong or

⁴⁹ ARA VOC 1146, fl.862rf.: C. Constant, Esfahān, to Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 20/12/1643. The *fermān* did not prohibit the export of old *‘abbāsīs*, which were lighter of baser alloy and sold at a loss of 2% in Surat, ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rf.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 10/3/1644.

⁵⁰ With the Dutch, the Safavid court insisted on payment in ready money for raw silk deliveries, see ARA VOC 1146, fl.928rf.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1644: "volgens costume ...d'helft nieuw gelt ende d'ander helft toolpoura geldt begeert".

⁵¹ See F.S. GAASTRA (1983), 474, App.IV, Table 1. His list, compiled from published sources only, lacks entries for 1651, 1653, 1658 and 1659/60, which I shall supply elsewhere on the basis of the archival records.

⁵² Figures taken from the original correspondence between the VOC factory Iran and Batavia (mainly in ARA VOC 1185 and 1188) are not complete. Nor is it always clear whether the writer speaks of bills of exchange or the actual coins, e.g. ARA VOC 1185, fl.574r-589v, fl.587r: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1651: the "King David" carried to Surat fl.250.136, "9.000 ps. Chasamij Ropias, 224.000 ps. Tolpoura abacijs, 18.800 ps. siasani ropias in 3 wissels, 42.000 ps. N.abacijs".

⁵³ ARA VOC 1185, fl.574r-589v, fl.576v: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1653. No local merchant was willing to enter into a contract which involved the transport of 100.000 rials from Esfahān to Lār at the cost and the risk of the seller: "geene coopliden door 't nauw reguard dat op die spetie nu ter ordre van den Coninck boven als binnen Spahan vrij meerder dan oijt voor desen genomen wert, niet een stucq meer afbrengen willen...".

⁵⁴ ARA VOC 1201, fl.821rf.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/8/1653. This year is not covered by F.S. GAASTRA (1983), App.IV, table 1, but fits in convincingly between a fl.549.195 in 1652 and a ca. fl.583.000 in 1654.

⁵⁵ ARA VOC 1208, fl.456rf.: Shipping list Surat (non-VOC) 28/4/1654-14/12/1654.

Bandar-e ‘Abbās had travelled through Iran: much of the money had been carried by Arabian and Ottoman merchants via Al-Baṣra who called at Iranian ports to purchase Asian import goods. In the 1650’s most of the coins transshipped to India were silver ‘*abbāsts*, chiefly, it seems, ‘*abbāst noh dāng-o nīm*⁵⁶. Silver exports (and hence the price of silver) from the Persian Gulf Area were influenced by the price of the white metal in India.

From the early 1650’s an ever larger share of precious metal exports were sent to Coromandel ports. Some elements pointed to towards a greater appreciation of gold⁵⁷ and as early as 1655 silver coins were no longer considered suitable imports to Coromandel⁵⁸. Some years later merchants in Coromandel explained that the Mughals demanded their tributes in gold⁵⁹. From 1653/54, the VOC factory in Iran strove to reduce raw silk purchases and to invest in gold coins instead. Recorded gold exports increased from the mid-1650’s: in spring 1656, the

⁵⁶ The *dāng* corresponds to 1/6 *dīnār-mitqāl* (4.608 grams): $9.5 \times 0.766 = 7.277$ grams. H. RABINO DI BORGOMALE (1945), *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941*, London, 6 has at the basis of the system the *gandom* (grain) of 0.048 grams, four of which form a *noḥād*. The 4.6 standard then corresponds to 24 *noḥād* (4.608 grams). I read references to “*nieuwe abacys*” as intending freshly minted, fully valued coins, not subject to customary devaluation after some time of usage, neither *hawā’r* nor a five-*šāht* type. For a slightly later date, when the four *šāht*-standard came under pressure and the *paṅḡ-šāht* became common, we have an explicit reference: “*nieuwe abacijs genaemt nodonganim*”, ARA VOC 1217, fl.396r-397v, fl.396v.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Esfahān, dated 12/6/1656. However, C. SCHOLTEN (1934-35), *Munten der Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, *JMP* XXI, 48-123; XXII, 1-91, pt.I, 82, has a ‘*abbāst paṅḡ-šāht* among coins countermarked by the Dutch mints in Coromandel, which weighs 9.27 grams and had been originally struck at Yerevan in 1651.

⁵⁷ In 1652, the Safavid Grand Vizir wished to include a clause into the new Dutch capitulations specifically outlawing the export of “Spanish money and Moorish gold ducats”, see C. SPEELMAN (1651-52), *Journal...*, *loc.cit.*, 235. The total Eastward flow of bullion was temporarily somewhat reduced due to the contraction of EIC-shipping during the Anglo-Dutch war and the decline of Masulipatnam’s Persian shipowners. ARA VOC 1201, fl.821rff.: D. Sarcenius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/8/1653: in Surat ducats were “de valereuste van alle persiaensche munceten...”.

⁵⁸ *GM* III, 4-46, 30: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, 24/12/1655, speaks of “de sursantie van de munte in Golconda, daer het slaen van ropien nu een geruymen tijt herwaerts heeft stilgestaen, maer het gout had treffelijck gerendeert.” See also ARA VOC 1188, fl.556rff.: D. Jansz. Steur, Masulipatnam, to Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 3/11/1651.

⁵⁹ *GM* III, 383-392, 386: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 30/1/1662. For the tributes see J.F. RICHARDS (1975), *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, Oxford, 35f. The gold-silver ratio at Masulipatnam was even higher around 1640 - S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990), *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 83, quotes ratios between 1:17.2 and 1:17.5 - but now the usefulness of cheap silver was rapidly diminishing: the ratio had fallen to 1:16.4 in gold prices in the Mughal heartlands [see I. HABIB (1987), *A System of Trimetallism in the Age of the ‘Price Revolution’: Effects of the Silver Influx on the Mughal Monetary System*, in: J.F. RICHARDS (ed.) (1987), *The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India*, Delhi, 137-170, table 2] and arbitrage earnings on exports from Coromandel to Northern India ceased. The 1660’s witnessed an all time high of VOC gold exports from Japan, much of which was carried to Coromandel, see K. TASHIRO (1991), *Exports of Gold and Silver During the Tokugawa Era 1600-1750*, in: E. van CAUWENBERGHE (ed.) (1991), 75-93, 84f. For the low price of silver in Madras in the 1660’s see also K.N. CHAUDHURI (1967), 487.

Table 6

Precious metal exports Bandar-e 'Abbās to Surat 1654 (non-VOC shipping) ⁶⁰

Arrival	Ship	Owner	Coins	Bullion
28/4/1654	<i>Aḥmadābād</i>	Mondas Nan	266.500 'abbāsīs 1.831 ducats 27.285 rials	23.5 sola AU 87 sola AR
3/5/1654	<i>Aḥmadī</i>	Ḥāḡḡī Aḥmad:	190 bags à 50 and 100 <i>tūmān</i> each	
23/5/1654	" <i>Nesaij</i> "	Moḥammad Reżā	50 bags	
25/5/1654(?)	<i>Qadrī</i>	Moḥammad Tāher	8.835 'abbāsīs .44 ducats	
29/5/1654	<i>Aḥmadī</i>	Mīrzā Moḥammad:	75 bags à 70, 80, 100 <i>tūmān</i> each	
30/5/1654	<i>Karīmī</i>	Ḥāḡḡī "Siabbeth"	18.330 'abbāsīs	

Table 7

Precious metal imports Iran to Surat April/May 1657 (non-VOC shipping) ⁶¹

Arrival	Ship	Owner	Coins
24/4/1657	<i>Surat</i>	Mondas Nan	159.600 'abbāsīs 3.334 ducats 1.225 rials
25/4/1657	" <i>Maxoetraz</i> "	(Mughal)	72.800 'abbāsīs .24 ducats .950 rials
9/5/1657	<i>Surat</i>	Mondas Nan	213.100 'abbāsīs 1.133 rials
14/5/1657	<i>Moḥammadī</i>	Mīrzā Maḥmūd	115.450 'abbāsīs .16 ducats .500 rials
15/5/1657	N.N. frigate	"Gangedas" Banksālī	23.500 'abbāsīs
22/5/1657	<i>Ġāfarī</i>	Āḡā Maḥmūd	10.000 'abbāsīs
22/5/1657	<i>Rupar</i> (?)	"Ackij" Park	35.000 'abbāsīs
29/5/1657	" <i>Esbij</i> "	Āḡā Maḥmūd	45.000 'abbāsīs

⁶⁰ ARA VOC 1208, fl.456rff.: Shipping list Surat April/May 1654.

⁶¹ ARA VOC 1224, fl.196rff.: shipping list (incoming) at Suhali/Surat (April/May 1657).

VOC could carry without obstruction 25.000 gold ducats from Eşfahān to Bandar-e ‘Abbās⁶². Measures taken to stem the outflow of specie were haphazard: neither Grand Vizir Moḥammad Beğ’s new financial administration nor the harsh treatment of merchants and brokers at Bandar-e ‘Abbās by *šāhbandar* Moḥammad Qolī Beğ Lale (1655) and his successors, nor indeed the attempt, in 1657/58, of the assayer of the mint Moḥammad Amīn Beğ to "seal and close all stalls of *šarrāfs* and moneychangers, who generally evaluate the red silver for purchasers", which temporarily blocked all exchange operations, proved successful. Dutch transfers of gold ducats from Iran to Coromandel alone topped 100.000 pieces in 1659/60⁶³. In addition, much gold was carried overland: when the Qandahār road to Agra was unsafe while the succession of Šāh Ġahān was disputed in India merchants were desperate to dispose of coins already purchased and the market price in Eşfahān began to tumble⁶⁴. When the concerns over political stability in Northern India grew less, gold resumed to leave Iran via Qandahār, a business effectively facilitated by the conniving *šarrāfbāši* (head of the coin inspectors)⁶⁵.

When a shortage of coins was felt in the 1660’s in the Persian Gulf Area, the Safavids authorised, in a vain attempt to attract Ottoman merchants (and their ducats) from Al-Bašra⁶⁶ to Iran, the export of ducats from Iran provided the relevant duty which had been raised to 0.6

⁶² ARA VOC 1215, fl.835r-846v, especially fl.840v: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 5/6/1656. The same amount was exported that year by the EIC, see ARA VOC 1226, fl.832rff.: *id.*, to Amsterdam, dated 30/11/1657. In 1660/61 the Dutch alone transport 31.300 ducats in one caravan to the ports, see ARA VOC 1232, fl.682r-v: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to *e’temād od-doule* Moḥammad Beğ, probably written Bandar-e ‘Abbās in January 1661. The inexperienced VOC servant in charge of the caravan had resolved "op het voordragen van den Serafbassy, ...dese ducaten tegen zilvere abacys weder in te wisselen, waer by de Comp.e omtrent 130 toman ofte fl.4.550 verliest", see J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 12/3/1661, received Batavia 1/6/1661, summarised in *DR* XIII, 152ff.

⁶³ In the Coromandel ports a badly shaken economy found it difficult to absorb this massive influx, *GM* III, 314-353, 338: J. Maetsuijker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 25/12/1660. It seems that in Iran the price of gold coins had fallen in 1659.

⁶⁴ ARA VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 1/3/1658.

⁶⁵ ARA VOC 1232, fl.682r-v: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to *e’temād od-doule* Moḥammad Beğ, probably written Bandar-e ‘Abbās in January 1661, accusing "miersa mosson sarrafbassie". *Ibid.*, fl.666v: *id.*, to Amsterdam, dated 14/5/1661.

⁶⁶ ARA VOC 1251, 1325ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/4/1666: "...moetende al de contante capitaalen uijt turckijen Jn dit ryck werden gebracht, & dewyle dat tselve wel ten principale uyt ducaten en realen bestatt op welke eene spatie een swaren thol gestelt is, en d’andere niet uytgevoert mach werden, soo gaan de turckse coopl. persien voorbij, en merekten met haare capitalen Jn bassura, ’t welck oock oorsaek is, deselve plaets naast eenige jaaren Jn negotie soo gefloreert en persien heel afgenomen heeft, en schoon datter al eenigh capitaal dat weynigh zij, en met veel moeilijkheijt vermenght is, na persien compt wert door eenige wisselaers op de grensen opgewisselt en soo naer Hindoustaen over de landwegh gevoert om de persische moeilijkheden ende thollen niet subject te wesen."

maḥmūdī per ducat was rendered. Inevitably, this boosted exports⁶⁷, especially overland, and pushed up the price of the ducat⁶⁸. But the ingenious idea did not produce the results desired and did not keep silver money in the country. A new 5%-tax on silver exports to India was introduced in 1669/70, which initially had to be paid in Eṣfahān. This inevitably caused a severe ready money shortage in Bandar-e ‘Abbās⁶⁹ as merchants were advised not to accept bills of exchange payable in Bandar-e ‘Abbās. The measure threatened to bring domestic trade to a standstill it was soon specified that the tax was to be levied in the port and only on precious metal exports to India⁷⁰. It must be borne in mind that these measures coincided with restrictions imposed on bullion exports in two of Iran’s sources for the yellow metal - with the promulgation of the *novotorgovyj ustav*⁷¹ in Russia and a curtailment of *zecchini*-emissions in Venice⁷². It is impossible to gauge the effects of Šāh Solymān’s policy on the volume of precious metal exports to India⁷³ but the drainage of the red metal seems to have continued unabated⁷⁴ and perhaps

⁶⁷ In 1660, the Dutch had carried at least 180.000 ducats and 562.660 ‘*abbāsīs*’ to Coromandel ports alone, see L. Pit, Coromandel, to Batavia, dated 4/8/1661, summarised in *DR* XIII, 311ff.

⁶⁸ Ottoman merchants failed to import into the country the coveted precious metals, “cunnende Persia van sich selfs weynig contenten uytgeven”, see H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/5/1664, summarised in *DR* XV, 416ff.; for the price of the ducat see H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 7/4/1663, summarised in: *DR* XIV, 290ff.: 14.5 *maḥmūdī*; *do.* dated 8/2/1664, *DR* XV, 192ff.: 15 *maḥmūdī*.

⁶⁹ ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 24/4/1670. ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/5/1671; even transport from the capital to the Iranian ports were taxed, see ARA VOC 1279, fl.907rff: *do.*, dated 31/1/1672.

⁷⁰ ARA VOC 1279, fl.907rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/1/1672; *ibid.*, fl.954rf.f.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/5/1672. ARA VOC 1285: *Do.*, to Amsterdam, dated 17/1/1673, however, reports that the tax was again demanded in the capital.

⁷¹ See AAVV (eds.) (1963), *Pamjatniki russkogo prava*, vol.7, Moskva, 303-328 and commentary (345ff.). Cfr. also the contemporary regulations imposed on the Armenian trading company in the treaty between Zar Alexej Mikhailovič and New Ğolfā traders and the conditions on transit rights granted to Polish merchants trading to Iran in the context of the anti-Ottoman treaty of 1667, see E. ZEVAKIN (1940), *Persidskii vopros v russko-evropejskikh otnošenijakh*, *IZap* VIII, 129-162, 143f. and H. KELLENBENZ (1964/65), *Der russische Transithandel mit dem Orient im XVII. und zu Beginn des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, *JbbGOE* XII, 481-498, 491.

⁷² See U. TUCCI (1978), *Les émissions monétaires de Venise et les mouvements internationaux de l’or*, *RH* CCLX/1, 91-122; Ital.version: *Le emissioni monetarie di Venezia e i movimenti internazionali dell’oro*, in: ID. (1981), *Mercanti, navi, monete nel Cinquecento Veneziano*, Bologna, 275-316, 283ff.

⁷³ Although it is far from certain whether the two phenomena were directly connected, it is worth remembering that in the mid-1670’s the Indian subcontinent witnessed a sharp fall in the silver-value of gold, see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 178f., who also quotes Th. Bolt as suggesting, in 1682, that the depression of the gold-price was occasioned by vast imports from “Judda, Mocha, Persia and Bussora”.

⁷⁴ ARA VOC 1285. fl.1r-v: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 17/1/1673; the same year we hear of an attack on a merchant caravan exporting as much as 150.000 *tūmān* worth of coins via Qandahār, see also J. CHARDIN (1711), *loc. cit.*

even increased in the mid-1670's⁷⁵, silver exports, which were still banned, could not be halted either: the outflow was merely redirected to minor and less strictly controlled Iranian seaports⁷⁶.

The Safavid governors of Douraq and Hoveize now acquired good silver coins at a high premium, reminted and exchanged them for *maḥmūdts* of inferior alloy⁷⁷. These entered the international money market and caused the exchange rate of the gold ducat soar to Ma.16.5-16.75 in the later 1670's⁷⁸. This was accompanied by a progressive debasement of silver *ʿabbāsts* in Iran, a process that reached dramatic proportion by 1683 (20-24% compared to *ʿabbāsts* struck under Šāh ʿAbbās II)⁷⁹: *ʿabbāsts* of full weight and purity were traded at a premium⁸⁰. VOC reports sought the reason for this development not in a shortage of bullion - which they said was still imported in sufficient quantities by Armenian silk merchants⁸¹ - but in the carelessness and greed of mint officials and the lack of central control⁸². Rumours of an imminent mint reform circulated and slowed down the bullion trade. Only some 90.000 *tūmān* worth of new *ʿabbāsts* were struck in 1684⁸³, but no wholehearted reform was attempted⁸⁴. Written sources state that

⁷⁵ In the meantime, the ducat was priced at Ma.15.3-16, see ARA VOC 1307, fl.674rf.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1676.

⁷⁶ ARA VOC 1330, fl.967rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 12/8/1677.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* These governors paid the Ottomans of Al-Baṣra a lump sum for being granted unrestricted traffic of precious metals (ARA VOC 1349, fl.1678vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 1/6/1679) in addition to a premium of 18-19%.

⁷⁸ ARA VOC 1349, fl.1656rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/5/1679.

⁷⁹ ARA VOC 1388, fl.2244vff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/5/1683.

⁸⁰ Persian merchants complain "dat sij haer mamoe dijs met 2 1/4, 2 1/2, 2 3/4 Jegens abascys... verwisselt ...hadden". Less than a quarter of the *ʿabbāsts* which were offered the VOC in 1683 were even remotely acceptable, see ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 31/7/1683.

⁸¹ There were also dissenting voices: debasement of European silver coins available for the Levant trade made Armenian merchants prefer ducats for reexport to India, which deprived the Northwest Iranian mints of silver, according to ARA VOC 1349, fl.1707vff.: "Report" F.L. Bent, dated Batavia 25/11/1679. Unsafety of the roads in Eastern Anatolia also played its part, though; in 1679/80 a caravan carrying 20.000 *tūmān* worth of coins was plundered between Erzurum and Yerevan, see ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 4/3/1680.

⁸² ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 31/7/1683. H. RABINO DI BORGOMALE (1945), 11, knows 14 mints in Iran under Šāh Suleymān; V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 128ff., suggests that there was, at least in theory, some central control over the decentralised mints. R. MATTHEE (1991), *passim*, follows the Dutch reports in stressing the imperfect control. E. KAEMPFER (1712), blames the governors of Naḥčevān, Yerevan and Tabrīz who had the right of coining money for circulating debased coins.

⁸³ ARA VOC 1416, fl.1607rff.: R. Casembroot, off Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 20/10/1684. These were meant to rival the old *ʿabbāsts* in purity, but were effectively 20% lighter and of slightly baser alloy. Before long, old *ʿabbāsts* of Šāh ʿAbbās II traded at 11% premium (surprisingly, a lower premium of 10% was paid for *paṅṅ-šāhts* of Šāh

henceforth the court preferred silver *maḥmūdī*s from Hoveize⁸⁵ and *‘abbāsī*s from Yerevan⁸⁶. Numismatic evidence shows that no *maḥmūdī* from Hoveize struck after 1681 and next to no Yerevan and Teflīs *‘abbāsī*s dated 1677/80-1691 seem to have survived in major collections. By contrast, we find almost complete *‘abbāsī*-series from Eṣfahān, Kāšān, Qazvīn and Rašt as well as the Northwestern mints Naḥčevān and Tabrīz⁸⁷ for the years following the "reform", an observation which could point to extensive recoinage in Central Iran. Alternatively, once the weights of these series will be established, one can speculate about the applicability of Gresham's Law which would predict the flight of good money, for we know that old *‘abbāsī*s (and the relatively few good new specimens) were carried to India. From the mid-1680's VOC servants considered investing in pearls rather than coins for the return cargoes to India⁸⁸.

The rich pearl beds near the Arabian shores yielded perhaps the most valuable export commodity of the coastal lands of the Persian Gulf⁸⁹, and consequently government control over trade was strict. At the turn of the century, the pearl fisheries near Qaṭar attracted some 200 crafts during the summer months, above half from Baḥrayn, the rest from Ġulfar and Naḥlū. The value of the catch amounted to some 150.000 ducats, of which about two thirds escaped taxation by the local *vazīr*: still, the fisheries filled the chests of the *capitão* of Hormūz with 4.000 ducats

⁸⁴ ‘Abbās I, see ARA VOC 1434, fl.551rf.: A. Verdonck, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 11/7/1688.

⁸⁵ The best account can now be found in R. MATTHEE (1991), 305ff.

⁸⁶ ARA VOC 1430, fl.1535vff.: J.v. Heuvel, Eṣfahān, to Batavia, dated 15/7/1686. E. KAEMPFER (1712), 51, calls the mint of Hoveize, *solam adulterii expertem*; ironically, postclassical "expers" can also be "expertus", *pace* V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 130.

⁸⁷ Dutch sources also speak of *‘abbāsī*s *Teflīsī*, see ARA VOC 1434, fl.555rf.: A. Verdonck, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 2/6/1688. Here the coin was 22.5% below parity.

⁸⁸ I wish to thank S. Album for sharing this information with me.

⁸⁹ GM V, 1ff., 3: J. Camphuys, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 8/1/1686. Profitability of this traffic was subjected to heavy fluctuations, though, see GM V, 493ff., 503: W.v. Oudhoorn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 24/3/1692.

⁹⁰ For the reflections of an early, not preserved report see ARA VOC 1146, fl.908v: C. Constant, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1644; for the detailed "Instructie" see *ibid.*, fl.823rf.: dated 22/5/1643. For the XVIIIth century: W. FLOOR (1982), Pearl Fishing in the Persian Gulf in 1757, *Persica* X, 209-222; for the XIXth century especially J.G. LORIMER (1908), I-IIB, 2220ff; for an early XXth century account in Arabic see Ḥalīfa b. Ḥamad An-NABHĀNĪ (1342/1923-4), *Al-tuhfa an-nabḥāniya ft ta'rīḥ al-ġazīra al-‘arabiya*, Al-Qāhira, vol.6, 15ff.; and G. RENTZ, Pearl in the Persian Gulf, in: W. FISCHER (ed.), *Semitic and Oriental Studies. Fs. W. Popper* (=Semitic Philology IX), 397-402; see also M. MOKRI (1960), La pêche des perles dans le Golfe Persique, *JA* CCXLVIII, 381-397.

*p.a.*⁹⁰. After the Safavid occupation of Baḥrayn (1601/02), Portuguese and Safavid claims to the tax revenue competed⁹¹. In the 1640's some said his control earned the Šāh annually between 25.000 and 30.000 *tūmān*⁹². Taking prize all Iranian craft which returned from the fisheries would severely hit the Šāh's income, the Dutch believed during the conflict of 1645⁹³. It seems that Baḥraynī pearls fulfilled more adequately the desires of Indian female customers than those of Europeans⁹⁴. Throughout the XVIIth century Banyan and Armenian merchants controlled this trade⁹⁵. Bandar-e Kong and Al-Bašra emerged as secondary markets, but for 1685 reports speak of pearl sales in the range of 50.-60.000 *tūmān* in the Ottoman port city alone⁹⁶.

Another class of important exports from the Persian Gulf Area to Asia, especially India⁹⁷, was dyestuffs. Among red dyes cochineal creates dyes which were esteemed very highly,

⁹⁰ See P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, lb.3, 28. He also mentions non-official fisheries during the month of September at Naḥlū, Baḥrayn, Ġulfar, Masqat, Tiwī, Ra's Al-Hadd. For the pearl beds around Hārgū, where divers worked in the summer months June-August, see ARA VOC 1181, fl.843rff.: "Dagregister" E. Boudaens, Al-Bašra 15/6/1651 (*taq*).

⁹¹ ANTT DRI LIX, fl.94r-v: A. Godinho, Baḥrayn, to Masqat, dated 9/10/1648 shows that Portuguese claims are recorded for as long as the *Estado* held on to Masqat. They are also mentioned much later in connection with the customs house at Bandar-e Kong, see above. See also ARA VOC 1162, fl.190rff.: "Dagregister" N. Verburch / W. Bastineq (1646/47) who report from Ešfahān that the Portuguese were believed to collect 1.000 *tūmān p.a.* from Baḥrayn.

⁹² ARA VOC 1146, fl.912v: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1644, probably based data from the report by the Walchart/Costerus expedition of 1643.

⁹³ ARA VOC 1152, fl.73rff.: W. Geleynsz., off Lārak, to Amsterdam, dated 29/6/1645.

⁹⁴ ARA VOC 1251, 1325ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 4/6/1666: "men seght dat de bharinse peerlen zwaarder ende van een vaster substantie als de tutocorijnse zijn, en gelyck de luyden Jn Hindoustan als vrolijk willen zijn, hare vrouwen palleeren en met alle soort van wel rieckende olijetijten doen bestrycken en parfumeeren, soo sijn dese gesegde bharinse peerlen geen veranderinge daar door onderworpen daar d'andere soorten hoewel eenigsints wat helderer gewatert zijn haar couleur verliesen". See also BNP Ms. FF 14614: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier...*, fl.264ff. On a very optimistic assessment of the European market by Antonio D'Oro, see ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: "Schriftelijke Relatie", ca. Jan.1633. P.Della Valle (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 88, informs us that D'Oro was not a Venetian (as which he features in Dutch records), but a Syriac merchant (Hvāḡe Altūn; perhaps Turkish: altūn=gold > oro), who used to trade for Venetian houses. The VOC ceased to be interested in Baḥraynī pearls in ca. 1670, see ARA VOC 1278, fl.1843rff.: "Memorie" I. Goske, dated 28/4/1670.

⁹⁵ ARA VOC 1240, pp.401ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 12/4/1662, on Armenian exports to Europe (!); on Banyan trade to India see ARA VOC 1251, pp.1325-1341: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/4/1666.

⁹⁶ GM IV, 791ff., 827: J. Camphuys, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 11/12/1685.

⁹⁷ More detailed information on Indian dyeing technology derived from the near contemporaneous anonymous treatise *Nuṣṣa Ḥolāsāt ol-Moḡarrabāt* in H.K. NAQVI (1967), *Dyeing of Cotton Goods in Mughal Hindustan (1556-1803)*, *JIndTH* VII, 45-56.

but it is, at the same time, the least documented of the dyes traded. American cochineal⁹⁸ had been imported via the Mediterranean, and the Dutch believed Iran would use up to 1.000 *pond p.a.*⁹⁹, before they learnt that most of it was reexported to India¹⁰⁰: Cochineal delivered to the royal factor Molā'em Beğ, was soon discovered as private freight cargo of the enterprising official on an English vessel bound for Surat¹⁰¹. Vermilion (*kermez*; *sakirlāt* > *scarlatum*), too, was exported, but the dyestuff most commonly found on cargo lists was madder (*rūnds*; *rubia tinctorium*). Madder was also sent from Northwest Persia to India overland via Qandahār¹⁰² by Multani merchants, who had long combined their activities as money changers with trade¹⁰³. In the 1620's, Multanis in Iran surprised the East India Companies with their liquidity which gave them a clear edge in this competitive and cash-based branch of trade¹⁰⁴. At the turn of the XVIIth century, much of the *rūnds* was sent to Sind: officials at Hormūz were accused of forcing merchants to take aboard their private cargoes of madder although they did not intend to call at Sindi ports¹⁰⁵. Madder was essential for the dyeing industries in Gujarat¹⁰⁶, Panğāb and

⁹⁸ For the history of the Mesoamerican cochineal exports see R.L. LEE (1951), *American Cochineal in European Commerce 1526-1625*, *JModH* XIII, 205-224 and M.J. MACLEOD (1973), *Spanish Central America. A Socio-Economic History 1520-1720*, Berkeley etc., 170ff.

⁹⁹ BGP 303ff., 306: H. Visnicht, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 26/9/1629.

¹⁰⁰ On the transit trade in cochineal from Eṣfahān to Agra see ARA VOC 1100, fl.247rf.: A.Del Court, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 6/3/1630.

¹⁰¹ BGP 366ff., 373: A. Del Court, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 27/3/1631.

¹⁰² IOR G/29/1, fl.107rf.: H. Darell et al., Eṣfahān, to Surat, dated 9/8/1622. The market price at Eṣfahān was determined by the timely arrival of caravans from Qarābag and Ganġe ("Caraba and Gania"), see IOR G/29/1, fl.28vff.: J. Purefey, Qazvīn, to Eṣfahān, dated 23/5/1622.

¹⁰³ Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī's *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-ahyār* informs us that "in old times, no one except the men of Multan used to go from Hind-wa-Sind to Iran and Tūrān: therefore even today any one going abroad from Hind-wa-Sind is called Multani", q.i. R. ISLAM (1976), *A XVIIth Century Account of Sind*, *JPakHS* XXVI/3, 141-155, 149. The same broad application of the term "Multani" obtained in XVIIth century Iran, where European travellers connote it with Hindu merchants (see e.g. for the 1620's F. KOTOV (1624), *Khoženie kupca ~a v Persiju*, ed. N.A. KUNECOV, Moskva 1958, 91; for the late 1650's R. Du MANS (1660), 180f.), although we also know of Muslim traders from Multan. Far from being eclipsed by the rise of "Banyan" merchants from Gujarat, some Multan-based merchant houses may have benefitted from the decline of some Khattri trading houses in Lahore at the beginning of the century, see F. PELSART (1627), *Remonstrantie...*, *loc.cit.*, 326, distinguishes the "Huttaries" of Hindustan from the Gujarati Banyans; *ibid.* 277 on the decline of the former; J. THEVENOT (1664-84), vol.3, 162, tells apart "Catry" and Banyan merchants, but somewhat confusingly states that for the latter Multan was "leur principal rendez-vous pour negocier en Perse".

¹⁰⁴ See IOR G/29/1, fl.39v: J. Purefey, Qazvīn, to Eṣfahān, dated 23/05/1622, where he speaks of the Multanis' greater ease to cope with sudden price rises for madder because of their paying in cash.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. the letters in BNL FG Ms.1975, fl.362rff.

¹⁰⁶ *EFF* III, 150f.: Th. Kerridge, Surat, to London, dated 29/11/1626, for Burhanpur.

the hinterland of Coromandel. It became one of the most coveted commodities carried between Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Surat and the Coromandel Coast¹⁰⁷, but was also embarked at Al-Baṣra¹⁰⁸. In the 1630’s, the volume of madder-exports through Bandar-e ‘Abbās alone was estimated to be ca.950.000kg¹⁰⁹. In the late XVIIth century, madder was considered by some the most lucrative commodity carried by Banyan merchants from the Persian Gulf Area¹¹⁰.

Rhubarb, which was imported into Iran from Central Asia, was better suited for travel overland and therefore tended to reach Europe and India by ways which avoided long sea journeys¹¹¹. In Iran, wholesale rhubarb was best available on the markets of Qazvīn and Mašhad¹¹². *Asa foetida*, a strongly smelling gum-resin used as condiment, was collected in

¹⁰⁷ E.g. *EFT* VI, 32f.: Presidency Surat to W. Fremlen, dated 20/11/1637 and *ibid.*, 122ff.: W. Fremlen, Suhali, to London, dated 15/1/1639, for Surat; for Coromandel e.g. ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: "Schriftelijke Relatie...", ca.1633, which has English private traders carry ca. 1.500 *bahār* from Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Coromandel, and ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/7/1683, on a cargo of 38.400 *pond* (8.75 *maḥmūdī* per *man-e šāh*). In the 1630’s profits in the range of 100% were quite common, see ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: "Schriftelijke Relatie...", ca.1633.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/4/1683.

¹⁰⁹ ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: "Schriftelijke Relatie...", ca.1633.

¹¹⁰ *GM* V, 668ff., 705: W.v. Outhoorn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 30/11/1694. On the madder trade of the Iranian Jewish merchant Ya‘qūb Babu see ARA VOC 1307, fl.638rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/12/1675.

¹¹¹ IOR E/3/6/700: Letter E. Pettus, dated 27/9/1618 (and 30/11/1618). On the difficulties of proper preservation see also *COEN* V, 599ff.: J.P. Coen, Batavia, to A. Del Court, dated 18/8/1629. For the Eurasian overland trade see C.M. FOUST (1992), *Rhubarb. The Wondrous Drug*, Princeton.

¹¹² For Qazvīn see *BGP* 586ff.: N. Overschie, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 5/9/1636; for Mašhad *ibid.*, 621ff., 624: *do.*, dated 15/6/1637; the Dutch agent sent to explore the market travelled with the Armenian Ḥ‘āḡe Isaak, who was experienced in this traffic.

Southern Iran, stored in earthenware and sent to Surat¹¹³. Tobacco¹¹⁴ and opium¹¹⁵, too, were exported to Asian destinations from as early as the XVIIth century.

From Iran's large galena deposits, some of them in Fārs and Kermān, lead could be extracted in sufficient quantities for some of it to be exported to India¹¹⁶, and in the early XVIIth century the English discovered that their imported lead could not compete against locally mined ore¹¹⁷. The Portuguese unsuccessfully attempted to create a monopoly in the Arabian Seas for this strategic commodity. Just as lead, sulphur was a strategic commodity whose export from the Persian Gulf Area the Portuguese had tried to reserve for themselves, but in the XVIIth century trade restrictions had fallen¹¹⁸.

Only a limited range of manufactures was exported. In the textile sector, manufactures were exported from Iran to Europe only later in the century, but throughout the century luxury products found a vast market in India¹¹⁹. Less commonly exported sizes, fabrics or designs were usually ordered by the exporters personally¹²⁰. Furthermore, different kinds of sumptuous

¹¹³ ARA VOC 1264, fl.646rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 9/9/1666. See E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus...*, loc.cit., 90, on Dezgān (?), see also ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 28/2/1684.

¹¹⁴ In 1635/36, the English "*Blessing*" still tried to import some 400 *man* tobacco from Surat to Iran, where it met a "very ill market", see *EFI* V, 103f.: Presidency Surat, to Tatta, dated 3/2/1636, similarly negative reports on the tobacco imports on "*Francis*" in: *EFI* VI, 122ff., 126: W. Fremlen, Suhali, to London, dated 15/1/1639; for exports see ARA VOC 1252, 457ff.: H.v. Wijeq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1664, on tobacco as freight cargo. ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/4/1683: 1.000 *pond* tobacco in 5 bales at 5 *maḥmūdī* per *man-e šāh*.

¹¹⁵ See for an early reference *COEN* V, 811ff.: Heren XVII, Amsterdam, to Batavia, dated 25/10/1628; for the XIXth century cash crop cultivation see R.W. OLSON (1981), *Persian Gulf Trade and the Agricultural Economy of Southern Iran in the XIXth Century*, in: M. BONINE / N. KEDDIE (eds.) (1981), *Continuity and Change in Modern Iran*, Albany, 143-159.

¹¹⁶ ANTT COC 59: A.F. De Vasconcellos, Chaul, to Viceroy D.J.De Castro, dated 16/12/1546, summarised in: *OJC* III, No.407.

¹¹⁷ IOR E/3/6/699: Report E. Pettus, q.i. R. FERRIER (1976), 212.

¹¹⁸ See e.g. ARA VOC 1388, fl.2244vff.: J.v. Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/5/1684.

¹¹⁹ R. FERRIER (1976), 203, quoting IOR E 3/6/792, lists "damasks, Carpetts, Velvetts, Taffeties, Sattins, Cloth of Gould and sondry other sylke stuffes".

¹²⁰ See e.g. ARA VOC 1324, fl.684rff.: "Memorie" D. Sarcerius, ca. May 1655. For Mughal orders see ARA VOC 1153, fl.538rff.: A. Barentsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1645.

Persian textiles sometimes satisfied fashion conscious Japanese clients¹²¹. Superior carpets were sent to Europe, but also to India and elsewhere in Asia¹²². Carpets bought on the open market were up to a quarter cheaper than those especially commissioned¹²³. Fine coloured Iranian shagreen leathers, usually purchased at Eṣfahān, were in demand in Japan¹²⁴. Later in the century, we hear of Kermān pottery distributed all over Asian port cities¹²⁵. R. Du Mans tells us that the Kermān imitated designs of Chinese porcelain¹²⁶. Chinese *kraak* porcelain had been imported into Iran ever since Šāh ‘Abbās, but in the second half of the XVIIth century a comparatively small number of imitations was exported to India and the Malayan archipelago¹²⁷. Rosewater, which was a product of Šīrāz¹²⁸ and required considerable investments, were carried in vast amounts by Indian traders. Some of the Iranian rosewater was transshipped at Masqaṭ¹²⁹. Thus a picture emerges which features in addition to precious metal flows exports from the Persian Gulf Area to the wider Indian Ocean trading world of a wide range of agricultural, mineral, finished and semi-finished products. In the next chapters we shall discuss in greater detail two types of traffic which are very different from each other: the horse trade will be dealt with as an example of "administered trade" which was closely regulated by government agencies, while the trade in bulky foodstuffs appears to have been comparatively wide open to all merchants.

¹²¹ ARA VOC 1224, fl.324rff.: C. Caesar, Casteel Zeelandia, to Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 8/12/1656, ordering some brocades "en zeer cleen in dight van blau als lofwerck door malcander geranckeert, tot gerieff van eenige grooten [*scil.*: in Japan], die deselver ernstlijck versocht hebben".

¹²² *EFI* III, 96: J. Bangham, Lahore, to Iran, dated 30/9/1625, reports that prices for Persian carpets in the Mughal capital had fallen under the levels recorded at Bandar-e ‘Abbās because of oversupply overland. R. FERRIER (1969/70), 395, mentions Surati orders of "lively and fresh colours of Carmine to be 7 1/2 yd. long and 3 1/2 yd. broad". For the Euro-Asian and Indo-Iranian trade see bibliography. Woollen carpets suitable for exports were available at Eṣfahān at ca.Ma.100, see ARA VOC 1208, fl.234Ar-234Dr: "Facturas", dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 22/10/1654.

¹²³ ARA VOC 1135, fl.802rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1641.

¹²⁴ In the mid-XVIIth century reckoned between 2.-4.000 pieces *p.a.* could be disposed of, see e.g. ARA VOC 1324, fl.684rff.: "Memorie" D. Sarcerius, ca.May 1655. They were usually packed in bales of 120 pieces, ARA VOC 1168, fl.767r: *Factura "Overschie"*, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 28/3/1648.

¹²⁵ For Dutch exports see e.g. *DR* XXIX, 514ff., 516.

¹²⁶ R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, loc.cit., 197, says of the Kermān ware that "difficilement la sçauroit on distinguer de la tchini" (*čīnī*).

¹²⁷ For some comments on the imitations see M. RINALDI (1989), *Kraak Porcelain. A Moment in the History of Trade*, London, 213ff.; for exports see T. VOLKER (1954), *Porcelain and the Dutch EIC 1602-1682*, Leiden, 113ff.

¹²⁸ ARA VOC 1245, 773ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664: bottles for rosewater, however, were bought in Yazd.

¹²⁹ See e.g. *DR* XIV, 543ff.: nine frigates from Vengurlā and Kanara ports carrying 143 chests of rosewater.

Chapter 3:

AN EXAMPLE OF ADMINISTERED EXCHANGE: THE VICISSITUDES OF THE HORSE TRADE

The horse trade will be dealt with as an example of "administered trade" (here simply used as referring to a high degree of government regulation). This traffic allows, more than the classes of non-luxury goods discussed in the next chapter to gauge the involvement of state agencies and individuals in high places in this traffic. Horses had always been considered a strategic commodity, both because they were prestige animals and formidable weapons under the command of valiant horsemen. The semantics of power detected in the use of mounted cavalry as well as in the ethics and self-imagery of accomplished horsemanship have made the role of Persian and Arabian horses in Indian history a much studied subject. In what follows, we shall focus on some of its economic and political aspects. Some attention shall be devoted to the spatial organisation of the trade; we shall observe that the subcontinent must not be seen as a monolithic block, and that the Persian Gulf Area needs to be subdivided into a number of sub-areas, which supplied different breeds of animals at different times and in varying numbers and under changing regimes.

Northern India - or, chronologically speaking, the Dehli Sultanate¹, its successor states and the heartlands of the Mughal empire - was supplied with warhorses chiefly overland, both from Central Asia and Iran (although some horse breeding, even line-breeding, was practised in the subcontinent). Throughout the Middle Ages the horse trade caused a large influx of precious metals from India into the Persian Gulf Area², a phenomenon which partly changed only with more voluminous exports of other goods from the subcontinent. With the increasing reliance of armies on cavalry forces, horses became a commodity of great strategic importance, and we shall see later that the Safavids adopted at their convenience a policy severely restricting the export of horses to Mughal India, which challenged them in perpetual squabbles and all-out wars over Qandahar. Conversely, use of horses for civilian transport as saddle-, pack- or draught-animals was of minor importance in India³ and would hardly have justified costly imports. An important

¹ For early references see S. DIGBY (1971), *War-Horse and Elephant in the Dehli Sultanate. A Study of Military Supplies*, Oxford, 34ff.

² See J.F. RICHARDS (1983), Outflows of Precious Metals from Early Islamic India, in: ID. (ed.) (1983), 183-205, 198ff.

³ See J. DELOCHE (1980), *La circulation en Inde avant la révolution des transport*, 2 vols. (=Publications de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient CXXII), Paris.

entry point for Persian horses into Mughal India was Multān: Mughal sources have merchants bring 'Irāqī horses to the city where a sales-tax of seven *dīnārs* was levied per head⁴. Th. Coryate, who travelled from Yazd to Multān overland in 1615, claims his caravan included 1.500 horses⁵, mostly, one would conjecture, sturdy pack- and saddle-horses unlikely to be suitable for exports to India, but the episode can also be read as testimony to the viability of overland horse trade across the East Persian desert for commercial purposes, when spring vegetation offered adequate grazing and the animals could be sufficiently watered. Figures for horses driven through Kabul for sale in India vary greatly, ranging from a not unlikely 7.-10.000 heads reported for the early years of the XVIth century to a rather more inflated 150.000 ventured by a mid-XVIIth century writer⁶. A recent estimate puts the combined annual demand of imperial stables, cavalry and *zamīndārs* in late XVIth century Mughal India at some 1.000 Persian and 21.000 Central Asian horses⁷. Although the Deccani and South Indian expeditions of the XVIIth century may have expanded demand in the subcontinent, a figure of 25.000 heads *p.a.* imported from Central Asia, plus "a certain number" arriving via Qandahar from Iran, may not come far off the mark for the mid-XVIIth century⁸. It must be borne in mind, however, that Persian and especially Arabian blood-stock was more highly valued than Central Asian breeds and was hence overrepresented in the imperial studs: at the death of Akbar, 3.200 of its 12.000 horses were said to be "Persian horses of exceptional beauty and pedigree"⁹. Many of the Iran-bred horses, then, were imported explicitly for the emperor's stables, an observation vindicated by the recurrence of Mughal merchants in the Persian Gulf Area dispatched with the task of purchasing suitably

⁴ Sūgān Rāi BATALVĪ, *Holdṣat ot-tawārīh*, q.i. H. DASTI (1990), Multan as a Centre of Trade and Commerce During the Mughal Period, *JPakHS* XXXVIII/3, 247-256, 250f.

⁵ See T. CORYATE (1616), *Traveller for the English Wits...*, London; for a life and works of the author see M. STRACHAN (1962), *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate*, London.

⁶ The lower figure in: Zāhīr od-Dīn Moḥammad BĀBUR, *Vaqī'at-e Bāburī* (= *Bāburnāme*), *loc.cit.*; German ed., 346; the higher figure in: N. MANUCCI (1907-1908), *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708*, Engl. ed. W. IRVINE, 4 vols., London, vol.1, 322; elsewhere (vol.2, 390f.) he speaks of 100.000 heads imported *p.a.*

⁷ S. MOOSVI (1987), *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c.1595. A Statistical Study*, Delhi etc., 376ff.

⁸ F. BERNIER (1670-71), *Histoire de la dernière révolution des états du Grand Mogol*, 4 vols., Paris, vol.2, 200f. J. TAVERNIER (1676-79), *Les six voyages...*, vol.1, 611, reckons the horse trade to India of minor importance if compared to the cattle trade in Western Iran.

⁹ F. PELSART (1627), *Kroniek en remonstrantie. De geschriften van ~ over Mughal Indië*, eds. D.H.A. KOLFF / H.W.v SANTEN (=WL V LXXXI), s' Gravenhage, 120f.; Hawkins in W. FOSTER (ed.) (1921), *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, Oxford, 103, gives the slightly higher figure of 4.000 Persian horses; the figure of 12.000 horses is corroborated by Mughal sources, such as the ABŪ 'L-FAZL 'ALLĀMĪ, *Ā'm-e Akbarī*, ed. H. BLOCHMANN / C. PHILLIOTT, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1927-1949, vol.1, 140; ABŪ 'L-QĀSEM FERESHṬA, *Tārīh-e Ferešta*, Lucknow 1905, vol.1, 272; q.i. S. MOOSVI (1987).

valuable horses. The *Ā'in-e Akbarī*, however, only distinguishes between 'Arabī and 'Irāqī breeds and (unless one wishes to read "'Irāqī" as derived from 'Irāq-e 'Aḡam) is rather unspecific about Persian horses¹⁰.

Seabound horse trade from the Persian Gulf Area is better documented than imports overland, but largely supplied different markets. Even for the XVIth century we cannot exclude that many among the Arabian, and some of the Persian horses, found their way to Northern India aboard vessels bound for Gujarat or Sind. The sealanes were virtually the only route open to horse traders serving the Deccan and Southern India¹¹. In fact, in Medieval India these were known as *bahrī*- or seaborne horses, a term referring exclusively to their provenance, as they could comprise pack-horses, chargers and thorough-bred animals destined for royal stables¹². In the XVth century, Hindu and Muslim traders alike, resident at both ends of the sea journey, were engaged in the importation of horses from the Persian Gulf to South India, and travellers and chroniclers agree that the horse trade out of South Arabia, too, was of considerable size¹³. Much as earlier centuries saw the sea-bound horse trade coordinated via the island port of Kīš¹⁴, where animals were assembled for convoys to Western Indian harbours from all over the Persian Gulf Area, now this entrepôt function was taken over by Hormūz. However, the collection and distribution of horses were subject to not unfrequent changes over time, which reflect both turn-about both in Middle Eastern and South Indian political realities.

In South India, the kingdom of Vijayanagar was a chief recipient of horses transhipped at Hormūz, whence, a Portuguese chronicle wants us to believe, Achyutadevaraya (1530-41/2)

¹⁰ ABŪ 'L-FAZL 'ALLĀMĪ, *Ā'in-e Akbarī*, *loc. cit.*, vol.1, 140ff., who also has a *tāzī* (i.e. "Arab") variety among the locally bred horses, see S. MOOSVI (1987), 235, N.42. Modern equine classification knows three strains of *tāzī*: Gāngla, Īrānī, and Kutch Tāzī, descendants, according to hippological mythology, from horses brought to India by Tīmūr or Arabian merchants, see W.R. BROWN (1929), *The Horse of the Desert*, New York, 122f. A full study of early modern Persian and Indian *farasnāmes*, which hold out a great wealth of detail on this subject matter, is a *desideratum*, but work is now being undertaken by 'A. SOLṬĀNĪ GORDFARĀMARZĪ (Montréal/Tehrān).

¹¹ Y. HUSAIN (ed.) (1953), *Selected Waqai of the Deccan 1660-1671*, Hyderabad, 69, q.i. S. MOOSVI (1987), 378, N.18, has a merchant driving horses across Northern India into the Deccan.

¹² Zeyā' od-Dīn Baranī, *Tārth-e Fīrūzshāhī*, has Sultan Balbān speak of *bahrī* as opposed to Tartar horses. For this and other early references see S. DIGBY (1971), 21f. and 29ff.

¹³ T.V. MAHALINGAM (1951), *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Madras, 136; R.B. SERJEANT (1968), *The Portuguese Off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford, 167, N.B.

¹⁴ See H. YAYIMA (1976), *Indian Ocean Trade at the Time of the Mongols Empire: Trading Activity of the Kish Merchants* (in Japanese with Engl. summary), *The Toyogaku-ho* LVII/3-4, 1-40.

bought 13.000 per year¹⁵. Most horses for Vijayanagar were funnelled through the Kanara port of Bhatkal, which benefitted from a direct link across the Western Ghats to the imperial city¹⁶. The Deccani Sultanates were supplied via Konkan ports and Ahmadnagar via Chaul¹⁷. With the rise of Golkondā and its formidable heavy cavalry said to comprise anything between 30.000 and 80.000 horsemen under Abū 'l-Ḥasan¹⁸ a new market with great potential developed, but it is as yet unclear whether and to what extent this generated further growth in the seaborne horse trade. As the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* realised the potential profits and tax receipts to be derived from a more complete control of the horse trade, and consequently strove to make Goa the turn-table of South India's horse trade¹⁹, one would expect to see the volume of horse trade in rival ports diminish noticeably²⁰. To achieve the concentration of imports, a number of positively encouraging measures were taken besides applying sheer coercion. At Goa, huge stables were built, which employed three hundred local men²¹. Goods imported aboard ships carrying 10 or more horses were exempted from customs payments²². Yet, at the same time, freight

¹⁵ For these informations see F. NUNIZ (1535-1537), in D. LOPES (ed.) (1897), *Crónica dos reis de Bisnaga*, Lisboa; however, in negotiations of the Portuguese with one of his predecessors, Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529), we hear of the more likely number of 1.000 heads *p.a.* imported from the Middle East, see A. De Albuquerque, Cananore, to King Manuel I, 27/11/1514, CAA I, 340ff., 341, and, in 1567, C. Federici travelled in company of two merchants from Goa to devastated Vijayanagara, who between them brought the King 300 horses, see C. FEDERICI (1587), *Viaggio...*, *loc.cit.*.

¹⁶ See A. De Albuquerque, Cananore, to King Manuel I, 4/12/1513, in: J.R. COELHO (ed.) (1892), *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas*, Lisboa, 305ff. on Bhatkal, "ho quall nom he feito senam polo trato dos cavalos e mercaderia durmuz".

¹⁷ J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia...*, *loc.cit.*, II/1-4, 55f. has seven crafts carrying horses from Hormūz calling at Chaul in 1507.

¹⁸ See J.F. RICHARDS (1975), 14, 107.

¹⁹ Pre-Portuguese Goa had funnelled *bahrī*-horses into Bidar and Golbarga, see P.S.S. PISSURLENCAR (1962), *Goa pre-portuguesa através dos escritores lusitanos dos séculos XVI e XVII*, Bastorá, *passim*. B. De ALBUQUERQUE (1557), *Commentarios...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.1, 373.

²⁰ For a recent overview of Bhatkal's trade in the first decades of Portuguese presence in the Western Indian Ocean see: S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990), 124ff.; some Arabic correspondence has survived in ANTT, COr, e.g. No.50, concerning the suppression of horse trade through Cananore at the hands of the Portuguese, see *à propos* also G. BOUCHON (1975), *Mamale de Cananore, un adversaire de l'Inde Portugaise, 1507-1528*, Genève/Paris, *passim*.

²¹ CAA I, 199f.: A.De Albuquerque, Cananore, to King Manuel I, dated 4/12/1513.

²² For the proceeds from the taxation of the horse trade out of Goa see M.N. PEARSON (1987), *The Portuguese in India* (=NCHInd I/1), Cambridge, 50f. At 40 *cruzados* per head, he gives the following figures: 1513/14: 5.000 *cruzados*; 1523: 18.000 *cruzados*; 1540's: 40.000 *cruzados*; ca.1580: 9.000 *cruzados* (cfr.: Chaul: 14.000); for his sources see ID. (1981), 80. For an early insight into the profitability of a Portuguese-controlled horse trade see: A. De Albuquerque to the *vedor da fazenda* D. M. De Castelo Branco (s.a., s.l.), CAA I, 405ff., 410. In the 1570's the port of Basrur was temporarily granted permission to handle some of this commerce, see A. ABREU (1574), *L'orçamento do estado da Índia*, ed. J. AUBIN, *Studia* IV, 1959, 169-289, 246.

charges for other commodities in Portuguese-owned or controlled vessels out of Hormūz were higher in ships which carried horses as they were not expected to pay customs at their destination²³. Even this not entirely consistent policy was not followed wholeheartedly and in the 1520's privileged trading voyages between Bhatkal and Ormuz were granted to *fidalgos*. Whether this entailed a revival of the horse trade through the Kanara port is not quite clear from the chroniclers which report these cases²⁴. At any rate, the measures taken to concentrate the horse trade in one port left ample scope for manipulations at the hands of Portuguese and other officials and failed to prove a irresistible attraction for traders. In addition, trans-Ocean traffic seems to have merged swiftly with a locally plied, coastal trade: horse dealers who had procured Sindi and Kutchi horses in Gujarat, called at Goa to fill up their cargo with more highly valued Middle Eastern blood-stock, only then to dispose of them in ports such as Bhatkal; an *alvará* strove to fill this loophole decreeing that "from now on no horse which ...enters this city [of Goa] from Cambay or Gujarat can leave as if it was to be sold there; and if they [*scil.*: horse traders] wish to do so they will pay for them [*scil.*: the horses] duties as high as those paid by those who come from Hormūz"²⁵. Later in the XVIth century, more rigorous enforcement of this measure led to a sharp drop of customs revenue at Hormūz by two thirds, as non-Portuguese horse traders chose other ports of embarkation for voyages to Kanara harbours, Cochim and elsewhere²⁶. The severely limited efficiency of Portuguese control even over movements of a strategic commodity such as horses confirms that diverting from itineraries prescribed in *cartazes* and defying unenforceable customs regulations became the rule rather than the exception. In the 1630's at the latest, a lively horse trade had developed between the Persian Gulf Area and Coromandel destinations, but even earlier, blood-stock originating from Iran was valued in ports as distant as Ačeh²⁷. Bengal received seaborne horses from the mid-XVIth century at the latest²⁸. In the

²³ For the *alvará* and its application see W. BARRET (1584), *loc.cit.* and *RHPN* III, 328-343, 333f.

²⁴ On the trading voyages see S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990), 126f.; traders from Cambaya were granted *cartazes* to Ormuz on condition they delivered their horses at Goa customs, see A. De Albuquerque, Cananore, to King Manuel I, 4/12/1513, in: J.R. COELHO (ed.) (1892), *Alguns documentos ...*, 305ff., but towards the later XVIth century, horse trade through such ports as Dabhul had revived to the detriment of Goa, see King Philip I to Viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses, dated 13/3/1587, *APO'*, III, 30ff.

²⁵ *Alvará* of Governor D. Lopes de Siqueira, dated Cochim 11/11/1519, *APO'*, V, 38f.

²⁶ See King Philip I to Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque, dated 12/3/1594, *APO'*, III, 440.

²⁷ *DR* I, 129: Batavia, 18/2/1625.

²⁸ See *ZQPA* No.2987: *Mercê* for D. Manuel de Lima, *capitão* of Hormūz, dated 31/4/1547: allowed to send to Bengal a *navio* with 20 horses *p.a.*.

XVIIth century Bengali officials, too, were eager to keep Arabian and Persian horses in their stables and sent emissaries to Iran with purchasing orders or used the services of the Companies.

In the Persian Gulf, horses were assembled from various areas: ever since the Middle Ages, horses were procured from 'Irāq, Al-Qaṭīf, Al-Ḥasā, Baḥrayn, 'Umān, and mainland Iran²⁹, but blood-stock from the Hadramaut, too, was highly prized³⁰. Tomé Pires states unambiguously that "the best are the Arabian [*scil.*: horses], second best the Persian, third those from Cambay" (from Kutch?)³¹. Early on, the *Estado da Índia* attempted to control this trade and by 1515 claimed a tax on every beast carried out of all peninsular ports between Qalhāt and Baḥrayn³². If catchment areas of the horse exporting ports did not overlap this was due almost exclusively to the familiarity of sellers with certain localities (or power relationships between breeders in the hinterland), for none of the ports could claim dominance over an entire horse-breeding area³³. This sector of the horse trade is sadly underdocumented and from what little data is made available below overall conclusions would be premature. We know more about the horse trade once it entered the domain of the maritime traders.

Some have suggested that alongside the Indo-European pepper trade the Arabian Seas horse trade was the "second major attempt at monopoly" of the Portuguese³⁴. Whether or not this is a misnomer, the customs-house of Hormūz, a chief pillar of the *Estado*, initially left earlier customs regulations unchanged³⁵, which had imposed a 10% 'uṣṛī duty - presumably levied on

²⁹ See S. DIGBY (1971), 29ff.

³⁰ D. BARBOSA (1516), *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, in: S. TRIGOSO (ed.) (1813), *Collecção de notícias para a história, e geografia das nações ultramarinas que vivem no domínio português*, vol. II, Lisboa, 232-394, 255, which reads: "...saom muyto maiores e milhores que hos que uem Dormus", whereas L. RIBEIRO (ed.) (1961), *Uma geografia quinhentista*, 53/203, has simply: "são muy grandes e muy bons". In this, as in many other cases, we have to wait for the eagerly anticipated critical edition of the text.

³¹ T. PIRES, *A Suma Oriental*, 150. J. AUBIN (1973), 170, N.559, wants the "kachi" horses of P. TEIXEIRA to be imported from Kīč-o-Makrān. However, on the esteem showed for the Kutch *tāzī* strain see W.R. BROWN (1929), 122f.

³² See A. De Albuquerque, Ormuz, to King Manuel I, 22/9/1515, *CAA* I, 369ff., 374.

³³ See e.g. BAL 51-8-42: Reports on Al-Baṣra, ca. Sept.1547, see also *ZPQA* Nos.3342 and 3350, where Portuguese reports argue that the embarkation of horses for India could easily be shifted from Al-Baṣra to other, non-Ottoman ports on the Arabian or Iranian coasts.

³⁴ M.N. PEARSON (1987), 49.

³⁵ This was a common trait of the *Estado*'s customs regime in the XVIth century. For examples from Goa, Malaka and Macau see B.W. DIFFIE / G.D. WINIUS (1977), 327, N.28 and above.

the basis of cargo invoice lists - and a brokerage fee of 1 *ašraft*. In the early years of Tūrān Šāh V Fahr od-Dīn (1541-64) *ušrt*-revenue (inclusive the related *chapa*-fee) amounted to some 24.000 *lārt*, the highest entry in the 1540's budget after a more general heading "brokerage fee", seignorage and the duty levied on Indian rice imports. In the late XVIth century, however, a Portuguese report reckoned that effectively 50% of the gross profit made by horse dealers on their voyage from the Persian Gulf Area to India finished in the *Estado*'s chests³⁶.

The horse traffic at Hormūz was supervised by the *corretor-mór dos cavalos*, which was a highly coveted and lucrative position: "all sales and purchases of horses in Hormūz as well as their freighting for India are dealt with exclusively by the *corretor-mór dos cavalos*"³⁷. The position predated the arrival of the Portuguese, just as pre-Lusitan Goa had its "portmaster for the horses", which survived as *corretor-mór dos cavalos* well into the XVIIth century³⁸. In the mid-XVIth century the Muslim office-holder was chosen by the King of Hormūz. As the Portuguese tightened their grip on the administration of the customs house, however, he was given a Portuguese assistant, appointed initially by the Portuguese king, later by the viceroy. Eventually, King Sebastian granted life-long (and sole) tenure to "hum Mouro por nome Coge Xabo", at whose death in 1582 King Philip I appointed "hum Francisco Velho, morador em Hormūz, homem muito antigo na Índia"³⁹. To judge from later records, the post effectively remained in the hands of Portuguese - locally resident or not - ever after⁴⁰. The office-holder received no salary from the *Estado* or the King of Hormūz, but was empowered to retain the fees he levied on all commercial transactions involving horses at Hormūz⁴¹. Once the posts had slipped from his control, even the King of Hormūz was required to render the relevant duties on horses exported to Goa, Chaul and Dabhul⁴². As pointed out above, his activities impinged on

³⁶ See Anon., "*Estado da Índia e aonde tem o seu principio*", *DUP* I, 197ff.; a somewhat different version in *DUP* II, 79ff; reference is made to the second version, *ibid.*, 113. J. AUBIN, in his introductory notes to *MLI* II, 1973, XI, calls the author "informateur de Couto".

³⁷ "Copia de huns apontamentos sobre os caualos que vem de Hormūz", *APO*^I, III, 712ff., an appendix to a *carta real* dated 15/2/1597.

³⁸ B. De ALBUQUERQUE (1557), *Comentários...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.1, 373; Diogo Lobo De Abreu held the office in 1637/38, AHU C.I. 13/13.

³⁹ Anon., *Livro das cidades...*, facs.ed. F. Mendes Da LUZ, Lisboa 1960, fl.35r-v.

⁴⁰ AHU C.I. 6/31: Francisco Ribeiro de Gouvea, *Devassa...*, 14/2/1619.

⁴¹ Anon., *Livro das cidades...*, facs.ed. F. Mendes Da LUZ, Lisboa 1960, fl.35v.

⁴² *DRI* III, 133ff.: King Philip II to Viceroy D. Jerónimo de Azevedo, dated 14/3/1614.

two aspects of the horse trade: sales arranged by private brokers⁴³ and independently conducted between the two interested parties had to be registered with his office. As debts could not be settled directly between the parties, but had to be mediated by the *corretor-mór dos cavalos*, the latter was frequently accused of raising the buyer's and lowering the seller's price and pocketing the difference. If at times payments were made in gold *pardões*⁴⁴, which, of course, made skimming off part of the amounts all the more attractive, at other times the *corretor-mór dos cavalos* forced grossly overvalued textiles and other unwanted commodities at inflated prices on horse dealers from Iran and Arabia in truck for their livestock. His preemption of the best horses rendered the horse trade an enterprise fraught with imponderables⁴⁵. As he was also responsible for arranging transport to India⁴⁶, he and his subordinates showed great resourcefulness in devising countless additional extortions: in 1589 the *Câmara de Goa* denounced to King Philip I the practice of deliberately delaying the departure of horse traders even after the completion of the costly customs formalities, forcing them to feed their animals exclusively with oat provided by the *capitães'* servants, not surprisingly at rates well above market prices⁴⁷. In the 1590's, an official inquiry found the then office-holder guilty of freighting out inadequately equipped, small crafts belonging to him and his clique, in which horses were crammed in and, malnourished, often perished before reaching their destination, yet he demanded triple the freight rate officially stipulated (30 instead of 10 *pardões* per head)⁴⁸. The *corretor-mór dos cavalos* combines two different characteristics out of the two typologies suggested for a classification of Indian Ocean trade middlemen⁴⁹: he was no general broker, in that his activity was specifically directed at one commodity, and he was not a purely commercial figure, in so far as he owed his post to appointment by the state and wielded coercive and regulatory power over the trade in which he

⁴³ When examining the practices at Hormūz customs the *vedor da fazenda* Gaspar De Melo discovered a great many *corretores* - Muslims, Hindus, Jews - licensed invariably without royal or viceregal assent by the King of Hormūz, his *vazir*, the Portuguese *capitão* and the *corretor-mór* (*scil.*: *das fazendas*), see *DRI* II, 168ff.: King Philip II to Viceroy D. Jerónimo De Azevedo, dated 27/2/1612.

⁴⁴ See Anon., "*Estado da Índia...*", *DUP* II, 114.

⁴⁵ See King Philip I to Viceroy Matias De Albuquerque, 15/2/1597, *APO'*, III, 711.

⁴⁶ This and most of the other information on his activities from "*Copia de huns apontamentos...*", *APO'*, III, 712ff.

⁴⁷ Letter of the *Câmara de Goa* to King Philip I, 29/11/1589, *Archivo General de Simancas*, Cod.1551, No.243; see *BFUP* XIV/XVI, 1960, 618.

⁴⁸ "*Copia de huns apontamentos...*", *APO'*, III, 712ff.

⁴⁹ A. DAS GUPTA (1979), *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c.1700-1750* (=BSA XL), Wiesbaden, 84f.; A.J. QAISAR (1974), *The Role of Brokers in Medieval India*, *IndHR* I/2, 220-246, *passim*.

participated. In fact, his was a hybrid position, halfway between tax-farmer and broker. Thus collusion with other officials was common place and it became part of the standard investigations into the conduct of Portuguese captains at Hormūz to ascertain whether they had arrogated themselves the right to purchase horses before anybody else⁵⁰. All this was held responsible for a fall of tax revenue derived from the horse trade to just above 25% of its previous value in the later 1590's, but worse still: "...the merchants no longer want to export horses "along our route" (por nossa via) which they had always taken; now they carry them from Persia, for many months, along the dangerous and difficult overland route where horses never used to be taken, ...and they arrive at all these kingdoms of Bijapur, our neighbours, who never received any Arabian horses but via... Hormūz"⁵¹. A part of the Iranian horse trade, which formerly passed through the Persian Gulf entrepôts was diverted to overland routes in the latter years of the XVIth century in line with developments observed for other commodities exchanged between Iran and India⁵².

In the Persian Gulf, the procurement areas of Al-Qaṭīf - and the port of Tārūt - remained beyond the writ of Hormūz and the Portuguese. Horsebreeding in the hinterland of Al-Qaṭīf and Al-Ḥasā was in the hands of nomadic tribes⁵³. A. Bocarro exalts the "perfeitos e fermozos ginetes" of Al-Ḥasā⁵⁴. If XIXth century observations are anything to go by, these were horses of an inferior strain of the prized Naǧdī breed⁵⁵, but it cannot be ruled out that Naǧdī horses were actually brought for transshipment, to Baḥrayn via Al-Qaṭīf, the end-point of a trans-Arabian route from Mecca⁵⁶. A somewhat derivative XVIth century Portuguese geographical treatise speaks of 600 Arabian horses exported to India annually⁵⁷. Although the 1575 Ottoman

⁵⁰ See *APO'* III, 232.

⁵¹ "Copia de huns apontamentos...", *APO'*, III, 714.

⁵² For details see R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier...*, *StIr*.

⁵³ For a reference to "thousands of Banī Ḥālid horsmen" in 1584 from the Ottoman *mühimme defterleri*, see J. MANDAVILLE (1970), 500.

⁵⁴ A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, *APO'* IV-II-1/2, 94f.; he reports the price for the finest Arabian horses as being ca. 1.000 *lārī*.

⁵⁵ J.G. LORIMER (1915), I-2B, 2235; for the classification of Arab stock see W.R. BROWN (1929), 98f.

⁵⁶ See Anon., "*Estado da Índia...*", *DUP* II, 113f.

⁵⁷ L. RIBEIRO (ed.) (1961), *Uma geografia...*, 60/210.

qânûnnâme of the province does not contain any rules on the taxation of the horse trade⁵⁸, we know that in the XVIIth century Al-Qaṭīf's *bāṣā* single-handedly controlled the horse trade out of the ports which was said to attract yearly investment of many thousands *cruzados*⁵⁹. As the *bāṣā* at times relied on Portuguese naval forces to fend off Safavid ambitions to acquire a stronghold on the Arabian mainland⁶⁰ we can safely assume that this route of supply remained to the Lusitans open even after the fall of Hormūz. However, as the restrictive regime of Portuguese control was abandoned in the XVIIth century, we soon see a more varied *clientèle* such as the governor of Surat freighting EIC vessels for Al-Qaṭīf to purchase horses⁶¹. Bahrayn, on the other hand, which alongside Hormūz and Masqaṭ was one of the pillars on which the Portuguese-controlled horse trade rested⁶², gradually seemed to lose some of its share in the traffic: P. Teixeira, who visited the island after the Safavid occupation in 1602, mentions that the horse trade was no more⁶³: it may possibly have been discontinued in compliance with a Safavid export ban.

By the mid-XVIth century⁶⁴, horse exports from Al-Baṣra had long begun to rival those from Iran. The horse trade at Al-Baṣra was conducted strictly on a cash basis⁶⁵. A Portuguese report speaks of 600-800 horses exported annually to Goa⁶⁶. Consultations prior to the Luso-Ottoman wars in the Persian Gulf have a total figure of 1.000 heads, most of which were taxed

⁵⁸ R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux Ottomans...*, 249ff/274ff.; see also A. AL-HAMADĀN (1985), Ottoman Tax Regulations in the Liwa of Qatif According to the Liwa Kanunnameler in the 2nd Half of the XVIth Century, *RHM* XXXIX/XL, 297.

⁵⁹ A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, *APO*² IV-II-1/2, 94ff.

⁶⁰ See L. CORDEIRO (ed.) (1898), *Dois capitães da Índia...*, 116ff.

⁶¹ *EFT*¹ VII, 135ff.: F. Breton, Suhali, to London, dated 27/1/1644. After the Mughal took a closer interest in Sindi trade, the governor attempted to come to a mutual agreement with the Portuguese including the import, free of customs, of horses from Al-Qaṭīf and Al-Baṣra, see ANTT DRI XLVII, fl.130: Viceroy Cde. Aveiras to the Portuguese King, dated 1/11/1640: "Copia da proposta que Mirxarif fez ao feitor e mais mercadores do Sinde".

⁶² See Anon., "*Estado da Índia...*", *DUP* II, 113f.

⁶³ P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, 26ff.

⁶⁴ On trade and taxation in XVIth century Al-Baṣra see also: R.ʿA. ABŪ AL-HĀĠĠ (1983), *Al-intāğ wa at-tiğāra wa aḍ-ḍarāʾib fī wilāya al-Baṣra ḥilāl al-qarn as-sādisa ʿaṣara ṭibqan limā ḡāʾa fī qānūn al-wilāya*, *MBTar* V/2, 299-317 and T.N. AL-HAMDĀNĪ (1985), *At-Tanzīmāt al-iqtisādiya al-ʿuṭmāniya fī wilāyat Al-Baṣra ʿibban an-niṣf at-tānī min al-qarn as-sādisa ʿaṣar*, *RHM* XII/39-40, 557-567.

⁶⁵ *OJC* III, 453ff.: Manuel De Lima, Hormūz, to D. João De Castro, dated 27/9/1547.

⁶⁶ ANTT COC 88: D. Manuel de Lima, Hormūz, to Goa, 23/6/1547; see also *OJC* III, No.559, 413ff.

at Hormūz: some argued, just as Luis Falcão, that a blockade would cut into customs revenue of the island, while the majority seemed to believe that horse dealers would easily find their way to alternative ports such as Rīšahr or even Gomrūn⁶⁷. To judge from later sources, the Basran market⁶⁸ was supplied by horse-breeders roaming the lands to the West of an imaginary line linking Al-Basra to Baġdād⁶⁹. English buyers praised the Arabian strain available in Al-Basra as "but very deare, yf of a good proportion, well spread, cleane lim'd, well coloured, and sprightly sighted, with what other comendable properties a good horse ought to have"⁷⁰. However, horses of the highest pedigree were unlikely to be offered for sale, and it is just possible that at the time the same basic distinction prevailed between high and low caste Arabians for exports to India that had been observed at the turn of the century⁷¹. Saddle- and pack-horses were also sold in large numbers to returning *hāḡḡ*-caravans setting out to cross into Iran. In the XVIIth century, rulers of the Afrāsiyāb dynasty had reserved for themselves a monopoly on horse sales to overseas merchants during the trading seasons⁷², among them Europeans, Turkish and Indian dealers⁷³, but as yet no judgement can be passed on the nature of the Ottoman governors' involvement in the traffic in the XVIIth century. In XVIth century Ottoman Al-Basra, classification of Portuguese Hormūz as *dār al-ḥarb* had not prevented the granting of privileges concerning the horse trade to the "enemy"⁷⁴. On the contrary, the *feitor* (*feytūr*) of the

⁶⁷ BAL 51-8-42: Reports on Al-Basra, ca. Sept.1547, see also ZPQA Nos.3335, 3342, 3350 etc.; but see also the reports in BAL 51-VII-19, fl.194ff.: "Pareceres sobre Baçora".

⁶⁸ D. RIZK KHOURY (1991), 67, mentions a horse fair South of the city on the basis of the English translation of P. Teixeira. The original, P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, 81, has no such market: "Tiene Basorá hazia el medio una grande plaza llana y limpia llamada Maxarak, en la qual de mas de servir de un mercado y feria universal, suelen juntarse los viernes, todos los Moros de caualllo, que son muchos y muy diestros, a solemnizar aquel dia que es su fiesta..."

⁶⁹ G.A. OLIVIER (1797/8), *Voyage de l'empire Ottoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, 4 vols., Paris, vol.4, 432ff. <???>.

⁷⁰ *EFI'* VI, 249: Appendix to W. Thurston et al., Al-Basra to London, dated 22/6/1640.

⁷¹ W.R. BROWN (1929), 149f.

⁷² See e.g. *CDNI* II, 19ff.: "Artykullen ende replycq gepresenteert en beandtwoordt by den Bassa des Erffrycx Bassura" [i.e.: Ḥusayn Pāšā Afrāsiyāb], 9/5/1651, Art.12: The VOC are authorised to export "what kind and how many you wish to buy ...as long as you have purchased 2-3 from myself"; see also J. THEVENOT (1664ff.), *Relation...*, vol.2, 321.

⁷³ *EFI'* VIII, 216ff.: J. Lewis et al., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 19/10/1648; see also ARA VOC 1168, fl.771rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/12/1647, on 22 Arabian horses exported by the English from Al-Basra.

⁷⁴ This differed considerably from the practice prevailing in the Mediterranean, see e.g. N. BIEGMAN (1967), *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship According to the Firmans of Murad III (1575-1595) Extant in the State Archives of Dubrovnik*, Den Haag/Paris, 107.

Portuguese *capitão* at Hormūz had been exempted from the customs usually levied on horse exports⁷⁵. Very different again from what obtained at Bandar-e ‘Abbās, barriers to export horses to Mughal ports were virtually absent. Commercially acquired horses were exported to Surat both as freight on English Company vessels or local ships such as the "*Salāmatt*" of the Muslim merchant Rezā⁷⁶. However hostile the Safavid authorities might be towards horse exports from Al-Başra to their foes, all they could possibly do was to threaten the agents of the trading firms involved with reprisals against their Persian operations. A case in point is the "agreement which the President [*scil.* of the EIC factory Surat] &c. made with the Governour of Suratt for the transporting of Arrabian horses on your shippes from Bassara, in consideration of five tom.s [i.e. tūmān] per horse freight". The reaction in Safavid Iran was anticipated in no uncertain terms: "...we shall not onely learn of it in a harsh dialect, but peradventer may on that occasion loose the privilege which wee now have for the transporte of 12 horses yearly oute of this kingdom, besides incurring the Kinges displeasure."⁷⁷ In 1656 both Prince Darā Šikoh and Aurangzeb had sent *vaktls* to Al-Başra to purchase horses (pushing up prices noticeably and unnecessarily in the process)⁷⁸, and the VOC's linguist at Surat, "Carstiga", was confident of finding a ready market in Gujarat for the horses exchanged for his goods at Al-Başra⁷⁹. The full restoration of Al-Başra to the Ottomans in 1669 does not seem to have compromised the local horse trade significantly⁸⁰.

The exact nature of the ‘Umānī horse trade also presents some problems: both its apogee and decline have at times been dated to the XIVth and XVth centuries⁸¹. XVIth century

⁷⁵ R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux Ottomans...*, 242/267; as in the case of Al-Qaṭīf the document is not specific about the tax levied on seabound horse exports.

⁷⁶ For a list of freight goods embarked on the EIC vessels "*Endeavour*" and "*William*" see ARA VOC 1162, fl.116rff.: Shipping list Suhali, 1646; for the cargo of the "*Salāmatt*" see ARA VOC 1188, fl.567rff.: Shipping list Suhali, 1651.

⁷⁷ *EFI* VI, 301f.: Agent Merry et al., Eşfahān, to London, dated 18/6/1641. Surat reacted angrily (see *EFI* VI, 303ff., 308f.: Presidency Surat to Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 15/11/1641): "you may pretend that the Bushaw hearing of Shaw Suffees kindnesse to us in permitting exportation of so many horses yearly, pleaseth to be alike gracious to us", thereby implicitly threatening "to seeke out new places of trade and better usage".

⁷⁸ ARA VOC 1210, fl.929rff.: J. Barra, Al-Başra, to Surat, 11/9/1656.

⁷⁹ *DR* XIII, 105ff.: Abstract of letter L. Winninx, Surat, to Batavia, 5/2/1661.

⁸⁰ ARA VOC 1278, fl.1843rff.: Memorie I. Goske to Lucas van den Dusse, 28/4/1670.

⁸¹ For the former: A. WILLIAMSON (1973), , for the latter: P. RISSO (1986), *Oman and Muscat: An Early Modern History*, London/New York, 16 N.3.

Portuguese sources, too, are somewhat contradictory: Brás De Albuquerque mentions indigenous horse rearing near Ḥurfakkān and Quryāt, but has no horses exported from Ṣuḥār⁸². When the Portuguese in ʿUmān had been reduced to the possession of Masqaṭ, Indian horse dealers from such ports as Rajapur were quick to redirect their crafts to Sūr - near Qalhāt - for the season's purchases⁸³. However, it is by no means certain, that all horses exported from ʿUmānī ports were bred in the country: João De Barros writes that horses embarked at Qalhāt were brought from as far as Al-Ḥasā⁸⁴, and a XVIIth century Dutch report claims that ʿUmānī exports advertised as Arabian horses actually stemmed from Iran and were bought as colts in Ḥārg⁸⁵, which although nominally under Persian suzerainty seems successfully to have eluded Safavid trade restrictions⁸⁶. In the 1630's, mounts could legally be exported from Masqaṭ to Goa, Bassein and Damão and Portuguese officials and residents were known to participate in the lucrative traffic⁸⁷. Live-stock from Inner-ʿUmān sold at Masqaṭ paid a sales tax of 12.5 *lārtn* per *ra*'s, but only 4.5 *lārtn* if it was to be forwarded to India, while for foreign merchants these fees rose to 30 *lārtn*. The buyer's share of the tax irrespectively was set at 15 *lārtn*⁸⁸. The XVIIth century document containing these details may partly reproduce regulations valid in 1591/2, when the local *ṣayḥs* ceded half the customs revenues to the *Estado*. After the first defeat of the Portuguese at the hands of Nāṣir b. Muršid's men all levies on commerce plied by ʿUmānīs in Masqaṭ were lifted⁸⁹. After the eventual demise of Portuguese power in ʿUmān in 1650, the Arab horse trade took off and Masqaṭ became its main entrepôt: as early as 1652 three Arab vessels were sighted in Dabhul harbour laden with Arabian horses⁹⁰. The shedding of fiscal shackles also applied to non-Arab traders, and Dutch intelligence from 1657 has Indian merchants on their

⁸² B. De ALBUQUERQUE (1557), *Comentários...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.1, 69, 99, 92. For further details see J. AUBIN (1973), 118.

⁸³ ACE III, 514: "Regimento que se deu a Francisco De Tavora D'Ataide, capitão geral de Mascate", 11/2/1649.

⁸⁴ J. De BARROS (1552-63), *Da Asia...*, *loc.cit.*, II-3-2, 239f.

⁸⁵ ARA VOC 1288, fl.442: Report R. Padtbrugge, dated Colombo 25/20/1672.

⁸⁶ P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.4, 366.

⁸⁷ A craft belonging to the *capitão* of Masqaṭ, carrying besides other commodities 13 thorough-bred Arabian horses to Goa, was intercepted by VOC ships in 1635, see P. LEUPE (ed.) (1853), *Journal gehouden bij den Directeur Generaal Ph. Lucasz.*, KHUG 2nd ser., IX, 248-316, 273.

⁸⁸ ANTT DRI XLIX, fl.354rff.

⁸⁹ ANTT DRI XLIX, fl.88r.: "Capitulações de pazes...", dated 15/12/1648.

⁹⁰ ACE III, 194f.

way back from Bandar-e Kong regularly call at Masqat to embark hundreds of horses "which had been granted by the Imam to everyone without any restrictions"⁹¹. Among the foreign horse traders were also Persians, such as the one who had to feel the wrath of Viceroy Linhares in 1631, when he dared to defy the viceregal horse monopoly⁹², but EIC ships, too, offered freight services⁹³. In the 1670's, private Persian horse traders dominated imports, and even the Imam had his horses bought in Iran. Horses were exported to Konkan- (Vengurlā) and Kanara- (Basrur) ports⁹⁴. But private merchants, some of whom were based in Malabar and Kanara ports also embarked large numbers of animals for the Coromandel Coast⁹⁵. By then, the Imam's *vakt* exercised strict control over transactions in the port and sales (2.5% *ad valorem*, to be paid by the seller) and export tax (between 2.5% and 8%), duties (stable etc.: 2 *mahmūdī* p.head per month; embarkation fee: 10 *mahmūdī* p.head to be shared by *nāḥudā* and buyer), sales-brokerage (29 *lārīn* p.head, to be shared by buyer and seller) and a separate freight-brokerage fee weighed heavily on the merchants, even more so, perhaps, than under the Portuguese⁹⁶. Not surprisingly exports dropped from some 2.000 horses in 1626⁹⁷ to 200-300 heads annually in 1674⁹⁸. The Imams themselves entered the horse trade, too. 'Umānī chroniclers explain the commercial ventures of Sulṭān I (1649-80) as fulfilment of a pious duty towards fellow Muslims when they relate that "during his Imāmate [he] sent men to India, Persia, Sana'a, el-Bāsrāh, and 'Irāk to

⁹¹ ARA VOC 1224, fl.349rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Colombo, dated 20/4/1657.

⁹² "Relatório dos procedimentos do Conde de Linhares Viso Rei da Índia de todo o tempo que ha que governa este Estado", BNL Pomb. Ms.490, fl.178-195, fl.180vf.

⁹³ *EFI'* V, 185f.: Instruction for J. Drake of "Michael", dated 28/3/1636.

⁹⁴ L. Leenerts., "Bacquenor", to Batavia, 7-8/2/1661, summarised in *DR* XIII, 92ff., 99: arrival at Basrur of a ship belonging to King "Ventapaneyk" on 17/1/1661, carrying among its cargo 44 horses from Masqat ARA VOC 1304, fl.491r: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674, mentions a freight rate of 20 pagodas per head to Vengurlā and Rajapur. Portuguese (and perhaps also the informer for this report) texts often use *pagoda* instead of *pardão*.

⁹⁵ *DR* XIV, 543ff.: Abstract of letters from Coromandel Coast to Batavia, arr. 14/11/1663, which mention the unloading, in May 1663, of 247 Masqat horses from nine Vengurlā and Kanara frigats.

⁹⁶ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.491r: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674.

⁹⁷ BNL FG Ms. 1982, fl.133rff.: "Livro em que se registão todos os assentos dos conselhos do 2º Governo do Conde Almirante D. Francisco Da Gama", XCVª sessão, 13/2/1627: refers to letter of Ruy Freire De Andrada, dated 4/12/1626, who reports information provided by A. Callado, *capitão* of Masqat fort. However, such a figure would require a considerable number of ships to be employed in the horse trade: a Portuguese vessel carrying 37 horses and bound for Chaul was taken prize by EIC ships in 1624, see *EFI'* III, 34: R. Fox, Account of the Voayge to Persia, Nov./Dec.1624.

⁹⁸ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473r-492v, fl.491r: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674.

supply the demand of the Mussulmans for horses..."⁹⁹. In the 1680's the Imams openly strove to gain a larger share of the traffic: the three ships of Imām Bal'arab which arrived at Surat in 1681 carried no horses - compared to 14 in the "*Mandi*" (?) of a private Masqaṭī merchant - but in 1683 two of the Imam's crafts disembarked no less than 56¹⁰⁰. Possibly, these were ships owned by Bal'arab's brother and rival, Ṣayf b. Sulṭān, who in the later 1680's ousted Bal'arab, built his power base in Rustāq and laid the foundations for the 'Umānī maritime empire, as were those which arrived at Surat in November 1684 (32 horses) and November 1686 (28 horses)¹⁰¹.

Persian horses were, as we have seen, less esteemed than thoroughbred Arabian horses. J. Chardin, who reports that even in Safavid Iran herself Arabian horses were preferred, where they could be found on horse fairs in Šīrāz¹⁰², personally feels that "les chevaux de Perse sont les plus beaux de l'Orient. Ils sont plus hauts que les chevaux de sell anglois, étroits de devant, la tête petite, les jambes fines et déliée à merveille, fort bien proportionés, fort doux, de grand travail, et fort vifs et légers", besides having a regular working life of some 18-20 years¹⁰³. Persian hippological literature does not show the obsession with pedigrees which is a hallmark of its Arabic equivalent. Although the *farasnāmes* invariably held pure Arabian horses in highest esteem a more pragmatic approach led them to appreciate the usefulness of Lorī breeds in mountainous terrain or Turkomān horses as comfortable mounts¹⁰⁴.

Our sources are exceedingly reticent about revealing the provenance of horses. The picture that emerges is very sketchy indeed. Horses bred in Daštastān had attained a certain fame

⁹⁹ See Ḥumayd b. Muḥammad IBN RUZAYQ, *Al-faḥḥ...*, *loc.cit.*, 89.

¹⁰⁰ For 1681: ARA VOC 1379, fl.2554vff.: Shipping list Surat 1681/82; for 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2137ff.: letter VOC factory, Surat, to Batavia, 16/6/1683: 40 horses an unnamed ship of his; for 16 horses in his "*Tavakkul*" see ARA VOC 1383, fl.630rff.: Shipping list Surat 1683.

¹⁰¹ For 1684: ARA VOC 1416, fl.1539vff.: Shipping list Surat 1684/85, which names as owners "*yman Cabares*" (possibly "*qayd al-arḍ*", the epithet under which Ṣayf b. Sulṭān became known later), and "*yman tsevely*" (possibly "Imām Ṣayf b. 'Alī", see above); for 1686: ARA VOC 1439, fl.1552rff.: Shipping list Surat 1686/87. Details on what the probably sizeable export to Coromandel destinations should be easily retrievable from shipping lists filed among the documents originating from the chief ports of the Coast.

¹⁰² See ARA VOC 1240, fl.1409rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 30/8/1662.

¹⁰³ J. CHARDIN (1811), vol.6, 366, who *ibid.*, 370ff., gives valuable informations on the practice of breaking-in, royal stables, equine veterinary problems etc.; see also A. OLEARIUS (1696), *Viel Vermehrte Moskowitzsche und Persianische Reisebeschreibung*, Hamburg, 301.

¹⁰⁴ See 'A. SOLTĀNĪ GORDFARĀMARZĪ (1987), s.v. Asb III. In *Islamic Times*, *EIr* II, 731-736.

in the XVIIIth century¹⁰⁵. In the XVIth century horses were exported from the hinterland of Rīšahr via Hormūz to Goa¹⁰⁶, and in mid-XVIIth century the area sent horses to ‘Umān. In the XIXth century, most horses exported via Būšehr were brought from Fārs or even further inland¹⁰⁷. As long as Lārestān was independent Lār boasted an important horse-fair¹⁰⁸, but in the XVIIth century, too, horses were sometimes led all the way from Eṣfahān to Bandar-e ‘Abbās for export¹⁰⁹. Later, VOC reports sometimes speak of their servants’ scouring the horse-markets of Central Iran (and all the way to Kermān) for suitable animals¹¹⁰ and by the mid-XVIIth century, Šīrāz had become a major market for saddle-horses: more coarse-bred animals from various regions of Iran were put up for sale there. Its governor, if he did not actually breed horses on his lands, seemed to have exercised the right of pre-emption, only to corner the upper end of the market and to control part of the transactions¹¹¹. In fact, the governors of Šīrāz - whether following orders or on his own initiative - increasingly impeded Dutch horse exports and instructed local dealers not to sell to them¹¹². Later in the 1660’s the new governor Mīrzā Šādeq revoked the measure, but both European and Indian purchasers experienced horse supplies becoming ever scarcer¹¹³, and felt they needed to explore other markets for procurement¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁵ See also J.R. PERRY (1979), *Karim Khan Zand. A History of Iran 1747-1779*, Chicago/London, 247, who says that cross-breeding with Nağdī stallions helped to improve the local breed.

¹⁰⁶ See A. TENREIRO (1528), *Viagem...*, *loc. cit.*, 117.

¹⁰⁷ J.G. LORIMER (1915), I-2B, 2338.

¹⁰⁸ See *OJC* III, 252ff., 254: B. Lopes Lobato, Hormūz, to Viceroy D. João De Castro, dated 30/10/1546: "...são chegados a Lara e aos lugares de redor dela mais de quatro centos caualos, esperão os mercadores de fazerem seus partidos". Two years later, one hears of 500 Persian horses, *OJC* III, 537f.

¹⁰⁹ ARA VOC 1084, fl.71: Instruction H. Visnich to J. Granijer, dated Eṣfahān 1/6/1624.

¹¹⁰ ARA VOC 1236, fl.5rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 2/9/1660.

¹¹¹ ARA VOC 1217, fl.394rf.: "*Memorie*" J. Willemsz., dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 5/6/1656. Hippological mythology has Šāh ‘Abbās I distribute Arabian stallions throughout his realm to promote line-breeding, which resulted in, among others, a Šīrāzī strain, see W.R. BROWN (1929), 122.

¹¹² ARA VOC 1245, p.773ff.: H van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664.

¹¹³ ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669.

¹¹⁴ For Al-Baṣra: ARA VOC 1278, fl.1843rff.: "*Memorie*" I. Goske to Lucas van den Dusse, dated 28/4/1670; Masqat: ARA VOC 1279, fl.902rff.: Lucas van der Dusse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 4/3/1672, and ARA VOC 1279, fl.1029rff.: "*Memorie*" Fr. De Haze to R. Padtbrugge.

We know little about the actual conduct of horse-dealing. There was hardly a free market for blood-stock of the highest pedigree. The best horses, when they did not end up in the royal of governor's stables¹¹⁵, were used as precious gifts. The East India Companies tended to employ local men to purchase horses for them, such as a Ḥāḡe Neẓām, *kalāntar* of Lār¹¹⁶ and João Rodrigues, a *novo cristão* acting on behalf of a number of Goan and Portuguese merchants in the Persian Gulf, also undoubtedly needed a local agent when, as a profitable sideline to his diamond-trading, he engaged in some horse-coping in the area¹¹⁷.

Prices for horses in Iran varied considerably: in the early XVIIth century even an emaciated jade would still sell for as much as 50 *lārīn*, another one, one-eyed, but still strong, might cost 90 *lārīn*, while for a healthy horse of the same breed one would pay 170 *lārīn*¹¹⁸. Not surprisingly, horses destined for export were more costly: in Lār, Ḥāḡe Neẓām could buy eight young horses for ca. 360 *lārīn* per head, on another occasion 14 well-bred horses feature in an invoice at 500 *lārīn* per head¹¹⁹. By the 1680's, when Persian horses for export had become scarce, prices soared to in excess of 1.000 *lārīn* for first-class stallions¹²⁰.

Seaborne transport of horses was costly - especially if compared to the self-propelled overland passage - as they required careful treatment set out in detail in an anonymous Portuguese treatise¹²¹. For the duration of the six-months voyage from Bandar-e 'Abbās to Batavia the

¹¹⁵ Some general information on royal studs in Iran can be found in most travellers; for greater details see: E. KAEMPFER (1712), *Amoenitatum...*, *loc. cit.*, and MĪRZĀ SAMĪ'Ā, *Taẓkirat al-molūk*, *loc. cit.*, fl.24a-b/52. Costs for the keep of horses in the royal stables were included among the expenses for the relevant department and not, it seems, part of regular provincial taxation in kind. Without wanting to go into details, one has to distinguish between horses of the highest pedigree, kept at the royal court, and, mounts used by the courier services, see 'A. SOLTĀNĪ GORDFARĀMARZĪ, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁶ ARA VOC 1106, non fol.: "Transport ende inventaris", dated 18/3/1633.

¹¹⁷ J.R. BOYAJIAN (1993), *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs 1580-1640*, Baltimore, 164.

¹¹⁸ Examples taken from "Copie Journaal Bandar-e 'Abbās" 1623/24, *BGP* 65ff.

¹¹⁹ "Factura", dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 8/4/1628, *BGP* 226, and n.d. (1628/29), *ibid.*, 280f. See also the "Inventaris" of 1638, *ibid.*, 643ff.

¹²⁰ ARA VOC 1370, fl.2510rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/4/1681; on scarcity of horses for exports see ARA VOC 1370, fl.2476rff.: *do.*, dated 15/3/1681.

¹²¹ Anon., "Estado da India...", *DUP* II, 79ff, 113f.: "E com grande trabalho que estes cavalos passam na embarcação de Ormus e Mascate a Goa e mais partes, e na embarcação se afinão e apurão, como ouro na fragoa, e ficão muy sangrão nos, e na embarcação poem nos tan juntos e atados, que não pode hum bolir, que o não fação muitos, e o mesmo he no cair, dos enfermos que sustentão com fundas e perfumes, e purgão nos, sangrão nos, e curão nos muito bem depois que desembarcarão. E enquanto vem no mar sempre vem em pee e nunca se deitão em toda a viagem, e

Dutch reckoned an astonishing 1.5 *man-e Tabrtz* (ca.4.5 kg) of barley at 1 *maḥmūdī* the *man-e Tabrtz* and 2 *man-e Tabrtz* (ca.6 kg) of chopped straw at 0.5 *maḥmūdī* the *man-e Tabrtz* per head per day and on some occasions one hears of lucerne (*aspist* < *aspastī*, "horsefodder")¹²². Thus, to the invoice price for 20 horses of 14.700 *maḥmūdī* a further 10.200 *maḥmūdī* needed to be added for keep¹²³. Thus, expenses for freight and the cost of forage made the transport of horses from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to India an unprofitable enterprise for private horseowners¹²⁴. When merchants were forced to wait for a safe passage, the cost of feeding the animals at Bandar-e ʿAbbās could easily exceed their value: one of the cases in which the horse trade felt the impact of the seasons¹²⁵. Fodder for the horses could be bought in Persian Gulf ports; for longer voyages merchants could rely on supplies to be taken aboard in Gujarati ports¹²⁶. In addition, wages and food for a groom who regularly accompanied horses on their sea journey, had to be paid.

The total number of horses thus crossing the Arabian Seas varied according to demand observed in the South Indian kingdoms, and oscillated between 1.000 and 2.000 heads *p.a.*. For the early XVIth century Duarte Barbosa suggests that prices and volume in the cross-Ocean horse traffic mirrored closely the urgency for Indian states to have their original stock renewed¹²⁷. In 1514, Vijayanagar alone considered importing some 1.000 horses, and A. De Albuquerque believed that while up to then only 1.200 horses passed through Goa customs per year, strict

assi dormem os cavallos arabios que saem de Mascate e Barem, e outras parte de Arabia, são milharese de mais valia, que os da Persia, e pera mais trabalho." On the "perfumes", namely the "*erva de Mascate*", see G. DA ORTA (1563), *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas mediçinaes da India...*, Goa, new ed. C.De FICALHO, 2 vols., Lisboa 1891, vol.2, 311f.

¹²² Compare this to the information on horse-feed in the Mughal imperial stables contained in ABŪ 'L-FAZL ʿALLĀMĪ, *ʿĀṭn-e Akbarī*, vol.1, 133ff.

¹²³ See "*Factura*", dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 25/3/1636, BGP 572ff. Costs for forage for horses in Iran were usually reckoned at Ma.1 per day, see ARA VOC 1165, fl.157rff.: List of presents, N. Verburgh and W. Bastincq, 1647.

¹²⁴ See also J.A. MANDELSLO (1658), *Des hoch Edelgeborenen ~ Morgenländische Reys-Beschreibung*, Schleswig, new ed. A. OLEARIUS (1696); also: ID. (1637-40), *Journal und Observation*, ed.M.REFSLUND-KLEMANN, København 1942, 17.

¹²⁵ ARA VOC 1302, fl.727rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Ceylon, dated 2/5/1674. See especially ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 26/5/1668: the cost of keeping horses for export to Asia rose considerably when prices for forage trebled because of drought.

¹²⁶ ARA VOC 1084, fl.71: "*Instructie*" H. Visnich to J. Granijer, dated Esfahān 1/6/1624, for horses to be carried to Batavia: "stroo kan men in Suratte mede becomen".

¹²⁷ See D. BARBOSA, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, 261; the later Anon., *Estado da India...*, in DUP II, 79ff, 113, has 1.500.

patrolling of the Seas could push this figure up to 2.000¹²⁸. Later in the XVIth century, some 2.500 horses *p.a.* were said to have been exported from Hormūz alone every one year, "and duties levied on these (imports) yield in this city [*scil.*: of Goa] in excess of 120.000 *cruzados* (probably: *pardões*), the safest income of this *Estado*", but by the mid-1590's the officially registered part of this tract had dwindled to some 300 heads annually¹²⁹. If this apparent decline in numbers may be chiefly due to two factors - the insufficiency of Portuguese control, hence registration, hence documentation, but also an actual shift to other, non-Portuguese dominated ports, both in the Persian Gulf Area and India - the volume of the maritime horse trade out of Iran seems to have experienced a further shrinkage in the years after the fall of Hormūz due to non-commercial interference. While in other Persian Gulf and 'Umānī ports horse trade represented an important taxable, if at times monopolised commerce, officially licensed trade out of Safavid ports was minimal.

While the trans-Ocean horse traffic of the XVIth century was commercially organised and, it seems, commercially viable¹³⁰, there is a case for casting some doubt over the commercial nature of the Perso-Indian horse traffic after the fall of Portuguese Hormūz. High export taxes, allegedly amounting to the equivalent of 50 rixdollars per head, required considerable, for many prohibitive, outlays¹³¹. Later, European Companies were granted *fermāns* which permitted export of horses free of customs, nine or twelve heads *p.a.* for the EIC¹³², for the VOC

¹²⁸ A. De Albuquerque, Cananore, to King Manuel I, CAA I, 340ff., 341.

¹²⁹ "Copia de huns apontamentos sobre os caualos que vem de Hormūz", APO^I, III, 712ff., an appendix to a *carta real* dated 15/2/1597.

¹³⁰ For the situation before (and, presumably, outside) the reach of the Portuguese monopoly it was discovered that profit margins made the horse trade very lucrative, indeed. CAA III, 376ff.: A.De Albuquerque, Cananore, to King Manuel I, dated 31/10/1513, mentions a cost price in Hormūz of 100-130 *pardões* and sales in Indian port cities ranging from 300 to in excess of 400 *pardões*. CAA I, 405ff., 410: A.De Albuquerque to the *vedor da fazenda* D. M. De Castelo Branco (s.a., s.l.), even speaks of profits of some 400-500% between Hormūz and Western India.

¹³¹ See J.A. von MANDELSLO (1637-40), *Journal und Observation...*, *loc.cit.*

¹³² The original royal *fermāns* of 1627 and 1629 can be found in BM Harleian 109, No.2 and No.10. See BM Sloane fl.38r, for "Emaum Culle Con his pervana" granting the EIC the export of twelve horses. I wish to thank A. Morton for drawing my attention to this collection of documents. Šāh 'Abbās II, too, granted the EIC limited possibilities for the export of horses, see R. FERRIER (1986), *The Terms and Conditions under which English Trade was Transacted with Safavid Persia*, BSOAS XLIX, 48-66, 60. The French CIO demanded no less than seven horses per ship, see ARA VOC 1285, fl.406r.: F.De Haze, Šīrāz, to Amsterdam, dated 19/10/1673.

between three and four horses per ship¹³³. The Europeans used the animals as coveted gifts for foreign rulers, but they also exported saddle-horses for their own high officials. At one stage, the Dutch considered introducing horsebreeding in Ceylon to remedy the constant lack of mounts and imported Persian stallions for that purpose¹³⁴. In fact, most horses exported from Bandar-e 'Abbās to India, and *a fortiori* into Surat, fell into the category of prized gifts - to friendly rulers, or in the case of the Europeans, to Indian officials on whose assistance they relied - of paramount importance for the success or failure of diplomatic missions¹³⁵, but hardly an indicator of economic activity. On one occasion a ship of Mīr Moḥammad Sayyed Ardestānī, *sar-e ḥayl* of Golkondā¹³⁶, was reported to be carrying 30-40 horses, almost all of them gifts from Safavid nobles¹³⁷. While the disguising of precious wares as parts of the train of diplomatic missions was a notorious method to avoid the defrayment of customs duties - a point frequently raised even for the Portuguese *alfandega* at Hormūz¹³⁸ - , plenty of evidence points to the largely non-commercial nature of the horse traffic out of Bandar-e 'Abbās.

In the relations between Asian powers, especially between Safavid Iran and Mughal India, horses were regarded not just as a prestige commodity but were vested with a strategic value and

¹³³ For a *fermān* of Šāh Šafī I see ARA VOC 1106, fl.167r, which mentions a "commandement ...tot bevrijdinge van tollē radarijē en uitvoeren van paerden ontfangen in Spahan adi 18 maij 1629", which was confirmed by the *Ḥān* of Šīrāz *ibid.* 12/10/1629; ARA VOC 1135, fl.727ff.: Transport A.v. Oostende, dated 20/4/1641 mentions a *fermān* of Šāh Šafī I (10/9/1630) granting export of two horses per ship. For three horses (two of which mares): *Fermān* of Šāh 'Abbās II, dated April 1647: ARA VOC 1162, fl.256r (*CDNI* I, 370ff., dated Oct.1642, still outlawed the export); four horses are mentioned in a *fermān* without date quoted in ARA VOC 1135, fl.727ff.: Transport A.v. Oostende, dated 20/4/1641; also four horses according to a later *fermān* of Šāh 'Abbās II: ARA VOC 1239, fl.1685r-v: H. van Wijeq, "Memorie" for the *šāhbandar* of Bandar-e 'Abbās of 1662/3; for the renewal of the *fermān* by Šāh Soleymān see ARA VOC 1261, fl.726rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 26/1/1668.

¹³⁴ *GM* V, 508-566, 559: Governor General W. van Outhoorn to Amsterdam, dated 11/12/1692.

¹³⁵ See the procession of horses among the gifts presented by a Safavid envoy to Šāh Ġahān, Bodl.Mss. Ouseley Add. 173; for a black and white reproduction of the illumination see R. ISLAM (1970), *Indo-Persian Relations. A Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations Between the Mughal Empire and Iran*, Tehrān, pl.IV.

¹³⁶ For the tasks connected with this post, see J.N. SARKAR (1944) , Some Aspects of the Qutb Shahi Administration of Golkunda, *JBORS* XXX, 81-103, 93ff.

¹³⁷ ARA VOC 1152, fl.78rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 11/3/1645; the previous year, A. Heussen reported from Masulipatnam the arrival from Bandar-e 'Abbās of "des sercheijls miernametsahijs schip" on May 15th, carrying 50 horses, see *DR* VII, 244ff.: "Verhael getrocken uijt de successive advisen becomen van de Cust Choromandel, Bengaele ende Peguw...", 295.

¹³⁸ *DRI* III, 299f.: King Philip II to the *capitão* of Hormūz, dated 30/11/1614.

export from Safavid Iran was often restricted - especially in war-time¹³⁹. Government interference - sometimes outright obstruction - resulted in the horse traffic especially out of Bandar-e 'Abbās drying to a trickle. In the XVIth century, erratic supply of Persian horses was sometimes due to inept management of tax farms, as proven by a case in 1546 when Šāh Ṭahmāsp had bestowed the export tax levied on horses on one of his courtiers, who promptly tried to demand extortionate sums well in excess of the value of the beasts themselves, a foolish move which brought the trade to a temporary standstill¹⁴⁰. The XVIIth century saw the promulgation of a general export ban. Under Šāh 'Abbās I, the export of horses was severely forbidden and even the powerful *Hān* of Šīrāz could not override the ban¹⁴¹. Emām Qolī Hān was in fact more willing to accommodate wishes of the merchants: after the death of Šāh 'Abbās I we have an order by which authorised the export of horses from Bandar-e 'Abbās¹⁴². The same season, the *solṭān* at Bandar-e 'Abbās was instructed to allow the Dutch to carry five horses more than usual¹⁴³. The *Hān* also granted the *Estado* the export of horses from Bandar-e Kong¹⁴⁴. Even when the total ban was lifted, a special royal order to the *solṭān* at Bandar-e 'Abbās was needed if the Companies wanted to export more than the very low number of horses granted by their privileges¹⁴⁵. Later in the century, restrictions were imposed in particular on the commercial export of horses to Gujarat and were such, that Mughal officials resorted to Dutch or English

¹³⁹ Numerous references in Company records, but see also J. MANDELSLO (1637-40), *Journal...*, *loc.cit.*, 14, on the boycott of 1638/39; for a general export ban see ARA VOC 1234, fl.188rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/3/1662.

¹⁴⁰ ANTT CSL IV, 479: B. Lopes Lobato, Hornūz, to Viceroy D. João De Castro, 30/10/1546.

¹⁴¹ See *CDNI* I, 186ff.: VOC-Capitulations 1623, Art.20: "allderhande coopmanschappen sult mogen uijtvoeren behallven paerden en wadt generalijck verbooden is". See also ARA VOC 1084, fl.73r-v: "Hartoogh van Siras Emam Choly Chan" to H. Visnicht, Eṣfahān, received 25/6/1624; separate requests had to be submitted to the Šāh's chancellery, see ARA VOC 1084, fl.80r-v: H. Visnicht, Eṣfahān, to Šāh 'Abbās I, dated 15/7/1624: "Suplico humillissimamente che la vra. Mag^a piace concentire et dare licentia che con le prime naue che siamo aspettando posso mandare al Nro. Sig^r Generael doui o tre Caualli" (*sic*).

¹⁴² See BM Sloane fl.38r: "Emaum Culle Con his pervana" granting the EIC the export of twelve horses.

¹⁴³ ARA VOC 1106, non-fol., mentions the "commandement van den Hartogs Emanchoulij op Nebbi Hoan Soltan in Gamron in faveur van de Neederlantse natie verleent als mede licentie omme 5 paerden boven de ordenaris getall te mogen uytvoeren, A° 1630.

¹⁴⁴ See ARA VOC 1103, fl.220v-222v: "Artijculen gecontracteert tusschen den Doorluchtigen Hertogh van Sieras ende Don Refrero."

¹⁴⁵ ARA VOC 1152, fl.238v: "Translaet van't commandement wegens 't uijtvoeren der paerden", dated Eṣfahān October 1645 (Šā'bān 1055): "Ich Coning gebiedt dat Miersa Mael Sulthan Gouverneur jn Bandaer desen mijnen mandament verthoondt sijnde Wete dat thien paerden, soo heijngsten als Merrien die 't aenstaende Mousson door den Cappiteijn Wollebrandt Gelijnsz. jn hunne schepen geimbarqueert staen te werden, hun geen beleth aengedaen, nocte eeniger gerechticheijt gevordert en werde..."

Company servants for help in the procurement of the prized mounts. The ban was defied on a large scale only in Bandar-e Kong which under the umbrella of the commercially-minded governors of Lār remained a centre for the embarkation of horses for India¹⁴⁶. Figures available for the 1680's, when administration of the port fell into the hands of *sulṭān* and *šāhbandar* of Bandar-e 'Abbās appear to represent a pale shadow of the previously vigorous horse trade. Even when the reciprocal trade embargoes had been lifted after the Qandahar wars only one Indian merchant ship left Safavid Bandar-e 'Abbās carrying horses in spring 1641, not bound, however, for a Mughal port, but for the home base Masulipatnam of its owner Šayḥ Malek Moḥammad¹⁴⁷. In the later years of Šāh 'Abbās' II reign the *amfrāḥorbāšt-ye šahrā*, superintendent of the royal studs was given a supervisory function over horse exports. If all it meant for the traders was the discharge of a small fee to be exempted from a recently reintroduced export ban¹⁴⁸ the measure can also be read as an effort to implement more strictly previous export bans.

Who participated in what remained of the seaborne horse trade from the Persian Gulf Area? The involvement of officialdom at both ends of the journey can easily be explained by the strategic importance of the commodity and the large scope for profits. Accusations were levied periodically against Portuguese Viceroys and their subordinates who were said to corner the upper end of the horse market in Goa¹⁴⁹. Nowhere does one find a more scathing indictment of these practices than in the "*Relação dos deserviços que fez o conde de Linhares sendo vizorei...*"¹⁵⁰. The contemporaneous "*Relatório dos procedimentos do Conde de Linhares...*", too, points to the Viceroy's virtual monopoly over the horse trade at Goa¹⁵¹. The enterprising Portuguese Viceroy

¹⁴⁶ See A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 88f.

¹⁴⁷ ARA VOC 1135, fl.763rff.: Shipping list Bandar-e 'Abbās.

¹⁴⁸ ARA VOC 1240, p.401ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/4/1662; for a discussion of this office see V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 120f.

¹⁴⁹ See the reference to a letter containing such complaints, addressed by the Câmara de Goa to King Philipp III, 11/3/1636, in ANTT DRI XLIV, fl.128, King Philipp III to Viceroy P. Da Silva, dated 25/3/1638 and the Letter of the *vedor da fazenda*, dated 8/1/1638, with an enclosed *certidão* by D. Lobo de Abreu, the then *corretor-mór dos cavalos*, AHU C.I. XIII/13.

¹⁵⁰ A.R. DISNEY (1991), The Viceroy as Entrepreneur: The Count of Linhares at Goa in the 1630's, in: R. PTAK / D. ROTHERMUND (eds.) (1991), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade. c.1400-1750* (=BSA CXLI), Stuttgart, 427-444, 430f.

¹⁵¹ BNL Pomb. Ms.490, fl.180vf.: "Relatório dos procedimentos...". On numerous occasions, Count Linhares acknowledged in his official diary the receipt of horses from Masqat, see BNL FG Ms. 164, Fragment, entry 16/3/1631 (only to balance what may have been perceived as not altogether legitimate activities by proclaiming "he do dia trabalhei

engaged actively in the traffic and did not shrink back from freighting vessels of other nationalities¹⁵². Similarly, Indian officials entered the horse trade, particularly, it seems, those who had roots in Iran¹⁵³: Mīr Moḥammad Sayyed Ardestānī, who was to rise meteorically to the position of *sar-e ḥayl* of Golkondā in the 1630's and who later successfully shifted his allegiance to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, was said to have first arrived at the Coromandel Coast as assistant to a horse trader from Iran in the early 1620's¹⁵⁴. J.B. Tavernier, who in late spring 1652 travelled on the royal "*Nāṣer Šāhī*" (?), probably one of the ten ships in the merchant fleet of the then "naubob" (*nawāb*) of Golkondā, reported that it carried 55 horses. Of these only 27 were commercially acquired (possibly by some among the 100 Armenian and Persian merchants who had embarked their goods on the vessel), the remaining 28 being part of a present sent by Šāh 'Abbās II to 'Abdallāh Qoṭb Šāhī¹⁵⁵. Mīrzā Neẓām od-Dīn Aḥmad, another official with a family background in Iran, speaks in his correspondence with the Safavid Grand Vizir Ḥalīfe Solṭān, of some proceeds from his lands in Iran being employed in the acquisition of Persian horses¹⁵⁶. At the other end of the journey, the governor of the Coromandel port city Masulipatnam decided to encourage this trade by abolishing all import duties on horses¹⁵⁷.

em serviço de Sua Mag.^{de} mais de dezanove horas"). For some difficulties in the use of the diaries as a source, see A. DISNEY (1992), *On Attempting to Write an Early Modern Biography: My Encounter With the Life of Dom Miguel de Noronha...*, *Indica* LV/29-2, 89-106, 101f. It is hoped that A. Disney's long announced biography of Count Linhares will shed some more light on the Viceroy's commercial ventures in Indian Ocean trade.

¹⁵² D. Miguel De Noronha Conde De LINHARES, *Diário*, ed. A.B. Da Costa VEIGA, 2 vols., Lisboa 1937-1940, vol. 1, 39.

¹⁵³ Mīr Kamāl od-Dīn's ships returning to the Coromandel Coast from Bandar-e 'Abbās on 21/5/1634 carried among its cargo nine horses, see *DR* II, 362ff.: Arrival letters from M. Isbrantsen, dated Masulipatnam, 29/5/1634, and Pulicat 25/6/1634 (entry 14/8/1634).

¹⁵⁴ For a biography - albeit rather elusive about his early years - see J.N. SARKAR (1951), *The Life of Mir Jumla the General of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1ff. For the "social type" see S. SUBRAHMANYAM / C.A. BAYLY (1988), *Portfolio Capitalists and the Political Economy of Early Modern India*, *IESHR* XXV/4, 401-424, esp. 410ff. However, see also J.N. SARKAR (1945), *Mir Jumla's Overseas Activities*, *JBORS* XXXI, 262-265: "he never lost sight of commerce the perennial source of his wealth, prosperity and power".

¹⁵⁵ J.B. TAVERNIER, (1676-79), *Les six voyages...*, vol.2, 160ff. speaks of 55 horses, but accurately mentions the royal present; the shipping list ARA VOC 1188, fl.371rff. (see also below), compiled presumably on the basis of customs registers, gives the name of the vessel and only has 27 horses; W. Lyttleton and Venkata Yamusshunadinija, Fort St. George, to London, 17/1/1651, *EFI* VIII, 12f., has 4.000 horses under the command of "Mir Mamud Seid".

¹⁵⁶ *CIP* II, 169ff.; see also: J.N. SARKAR (1942), *Correspondence Between the Deccani Sultans and Mir Jumla with the Court of Iran*, *JBORS* XXVIII, 65-74; 190-197 and ID. (1943), *Mir Jumla - Iran Correspondence*, *JBORS* XXIX, 87-93.

¹⁵⁷ See B. De Gruijter, Masulipatnam, to Batavia, dated 18/10/1644, summarised in *DR* VIII, 319.

Some instances of private participation can be detected even in the Surat-bound horse trade out of Bandar-e ʿAbbās. Cases of English private traders conquering a share in the Iranian horse trade are reported¹⁵⁸. The Surat-based "*Aḥmadī*" had three horses aboard in 1646 and seven in 1652, whereas in 1651 only the Mughal royal vessel "*Salāmat*" carried a few horses. G. Roques reported that the Armenians, too, imported horses to Surat, where the governor was wont to exercise his first right of purchase which was justified as purchase for the royal stud¹⁵⁹. English and Armenian vessels offered low freight rates and thereby attracted an important share of the private export trade between Iran and India¹⁶⁰. We also hear of a frigate of a Banyan merchant which was allowed to export 10 horses to Rajapur in 1652¹⁶¹. We can perceive a certain relaxation of this policy in the 1680's, when Safavids and Mughals had ceased to confront each other militarily. Yet even though in 1681/82 the "*Raḥīmī*" of merchant Aḡa Raḥīmī alone brought 26 horses from Iran, most of Surat's demand continued to be satisfied by imports from Al-Baṣra and Masqaṭ.

¹⁵⁸ *EFI* IV, 57ff.: Pres. Rastell and council, Surat, to EIC factors in Iran, dated 6/10/1630.

¹⁵⁹ See BNP FF 14614, fl.261ff.: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier...*, see also below.

¹⁶⁰ ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 26/5/1668: the VOC lost a freight cargo from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Surat; the Anglo-Armenian vessels *Hopewell* and *Hormūz Merchant* charged about half the VOC freight rate for 18 passengers and four horses.

¹⁶¹ For 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.116rff.: Shipping list Suhali, 1646; for 1652: ARA VOC 1190, fl.375ff.: C. Speelman, *Journal of the embassy of J. Cunāus to Iran*, fl.534rff.; 1651: ARA VOC 1188, fl.567rff.: Shipping list Suhali, 1651. In May 1657, Mīrzā Maḥmūd's "*Moḥammadī*" brought to Surat three horses, ARA VOC 1224, fl.196rff.: Shipping list Suhali 1657/58.

Table 8
Recorded Registered Horse Imports Surat 1681/82 and 1686/87¹⁶²

Arrival	Owner	Ship	From	No.
22/5/1681	Moḥammad Çelebī	"Besnenaghet"	Iran	1
29/5/1681	Aḡa Raḥīmī	"Raḥīmī"	Iran	26
27/12/1681	Private GB	N.N.	Iran	3
22/1/1682	"Miernosanij"	"Ġahānt"	Al-Başra	51
24/1/1682	N.N.Masqaṭī	"Mandī" (?)	Masqaṭ	14
* 31/1/1682	Moḥammad Çelebī	?	Iran	1
21/2/1682	Aḡa Raḥīmī	"Raḥīmī"	Iran	2
23/2/1682	Moḥammad Çelebī	<i>Istanbul Merchant</i>	Al-Başra	5
23/2/1682	"Mier Geraas"	"Ḥoseynt"	Al-Başra	11
24/2/1682	Mīrzā Ma'sūm	"Ḥoseynt"	Al-Başra	60
15/5/1682	Moḥammad Çelebī	"Salāmat"	Iran	1
21/5/1682	"Gosia De Laan"	?	?	12
5/5/1686	N.N.	"Nezāmt"	Al-Başra/Kong	29
15/5/1686	N.N.	"Ma'sūmī"	Al-Başra	15
14/10/1686	Malik Ma'sūm	"Nāsert"	Masqaṭ	4
11/11/1686	Sultān Şayf	N.N.	Masqaṭ	28
11/11/1686	"Roofdas"	N.N.	Masqaṭ	5
11/11/1686	Sayyid Aḥmad	[ḡurāb]	Masqaṭ	5
27/3/1687	(GB traders)	?	Iran	9
3/4/1687	CIO-hire	[5 crafts]	?	33
3/4/1687	ʿAbd ol-Ġafūr	"Ḥodā-dād"	?	10
3/4/1687	(Son of Aurangzeb)	N.N.	?	40
3/4/1687	Moḥammad Ḥalaf	"Ysetbar" (?)	?	20
6/4/1687	N.N.	<i>Hormūz Merchant</i>	Bandar-e Kong	12

¹⁶² ARA VOC 1379, fl.2554vff.: Shipping list Surat 1681/1682; ARA VOC 1439, fl.1552rff.: Shipping list Surat, 1686/87; the data extracted only covers ships that have been identified as arriving from the Persian Gulf Area. Surprisingly, the "Moḥammadī" of the later famous merchant ʿAbd ol-Ġafūr on its two journeys to Al-Başra here recorded did not carry any horses; in 1687, however, his "Ḥodā-dād" on his way back from the Persian Gulf carried 10 horses; on his later career see A. DAS GUPTA (1979), 94ff.

While commercial horse trade between the Persian Gulf and India was by no means interrupted, it was dislocated to a certain degree after the fall of Portuguese Hormūz. In Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Safavid control of the customs-house meant a dramatic redimensioning of the horse trade - especially to Mughal-dominated Gujarati ports. But at the same time we cannot exclude the existence of a flourishing traffic out of minor Iranian ports to Masqaṭ and, possibly, all the way across the Arabian Sea. A majority of horse-dealers must have simply by-passed a port whose masters looked with hostility at their activities. We have seen that the picture changes considerably when we turn to Arabian ports such as Masqaṭ, where the traffic displayed both distinct signs of commercial enterprise and a far larger volume.

Some have suggested that, in an age of large cavalry armies, the easy transition of horse traders into politics had to do with their expertise with war horses: the examples of the North Indian Lodī and Sūrī dynasties have been quoted¹⁶³. This argument, doubtful even in the North Indian context, is certainly misleading when applied to seaborne horse trade, where different dynamics shaped the relationship between the trade and politics and state intervention was felt in all markets. At the supplying end, authorities either arrogated to themselves a monopoly (or some preemption rights) in the trade, or, conversely, by and large outlawed "*handel op den vijand*". In India, officials entered the maritime horse trade on commercial, military and ceremonial grounds. From the table above it is manifest that active participation of rulers (and members of their households) in the traffic was quite common. The Imamate of Masqaṭ occupied the middle ground with its state involvement both in the locally plied horse trade across the Persian Gulf and its taking up the spoils of the Portuguese share in cross-Ocean traffic. Chronologically, we have observed a shift away from trade organised along commercial lines, via a (failed) attempt at centralised trading under the Portuguese, to very varied forms of intervention of state agencies in the trade, including the highly politicised and restrictive practices at Safavid Bandar-e ‘Abbās. Spatially we have noticed the disintegration of the entrepôt trade for horses even before the fall of Hormūz, the redirection of some of the traffic to overland routes, the establishment of a plethora of locally administered - and hence largely underdocumented - points of embarkation.

¹⁶³ J. GOMMANS (1991), Mughal India and Central Asia in the XVIIIth Century, *Itin* XV, 51-70, 54.

Chapter 4:

THE BULK TRADE OF LOW VALUE GOODS

Foodgrains

Wheat is one of the few goods for which trade within the Persian Gulf Area is documented. Most important were, in the XVIth and early XVIIth century, the provisioning of urban centres such as Hormūz and Al-Bašra. Although much of Al-Bašra's grain provision were carried overland from neighbouring Hoveize there is ample evidence for grain imports from Iran to Al-Bašra, which according to some accounts depended entirely on grain imports from the opposite shores of the Gulf. Similarly, ports such as Al-Qaṭīf and Baḥrayn relied to a large extent on seaborne supplies of wheat¹. It seems that as long as Ottomans and Safavids did not wage war against each other no restrictions were imposed on the trade in foodstuffs between the two empires. In fact, in the early XVIIth century it was reported that "from Hārg to Al-Bašra all settlements along the Persian coast were granted free trade"². It is not quite evident whether we can read this information as implying that the rights of local *šayḥs* to tax or to exempt trade in their jurisdiction were not curtailed by their Safavid overlords, but it is certain that this was a long-standing practice in the mid-1660's: by then growing numbers of Indian traders had begun to call at Bandar-e Rīg to the detriment of the Šāh's customs revenues at Bandar-e ʿAbbās, and local rulers were prevailed upon by means not known to us to turn away long-distance trade from their anchorage³. Although after the dislodging of the Afšārs Kūh-gīlūye was united with Fārs under the effective rule of Allāhverdī Hān and his successors⁴, the province was less closely controlled by the central administration than core regions of the empire. Furthermore, it seems that after the incorporation of largely independent Fārs into the *ḥāṣṣe*-lands, Kūh-Gīlūye was

¹ For Hoveize: W. CASHEL (1934), 421; for Al-Bašra: J. THEVENOT (1664-84), vol.2, 298, 337, speaks of wheat exports from Bandar-e Rīg (and wheat and barley from Hārg or transshipped at the island's moorings) in exchange for dates from Al-Bašra; P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, 76, mentions the shipping of provisions ("trigo, seuada, arros...") to Al-Bašra from the region between Rīšahr and Douraq; see also A. TE NREIRO (1528), *Viagem...*, *loc.cit.*; for Al-Qaṭīf: see e.g. R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Reglements fiscaux Ottomans...*, *loc.cit.*, 251f./276f.; for Baḥrayn: J. THEVENOT (1664-84), vol.2, 298.

² P. Della VALLE (1650 ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.4, 368.

³ See ARA VOC 1245, ff.364rff.: H.van Wijck, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 9/1/1665.

⁴ K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 10 and 35. J.De COUTRE (1640), *Vida de Jaques de Coutre, natural de la ciudad de Brugas*, ed. E. STOLS / B.N. TEENSMA, Madrid 1991; Dutch transl.: J. VERBERCKMOES / E. STOLS (1988), *Aziatische omzwervingen. Het leven van Jaques de Coutre, een Brugs diamant handelaar 1591-1627*, Berchem, 139f., writes that in 1606 letters from the *hān's ḡānešīn* were respected in the territory between Šīrāz and Ramhormūz, and that the local nomads were familiar with their obligations to provision passing Safavid officials. In the same year, two other travellers found the same route quiet and safe, see Fr. GASPARD De São Bernardino (1611), *Itinerário...*, *loc.cit.*, 173ff. and N. De Orta REBELO, *Relação...*, *loc.cit.*, 128ff.

often given as an apanage and administered on behalf of high-ranking court officials by subordinate officers⁵. The population of this part of the Iranian coast were Sunnī Arabs, and it is perfectly possible that Šāh ʿAbbās I or Allāhverdī Hān bought their loyalty by granting certain privileges as suggested by mid-XVIIth century intelligence: "when the inhabitants of these lands, who are Arabs, voluntarily accepted the rule of the Persian monarch they were granted their request that all revenue from these lands should continue to accrue to the local *šayḥ*, head of these Arabs, and that the [*scil.*: Persian] King should not be allowed to appoint one of his governors or *šāhbandars*. Privileges to this effect are still kept there"⁶. Subsequent history has shown that South Iran's Sunnīs and the coastal population⁷ were only too quick to grasp the chance to regain their independence. Considering further the predicaments of the area's inland traffic geography⁸, it should not come as a surprise to see areas such as Daštastān closely linked to the maritime trade of their ports.

The considerable island population of Hormūz was fed entirely on foodstuff imports. Cargoes of wheat and barley arrived from Rīšahr and Verdestān, and were even re-exported from Al-Bašra: for the provision of their garrison Portuguese ships were occasionally sent to buy foodstuffs in the port city - certainly as long as it was still under Muntafiq rule - , but on the whole this commerce remained in the hands of local traders⁹. When the Portuguese took over the Hormūzī customs house in 1543, a 5% *ad valorem* was levied on such imports, with the exception of cargoes from Ottoman Al-Bašra which paid 11%: first, the volume of the cargo of every craft was measured aboard, then the value was assessed ashore in the presence of the *vazīr* or his officials; however, an average 20% of the cargoes passed the customs unrecorded, with the help

⁵ K. RÖHRBORN (1966), 29, quoting the case of an *amīr-šekār-bāšī* from the later XVIIth century.

⁶ ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rff.: H.van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 9/1/1665.

⁷ For the Sunnīs see J. AUBIN (1965); for the coasts in the XVIIIth century see also J.R. PERRY (1971), The Banū Kaʿb. An Amphibious Brigand State in Khuzistan, *MII*, 131-152 and ID. (1973), Mīr Muhannā and the Dutch. Patterns of Piracy in the Persian Gulf, *SIr* II/1, 79-95; see also S.R. GRAMMON (1985), The Rise and Fall of the Arab Shaykhdom of Bushire, PhD Johns Hopkins, Baltimore.

⁸ See H. GAUBE (1973), Die südpersische Provinz Arraḡān-Kūh-Gīlūyeh von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Safawidenzeit, *ÖAkWiss phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften* CVII, Wien, *passim*.

⁹ For an early Portuguese mission to purchase grain at Al-Bašra see R.B. SMITH (1973), *João de Meira...*, 20. For XVIth century grain trade in lower Mesopotamia, see R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Reglements fiscaux Ottomans*, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

of conniving officials, both Portuguese and local¹⁰. Grain from the Western parts of Lārestān was embarked in ships based on the island of Kīš; duties levied on it were kept by the *vazīr*, possibly a practice going back to the time when families from that region held this office¹¹. It is impossible to arrive at a correct estimate for the volume of seasonal grain imports, but at one point on October 1547 nine *ṭarrādas* carrying up to 116.000kg were waiting to be unloaded¹². More important for the provisioning of the island population was however neighbouring Qešm.

Bandar-e ʿAbbās, of course, situated, as it was, in a less problematic position on the Iranian mainland found provisions more easily in its hinterland¹³, although Qešm continued to be an important source of victuals¹⁴. However, prices for wheat in the port are reported to be subject to violent fluctuations¹⁵. Flour and butter, but also grapes and nuts, were sent from Behān/Bahūn to the port city¹⁶, but it would seem that there continued to be some waterborne coastal trade in foodgrains into Bandar-e ʿAbbās¹⁷. In the later 1670's the grave consequences of a severe drought in South-East Iran were compounded by the oppressive rule of *solṭān* Naṣr ʿAlī Ḥān: peasants of the surrounding villages hid what little they could harvest and refused to bring any grain to market in Bandar-e ʿAbbās, fearing confiscations on the part of Safavid

¹⁰ ANTT COC 126: F. Alvares de Andrade, Hormūz, to Goa, dated 8/10/1547; see also *OJC* III, 458ff.: the document gives some examples of "*peças de trigo*" and the volume of their attempted unrecorded imports: Mīr Behrūz (13 *bahār*), Ra'īs Nūr od-Dīn (12 *bahār*), Ḥ'āḡe Ḥoseyn Ebrahīm (ca. 14 *bahār*) and the Portuguese feitor Francisco Lopes (20 *bahār*).

¹¹ See *OJC* III, 458ff., 460; see on the family of Ra'īs Rokn od-Dīn J. AUBIN (1971) and (1973).

¹² *Ibid.*; I reckon the Hormūzī *bahār* (for foodgrains) at ca. 421kg, on the basis of A. NUNEZ (1554), *Lyvro dos pesos da Yndia, e assy medidas e mohedas*, in: R.J. Da LIMA FELNER (ed.) (1868), 1-44, 23. J. AUBIN (1973), 156, N.437, quoting a marginal note in Diogo Ribeiro's atlas of 1529 mentioned in A. CORTESÃO (1935), *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI*, 2 vols., Lisboa, 157, argues there might have been some re-export trade, see also T. PIRES, *A Suma Oriental...*, *loc. cit.*, 149.

¹³ It is possible that wheat reached Bandar-e ʿAbbās from the Southern fringes of the province of Kermān, but a detailed picture of the regional grain market only emerges in the XIXth century when Arzūya regularly sent supplies to the seaport, see H. BUSSE (1973), Kermān im XIX. Jahrhundert nach der Geographie des Wazīrī, *Der Islam* L, 284-312, 303f. For small scale foodgrain cultivation in Moḡostān see U. FABIETTI (1985), Lo stato attuale delle popolazioni del basso corso del Rūd-e Kol (distretto di Bandar ʿAbbās), *NRS* LXIX, 282-312, 291.

¹⁴ See e.g. ARA VOC 1152, fl.78rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 11/3/1645: D. Sarcerius described the peasants of Qešm as extremely poor. However they should be encouraged to stay, "maer met d'bouw ende cultivatie harer landen ccontinueeren, al souden op eerster instantie om 't voorstaende te doen effect sorteeren onder hunlieden een a 2000 mamoeijs op levering van taruwe, garst &a. worden gedistribueert".

¹⁵ IOR E/3/10/1120 (No.778), fl.19rff.: Letter of W. Bell et al., Esfahān, dated 15/10/1623.

¹⁶ See E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc. cit.*, 133.

¹⁷ ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/4/1683.

officialdom¹⁸. The capital, too, was hit by the effects of the drought and price rises of foodstuffs led to violent demonstrations of the populace against imperial officials such as the *ʿetemād od-doule* and the *divānbeği*, who were accused of neglecting the urban poor¹⁹; in order to check the deleterious effects of the famine, the *amīr-šekār bāšt* was entrusted with devising an enforceable system of maximum prices for basic foodstuffs²⁰, which did not, however, apply in Bandar-e ʿAbbās. Local supplies were crucial for the provisioning of the settlement: when the VOC had occupied Qešm in 1684/85, the truce with the commander of the castle stipulated the opening of a market where the island's peasants would not be molested and could sell their produce to the Dutch²¹.

In ʿUmān, absence of rainfall means that in the Bāṭina between Barkā and Šuḥār barley fields depended largely on irrigation systems²². In the surroundings of Šuḥār, grain was apparently grown as a secondary crop in palmgroves²³. Under the Portuguese, some of the palmgroves were farmed out to residents and the proceeds went to sustain a lascarin-garrison of 150. A. Bocarro wrote in the early 1630's that only the danger of raids made it impractical to extend the fields beyond the immediate vicinity of the settlement²⁴. Probably, Masqaṭ received²⁵

¹⁸ ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 12/2/1678; for other accounts of the drought in Fārs and Lārestān see J. FRYER (1698), *Travels...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.2, 339.

¹⁹ See ARA VOC 1340, fl.1657vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Batavia, dated 21/5/1678 and also J. FRYER, *loc.cit.*, 350; VOC servants based in Eṣfahān asked for an allowance on top of their salaries in order to cover extra expense due to these dramatically risen cost of living in the capital, ARA VOC fl.663r.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Eṣfahan, dated 13/6/1678.

²⁰ ARA VOC 1351, fl.2580vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 1/9/1679; the Dutch expressed their scepticism as to the practicality of this measure in view of the dependency of Iran on imports, the prices of which could hardly be regulated in this way. However, it would seem as if the measure was primarily aimed at stamping out profiteering in Iran itself. The same report also speaks of more than 70.000 falling victim to the famine in the capital alone.

²¹ ARA VOC 1406, fl.1279rf.: "Capitulatien wegens overgave vant casteel Kismis tusschen de gecommitt.s van den casteel bewaerder Choz saz dersi asizi..." and R. Casembroot, dated 3/8/1684.

²² A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 80.

²³ Similarly, in the Masqaṭ area the three-level-cultivations of the dategroves offered the possibility to grow limes, which were brought to market in the port city, without being considered an export commodity, see E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc.cit.*, 149.

²⁴ A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 82.

²⁵ J. AUBIN (1973), 115, N.226, while acknowledging that Aḥmad b. Māğīd an-Nağdī, *Kitāb al-fawā'id fī uṣūl wa'l-qawā'id*, *loc.cit.*, 213, does not distinguish between imports and exports in his list of goods traded in Masqaṭ, claims that "les grains étaient exportés"; he does not take into account local coastal shipping, which would carry cereals from neighbouring ports. However, in the 1680's isolated cases of wheat exports to Surat have been recorded, see ARA VOC

part of the crop from the irrigated cornfields opposite Suwādī Islands, where there was also grazing ground for much cattle²⁶. E. Kaempfer remarked in 1688 that provisions were preferably carried by sea into town²⁷, and we can speculate that, as earlier in the century, the two seaports of Sīb, the logical link to the Sumāyil gap, and Barkā, the natural harbour for the area of Rustāq and Nahl, operated as essential links between the interior and Masqaṭ, handling a good deal of the provisions for Masqaṭ as well as seaborne imports to ‘Umān proper²⁸. Earlier, Portuguese-controlled ports in ‘Umān had received some of their wheat in shipments from the Indian possessions of the *Estado*²⁹.

In the early XVIIth century, substantial exports of foodgrains from the Persian Gulf Area were rare, except during famine conditions on the Indian Westcoast: in 1631, the "Royal James" carried seventy passengers from Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Suhali with among other things a total of 459 bags of grain and 488 baskets of dates³⁰. The EIC exploited Gujarat's plight and imported wheat from the Persian Gulf to Surat, but as early as January 1632 increased supplies provided by inland *banjara*-traders reduced the returns of this profiteering to unacceptably low levels³¹. However, some sources also speak of three years of drought in Iran, which made grain a scarce commodity in the Persian Gulf Area³². In times of dearth, a special authorisation (by the *hān* of Šīrāz) was required: in November 1635 the *vazīr* of Šīrāz (?) received an order to allow the Dutch the export

1383, fl.630rf.: Shipping list Surat, 11/2/1683-May 1683.

²⁶ See A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 80.

²⁷ E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc.cit.*, 147ff. See also for a decade earlier Abbé CARRÉ (1699), *Voyage...*, *loc.cit.*, vol.1, 116.

²⁸ See A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 79f; see also above Chapter 1.

²⁹ IOR E/3/10/1173: Consultations at Bandar-e ‘Abbās, No.2: 4/1/1624.

³⁰ EFl¹ IV, 143: R. Barry, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to London, dated 22/3/1631.

³¹ EFl¹ IV, 194ff., 196: Pres. Hopkinson, Surat, to Persian factors, dated 23/1/1632. Another letter confirms that prices had fallen from a peak of 9-10 *mahmūdī* per *mān* to 6-7 *mahmūdī*, see *ibid.* 201f. On the *banjara*-traders see now I. HABIB (1990), Merchant Communities in Precolonial India, in: J.D. TRACY (ed.) (1990), 400-422.

³² EFl¹ IV, 287ff., 289: W. Gibson, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, 15/3/1633.

of 50.000 *man-e Šah* of foodgrains³³. This notwithstanding³⁴, grain was occasionally embarked as ballast commodity alongside Hormūzī salt and red earth.

For the mid-1630's what seems to have been an isolated case of direct grain purchases in the wider hinterland of Bandar-e 'Abbās for export purposes has been recorded, but we know next to nothing about the Iranian side in this transaction³⁵. In times of drought, transport costs per beast of burden soared because of the scarcity of fodder (and the high death toll among animals) and, on the stretch of road between Ġahrom and Bandar-e 'Abbās could equal the prime costs of the grain³⁶. The VOC's Governor General in Batavia had ordered the Persian factory to send 8.000 bags of wheat annually, a request which was never fully complied with as purchasing prices rose well above the 25 rials indicated in the order³⁷.

In an attempt better to employ the VOC's shipping space, it was suggested as early as 1672 to have a vessel return from Al-Bašra laden with wheat to supply the Dutch garrison on Ceylon which was to meet the silk ship leaving Bandar-e 'Abbās for Batavia³⁸. But only in the 1680's, as the lack of exports from the Persian Gulf Area threatened to present navigational problems, the VOC turned to wheat exports from the hinterland of Bandar-e Rīg, the surplus of

³³ ARA VOC 1135, fl.727ff.: "Transport" A.v. Oostende, dated 20/4/1641.

³⁴ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Ešfahān, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 19/10/1635. In this particular case, the *ḥān* ordered the remittance of *rāhdārī* duties for grain exports after the governor at Lār had demanded payment arguing that foodgrains were not covered by previous exemptions, ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636.

³⁵ Dutch sources only speaks of "onsen Coopman van wie den terw gecocht hadden"; it seems that he accepted, as part of the payment, an IOU of the *ḥān* of Šīrāz amounting to 315 *tūmān*, which was in the hands of the VOC, see ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636.

³⁶ See "Factura" in BGP 572ff., dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/3/1636. This document has become notorious in arguments proclaiming the economic unviability of overland trade of bulk commodities in Safavid Iran; however, earlier interpretations failed to appreciate the historic conjuncture at the end of a prolonged drought. The resulting rise in transport costs was reflected in 41 *tūmān* for camel-hire, fodder and *karwānsarāī*-duties which had to be added to the normal expenses for carrying raw silk from Ešfahān to the port, see ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636. A similar immediate correlation of prices for food, fodder and transport costs is apparent in the crisis of the mid-1660's, see ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 26/5/1668, and again in the late 1670's when accounts on famine conditions in Iran are accompanied by reports on doubling overland freight rates (a load of 600 *pond* now could hardly be dispatched for 130-140 *maḥmūdī*, whereas earlier 60-70 *maḥmūdī* was the regular rate between Bandar-e 'Abbās and Ešfahān) see ARA VOC 1340, fl.1567vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/5/1678.

³⁷ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Ešfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 15/12/1635. That season, the request could only be fulfilled half.

³⁸ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1019rff.: Fr.De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/6/1672.

which had previously been carried in Persian vessels to Al-Bašra³⁹. Wholesale prices for wheat were some 80% higher at Al-Bašra than at Bandar-e Rīg and it was suggested to send a servant to the Iranian port in April, where he was to buy up wheat brought to market by the peasant between April and June. This would allow a ship to make a round trip between Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Al-Bašra before leaving the Persian Gulf. At Bandar-e Rīg, wheat of an acceptable quality was reported to cost between 2.75 and 3 *mahmūdts* per 14 *man-e Tabrīz*, but could rise to 3.5 *mahmūdts* in times of scarcity⁴⁰. Soon, cargoes of up to 100 *last* were transshipped at Bandar-e ʿAbbās (or embarked at Al-Bašra) and carried to Surat⁴¹. However, disputes with local grain-dealers and peasants about barley secretly mixed under the grain to the ratio of up to 1/3 were compounded by rising prices⁴², and it seemed as if this commerce was not destined to grow to significant dimensions. In direct negotiations between the Dutch factor and the *kalāntar* of the Bandar-e Rīg district a fixed price of 3.75 *mahmūdts* per 168 *pond* was agreed upon⁴³. VOC servants were sent to Bandar-e Rīg to prepare a cargo for embarkation in a ship returning from Al-Bašra and having bought up some 450.000kg at least ca.100.000kg were sent to Batavia⁴⁴. The Dutch found that at Bandar-e Rīg as elsewhere good relations with the local officials was the key to success and were quick to dismiss a Banyan representative at that port when they found him collaborating with Armenian traders against the local *šāhbandar*: he was replaced by the Arab Šayḥ ʿAbdullāh, who had previously served the *šāhbandar*'s lieutenant⁴⁵. But the grain trade out

³⁹ ARA VOC 1304, fl.493rff.: "Memorie" F.De Haze, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 24/5/1675. Earlier, this area seems to have exported barley to Al-Bašra: P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, pt.3, 70, speaking of the island of Hārg mentions "grandes cargazones" of onions (*cebollas*), possibly a misreading for barley (*cebadas*; however see also J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 56, on onions from Hārg; Chardin never visited the island and he may have taken the information from Teixeira, of which a French edition by COTOLENDI (1681), *Voyages de Teixeira ou l'histoire des rois de Perse*, 2 vols., Paris, had been published shortly before Chardin's return to Europe) see also P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *loc.cit.*, 76.

⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 20/1/1677.

⁴¹ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 13/8/1680.

⁴² ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, dated 3/8/1680.

⁴³ ARA VOC 1315, fl.2476rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1681; it is possible that these 168 *pond* are meant to correspond to the Persian mule-load (*ḥarwār* or *tagār*) of ca.83.4kg, which could vary according to the foodgrain measured. An earlier document quotes Bandar-e Rīg grain as costing up to 5 *mahmūdts*.

⁴⁴ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 26/7/1681. Bandar-e Rīg seemed to use a *mān*-measure of its own, corresponding to 45.9-47.2 kg, see also *ibid.*, fl.2648vff.: *do.*, dated 6/3/1682. For the cargo sent to Batavia see *ibid.*, fl.2670vff.: *do.*, dated 14/6/1682.

⁴⁵ ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 28/2/1684; the VOC had first sent a Banyan middleman to buy up grain at Bandar-e Rīg in 1682/83, see ARA VOC 1388, fl.2354rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 28/8/1683.

of Bandar-e Rīg remained fraught with uncertainties: fields and cultivators were increasingly exposed to the devastating raids of neighbouring rival tribesmen⁴⁶ and the grain trade never developed into an important branch of exports from the Persian Gulf Area. In fact, except for the intercoastal trade at the head of the Persian Gulf and, earlier on, the provisioning of urban centres such as Hormūz, the trade in wheat remained strongly localised. The contexts in which we find anecdotal evidence for exports to India merely confirm the exceptional nature of such attempts.

The Date Trade

Dates, on the other hand, had always been among the most important bulk exports from all Persian Gulf ports. A great variety of dates were grown in the region, and while they constituted an important part of the area's diet, many were sent to Indian ports. It is possible that in the later Middle Ages Hormūz was the port city of the Persian Gulf Area which collected and assembled date cargoes from all other regions bordering the Gulf⁴⁷. Horse dealers, reexporting five or more animals from Goa, were permitted to export free of customs a wide range of semi-processed fruits and dates: for the time before and after the fall of the Portuguese we hear of dutyfree reexports of in excess of 20 covids per person on top of what they needed for their own sustenance⁴⁸.

Dates were probably the most profitable export commodity of Masqaṭ and ʿUmān⁴⁹. ʿUmān's export varieties included *bisr* (or *busr*) and *siḥḥ*-dates, both low quality products. The former is grown on non-irrigated land close to the seashore, and is packed after being boiled in the *tarqba*, an especially designed processing plant⁵⁰, pressed and packed, while the latter is the ʿUmānī equivalent of the dried *tamar* of other Arab countries. The better qualities were eaten

⁴⁶ See ARA VOC 1406, fl.1195rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 3/9/1683.

⁴⁷ J. AUBIN (1973), 166, N.530, on the basis of Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Rihla*, loc.cit., vol.2, 231.

⁴⁸ This custom pre-dates the arrival of the Portuguese, see *APO*^I V, 60: *Alvará* King João III, dated Lisboa 18/2/1522.

⁴⁹ For references to Medieval date production in ʿUmān see A. UBAYDLI (1993), *The Agrarian Economy of Oman* (132-280/749-893) in *Arabic Sources*, *JIsSt* IV/1, 33-51, 34, N.3.

⁵⁰ For the *tarqba*, the date-processing plant usually associated with date plantations, see P. COSTA (1987/88), *The Tarqbah. A Traditional Date Processing Plant of Oman*, *QStA* V-VI, 166-188, pl.1-8.

fresh (*ruṭab*) and sold on the branch⁵¹. Ever since the later Middle Ages, Masqaṭ was known as an important point of export for ‘Umānī dates, which, in the XVIIth century were sent to all Indian destinations and East Africa⁵².

Under Portuguese rule, Indian and European merchants exported dates from ‘Umānī ports⁵³: the *alfandega* levied an export tax of 1 1/3 *lārīn* per *bahār* of "congo e tamara", in addition to a small stamp-duty of 2 *fulūs* and a weighing-fee of 1 *fiṣ* per bunch or pack⁵⁴. To judge from Portuguese records, there seems to have flourished at Masqaṭ a re-export trade of dates from Al-Baṣra⁵⁵. By the mid-1650's date exports had become crucial for the domestic economy, although it seems that exchange with Indian importers of rice, "black" sugar and pepper was conducted partly on a barter basis⁵⁶. The traffic was an important revenue-base for whoever ruled Masqaṭ: When, in the aftermath of their expulsion from ‘Umān, the Portuguese inflicted a crushing defeat on an ‘Umānī fleet under ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd off Bandar-e Kong⁵⁷ and the *Estado* blockaded the sealanes to and from Masqaṭ for almost an entire year with an armada of 40-50 vessels, the obstruction of the date trade cut critically into the Imamate's tax revenue. The Imam

⁵¹ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. Ḥumayd, *Nahḍa ‘l-‘ayān bi ḥurriya ‘Umān*, Al-Qāhira (s.d.), 60, gives *ḥāraq* and *salūq* as the Persian and "Indian" equivalent of the *bisr*-dates, q.i. J. WILKINSON (1977), 31f. E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus seu Historia Palmae Dactyliferae*, in: M.B. VALENTIN (ed.) (1716), *Museum Museorum*, Frankfurt/M., 545-575, new German ed. in: W. MUNTCHIK (1987), *Phoenix Persicus. Die Geschichte der Dattelpalme*, Marburg, 108, has *ḥarak*. J.G. LORIMER (1915), I-II-B, 2297, says that in the Indo-Arab date trade the term *salūq* referred to boiled dates.

⁵² See Siḥāb ud-Dīn A. An-Naḡdī IBN MAḠĪD, *Kitāb al-fawā'id fī uṣūl ‘ilm al-baḥr wa ‘l-qawā'id*, ed. G. FERRAND (ed.) (1921-23), *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris, vol.1; Engl. ed. in G. TIBBETTS (ed.) (1971), *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean Before the Coming of the Portuguese*, London, 65-268, 213f., for the Middle Ages: "Masqaṭ is a port the like of which can not be found in the whole world. [...] It is the port of Oman, where year by year the ships load up with dates, fruit and horses...". I have incorporated the correction of G. FERRAND' reading of Ibn Maḡīd's *Kitāb al-fawā'id* by J. AUBIN, who has "al-busr" rather than "al-baṣar", ID. (1973), N.226. For the XVIIth century see ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 20/2/1674.

⁵³ For the cargo of the captured Portuguese vessel "N^o. 5^o. *De Candelario*", which included 141.234,6kg of dried dates and 17.724,7kg of *packdadels*, see BGP 558ff.: "Memorie", probably dated Jan.1636; see also the *navetto* of 60 *last*, captured off Chaul, with a cargo of dates and almonds from Bandar-e Kong and Masqaṭ, see ARA VOC 1144, fl.550rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/2/1643.

⁵⁴ ANTT LM XLIX, fl.354rff. A separate weighing-fee for smaller amounts (in the case of dates 1/2 *ṣadī*), possible for local sales (*capão da cidade*?), accrued to three local *ṣayḥs* (Muḥammad, Ibn Sa‘īd, and "xequearabia Bensanani" (?)) rather than the Portuguese customs officials.

⁵⁵ ANTT LM XLIX, fl.354rff.

⁵⁶ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff., fl.546v: E. Boudaens, "Schriftelijk relaes...", dated Surat, 29/11/1651.

⁵⁷ See Anon. (1653), *Relação de Iornada que fes o governador...*, loc.cit., 7ff.

saw himself compelled to sue the Admiral for peace and went even considered surrendering the port; the cessation of exports was threatening to impoverish the local population who found themselves incapable of paying "their annual duties"⁵⁸. On the other hand, a Dutch report from the 1670's says that date exports were exempted from export duties⁵⁹, but it is possible that the earlier information refers to duties payable before the dates reached the exporters.

In the earlier XVIIth century, palmgroves hardly ever exceeded horticultural dimensions⁶⁰, although market-oriented production seems to have prevailed. From 'Umānī sources we can glean information only for a slightly later period: Imam Ṣayf b. Sulṭān was said to have inaugurated a series of date plantations, and in his estate of Na'mān Barkā alone some 30.000 young date trees were grown⁶¹. We would expect chiefly production of dried dates of the inferior *bisr* quality, boiled and packed for export. With an estimated average yield of a Bāṭina date tree of 34kg *p.a.*⁶², the Imam's largest plantation alone would have produced, in due time, in excess of 1.000 tons in a normal year. From Dutch sources of the 1670's one can calculate that the Masqaṭ customs house registered a yearly export of some 3.000 metric tons of dried and wet dates, mainly to the Northern parts of the Indian West Coast but also to East Africa⁶³. For the early 1680's some more detailed figures are available: in 1681/82, three vessels of the Ya'āriba Īmām, two private English ships and two private Masqaṭī traders were recorded to have arrived at Surat from Masqaṭ, carrying a total of 6.968 baskets of dates, compared to 6.780 baskets from all other Persian Gulf, and in spring 1683, 2.720 baskets of 'Umānī dates and 6.172 baskets of dates from other Persian Gulf harbours were recorded⁶⁴. Again, from

⁵⁸ *EFF* VIII, 165ff., 167: J. Spiller et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to London, dated 28/2/1653.

⁵⁹ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674.

⁶⁰ J. OVINGTON (1696), *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, London, 423.

⁶¹ See IBN RUZAYQ, *Al-fath...*, *loc.cit.*, 93. For his information on Sulṭān b. Ṣayf, Ibn Ruzayq apparently used Sirhān b. Sa'īd Al-Izkawī (attr.), *Kitāb kaṣf al-ḡumma 'l-Ġāma'*..., *loc.cit.*, 164, for the first section and a different source in this case indicated (Muḥammad b. 'Arīk al-'Adwānī). However, the same information can also be found in *Nubda ft anṣāb al-Ma'āwil* of the XVIIth century chronicler Al-Ma'wālī, author of *Kaṣf Continuatus*, which had already been incorporated by Ibn Ruzayq in his *Al-Saḥifa al-Qaḥṭāniya*, see J. WILKINSON (1987), 369f. For the complex at Na'mān Barkā see P. COSTA (1985), Bayt Na'mān, a XVIIth century Mansion of the Batinah, *JOMS* VIII, 195-210, pl.1-24.

⁶² For this estimate see V.H.W. DOWSON (1927), Report on a Visit to Oman in 1927 (=IOR R/15/3/11/25), q.i. J. WILKINSON (1977), 27. Trees in the Sumāyil area are reported as bearing up to 45kg, see *ibid.*

⁶³ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674.

⁶⁴ For 1681/82 see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2554vff.: "Notitie...", covering 22/5/1681-22/4/1682 and *ibid.*, fl.2591rff, which brings the list to 27/5/1682; for spring 1683 see ARA VOC 1383, fl.630rf.: *do.*, 5/2/1683-May 1683.

20/11/1684-30/1/1685, Surat received 4.066 basket from Masqaṭ, but a quite staggering 15.283 from other ports, mainly from Al-Baṣra⁶⁵. One source claims that Surati *nāḥudās* would take aboard entire loads of dates⁶⁶. We have little information about retail prices, but in July 1688, some 150 l (one *ohm*) of dried dates of the previous season could be bought and carried aboard a vessel in Masqaṭ harbour for 11 *maḥmūdī*⁶⁷.

However, Masqaṭ probably did not operate as the sole date-exporting port of ʿUmān. If the date production of the Barkā region was at all funnelled through Masqaṭ, it was probably transshipped from Barkā by sea: Under Portuguese rule Barkā had received an *alfandega*⁶⁸ and was deemed to be the chief port for inner ʿUmān⁶⁹. As we had seen earlier, Sīb, which was the logical link to the Sumāyil gap and Barka, harbour for the area of Rustāq and Nahl, were essential links between the interior and Masqaṭ and handled a good deal of provisions for Masqaṭ⁷⁰. Further North, settlements such as Līma and Dibā all struck observers with their extensive palm-groves⁷¹, as did, among the Persian Gulf islands, Kīš⁷². Settlements at the West flank of the Ruʿūs al-Ġibāl such as Baḥa also lived of the familiar diet of produce from date-

⁶⁵ ARA VOC 1416, fl.1539vff.: Shipping list Surat, 14/5/1684-8/2/1685. For the period 5/5/1686-6/4/1687 a total of 4.823 baskets of Masqaṭī and 8.483 of other dates are recorded, see ARA VOC 1439, fl.1552rff: Shipping list Surat, 23/4/1685-6/4/1687.

⁶⁶ J. OVINGTON (1696), 423. ARA VOC 1304, fl.489r: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 20/2/1674, claims that some 150-240 metric tons were embarked on each Surati ship, which were paid for in cash.

⁶⁷ See E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, loc.cit., 149.

⁶⁸ See P. CRAESBEEK (ed.) (1647), *Comentários do Grande Capitão Rui Freire De Andrade*, Lisboa; new ed. J. Gervasio LEITE (1940), Lisboa, 246.

⁶⁹ A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 79. In fact, Bocarro relates that in the 1620's Ruy Freire De Andrade had to clear it from "vagabundos e ladrões assy do mar como da terra".

⁷⁰ A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 79f. A Dutch reconnaissance mission in the mid-1660's, unsurprisingly, recorded no such coastal trade, see ARA VOC 1259, fl.3366ff.: J. Vogel: "*Beschrijvinge vande voyagie gedaen langs de kust van Arabia*", *tpq* 26/4/1666.

⁷¹ See ARA VOC 1259, fl.3366ff.: J. Vogel, *Beschrijvinge...*, *tpq* 26/4/1666.; Hūr-fakkān, in particular, is mentioned for its citrus trees, see *ibid*.

⁷² See C.C. ROOBACKER (1645), *Journael ofte dachregister vande voyagie gedaen naer Bassora, gelegen in de rievier Euphrates met de Jachten Delfshaven nevens de Schelvis*, in: A. HOTZ (ed.) (1907), C.C. Roobacker's *Scheepsjournaal Gamron-Basra 1645; de eerste reis der Nederlanders door de Perzische Golf*, *TKNAG* XXIV/3, 289-405, 355-379, 358.

cultivation and gained from the sea⁷³. Ġulfār seemingly had a sufficiently voluminous date-production to allow for some exports to India⁷⁴.

In the mid-XVIth century, Al-Qaṭīf operated as entrepôt for the Ottoman district's trade in dates, which were brought there partly by boat⁷⁵. In the XVIIth century, the port exported some *tamar*-dates, but as their quality could not rival that of Al-Baṣra's produce. Al-Qaṭīf's main exports (especially to Sind) were "*comgo*"-dates, which were cut in the early stages of ripening, boiled, and dried on the beaches in the sun until they became very hard. A contemporary observer described them as harder than the dried dates exported from Maṣqaṭ, but also as sweeter and smaller, and preserving their yellow colour⁷⁶. We can not exclude that In late XVIth century Al-Ḥasā, increased labour requirements during the date-picking season were satisfied by seasonal migration of large numbers of Banū Ḥālīd tribesmen⁷⁷.

Date groves in lower Mesopotamia⁷⁸ stretched all the way from Al-Qurna to Fao and were exported through Al-Baṣra, where both dried and fresh varieties would be embarked from August onwards⁷⁹. For the XVIth century, it has been argued that "the cultivation and ownership of date gardens were quite commercialised": Al-Baṣra's Afrāsiyāb *valīs* alongside unnamed "urban merchants or tribal *shaykhs*" are said to have been among the owners of numerous dategroves on the outskirts of the town⁸⁰, but we also know of palmgroves which were formed part of *auqāf*

⁷³ ARA VOC 1153, fl.586rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 4/11/1643.

⁷⁴ See J. THEVENOT (1664-84), vol.2, 355.

⁷⁵ See R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Reglements fiscaux Ottomans...*, *loc.cit.*, 249f./274f.

⁷⁶ See A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, APO² IV-II-1/2, 95; the island of "Tamara" is Tannūra, see also BNL FG Ms.29, fl.20v.; on trade to Sind see *ibid.* fl.22r.; E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus...*, *loc.cit.*, 108, has *kong* as the local name for *ḥārak*.

⁷⁷ See J. MANDAVILLE (1970), 500, for a reference to spring 1584 which saw "thousands of Banū Ḥālīd horsemen [flocking to]... Laḥsā for the date season" (*ḥurmā zamānunda*). For a different interpretation of the arrival of the tribesmen during the date picking season see above on Banū Ġabr.

⁷⁸ For a XIXth century account see C.M. CURSEETJEE (1991), *The Land of the Date. A Voyage in the Gulf*, ed. P. RICH, Cambridge.

⁷⁹ *EFT* VI, 245f., 251: W. Thurston et al., Al-Baṣra, to London, dated 22/6/1640.

⁸⁰ See D.R. KHOURY (1991), 64f.

land⁸¹. In the XVIIth century travellers were told that the *valt* received annual revenues of 50.000 piasters from farming out palm-groves at a rate of 1/2 *šāht*⁸².

M. Godinho writes of the date-processing in Al-Baṣra: "Some they gather when they redden, and, after boiling them over the fire in large cauldrons, they spread them out to dry in the sun until they become hard, and these they call "*congos*", [which are] very tasty and sweet. Of others they prepare preserves, placing them in jars full of date juice. Others again are turned into wine, vinegar, spirits and honey, and the bulk of them are left to ripen and pressed and packed are kept as staple food, which they are for all Arabs"⁸³. E. Kaempfer, on the other hand, claims that larger palmgroves in the district of Al-Baṣra and elsewhere along the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf made it practicable to erect purpose-built structures where date-juice was pressed⁸⁴. In Al-Baṣra, dried dates with unleavened bread was the daily diet of the poor⁸⁵, but E. Kaempfer speaks of the high esteem in which Basran dates were held even in neighbouring Iran⁸⁶. We hear of the exchange of Bandar-e Rīg wheat for date imports from Al-Baṣra and even of vessels sent empty to Al-Baṣra to fetch dates for Iran⁸⁷.

⁸¹ See P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, pt.3, 78.

⁸² See J. THEVENOT (1664-84), vol.2, 321; J.B. TAVERNIER (1679), vol.1, 221, has a rate of 3/4 *lārīn* per tree. It is not impossible that a similar system was employed in the XVIth century, but contrary to the impression given in D. POTACHE (1989), *The Commercial Relations Between Basrah and Goa in the XVIth century*, *Studia* XLVIII, 145-161, 147, N.7, *GTT* V, 137ff., 140f.: S. Da Costa, "Relatorio ...das cousas de Baçora...", dated Goa 11/12/1563, does not provide evidence for these date-groves being managed as tax-farms (*muqāta'a*) for the mid-XVIth century.

⁸³ M. GODINHO (1665), *Relação...*, *loc.cit.*, 140.

⁸⁴ E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus...*, *loc.cit.*, 124. See also ID. (1712), *Amoenitatum...*, 713: "...torcularium loco cameris utuntur subdialibus, desuper patentibus pavimento contabulato vel gypsato, parietibus caementitiis quibus intus ramalia opponunt, ne impuritas officiat. His omnem dactylorum molem, quanta satis insolatione emollita est, una opera inferunt & confluentem ex iis syrupum lacu subtus facto excipiunt; sique is parciore pro desiderio effluat, aquam ferventem superfundunt, qua dulcendinis spissitudo magis eliquetur."

⁸⁵ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijftelijck relaes...*", dated 29/11/1651.

⁸⁶ See E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus...*, 545ff.

⁸⁷ J. THEVENOT (1664-84), vol.2, 298ff., mentions a cargo of 400 bales of dates à 12 *man-e Tabrtz* (ca.14.000 kg) each. M. GODINHO (1665), *Relação...*, *loc.cit.*, 122, speaks of exports to Bandar-e Kong.

In Iran, date cultivation has always been concentrated in the Garmsīr, but climatic conditions let it extend North as far as Ṭabas⁸⁸. In Safavid Iran a considerable overland trade in dates supplied stalls in the capital's markets with dates from Ḥorāsān, Sīstān and from Ġahrom were on offer⁸⁹. The anonymous treatise *Dar dānestān-e kārwānsarāi-ye Esfahān* features dates (*ḥormā*), fresh dates (*roṭab*), unripe, or perhaps better: half-ripe, dates (*ḥārag*) and "royal dates" (*ḥormā šāhānt*) from Fārs on offer in the Karwānsarāi-ye Bāwānāteyān⁹⁰. The renowned dates from the district of Ġahrom⁹¹ were carried all over Iran. It has been argued that for the local economy of Iran's coastal provinces date-palms did not occupy the prime position they held on the Arabian shores of the Gulf⁹², and in the XVIIth century harvests seem to have been more important for feeding the local population than for export purposes. However, from the plain around Īsīn dried dates were carried across the mountain range to villages along the roads to Central Iran⁹³. Dates embarked in the seaports were picked in their hinterland and arguably represent the most important contribution to maritime trade made by the Iran's coastal region. In Moğostān the date-palm was undoubtedly the dominant cultivation⁹⁴. At Bandar-e ʿAbbās, as elsewhere, the collection of the date harvest involved strictly seasonal labour. It would seem as if in the period here dealt with no extra labour from outside the area was required⁹⁵. The picking

⁸⁸ For Medieval references to Ṭabas at-Tamr (i.e. Ṭabas-e Gīlakī) see G. LE STRANGE (1905), 359f.; for the mid-XVIIth century, S. MANRIQUE (1649), *Itinerario de la misiones orientales del Padre ~*, Roma, 450ff., gets his topography muddled up: although he has a town "Tobax", he only speaks of large palmgroves in the context of a (non-existing) "villa Biabanac". Ṭabas marked the intersection of important East-West and North-South caravan routes through Eastern Iran. For a description of Old Ṭabas, razed to the ground in 1978 by an earthquake see S. HEDIN (1910), *Overland to India*, 2 vols., London, 27ff. and E. EHLERS (1977), *City and Hinterland in Iran: The Example of Ṭabas/Khorasan*, *TESG* LXVIII, 284-296. For climatic conditions see H. BOBEK (1952).

⁸⁹ See J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 54f.; for dates from Ġahrom see *ibid.*, vol.9, 205.

⁹⁰ See *Dar dānestān-e kārwānsarāi-ye Esfahān*, *loc.cit.*, 273, No.17.

⁹¹ See E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc.cit.*, 114.

⁹² See for Fārs in more recent times A.K.S. LAMBTON (1969/92), 327ff. But see also E. GAUBA (1951), *Botanische Reisen in der persischen Dattelregion*. Pt.II, *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien* LVIII, 22-32.

⁹³ See E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc.cit.*, 126.

⁹⁴ For the etymological derivation of the toponym from *moğ*, in the local dialect the equivalent of *nahl*, see J. AUBIN (1973), 107, N.170. It seems that on the Iranian shore date-cultivation near the coastline was less frequently practised than in ʿUmān, see J. ANDERSEN (1669), *Orientalische Reisebeschreibungen, 1644 ausgezogen & 1650 wiedergekommen*, in: A. OLEARIUS (ed.) (1696), *Viel Vermehrte Moskowitzische und Persianische Reisebeschreibung*, Hamburg, 56, who writes of some 80-90 palm-trees just East of Bandar-e ʿAbbās. The geologically motivated high salinity of water resources made cultivation of foodgrains an arduous task, see U. FABIETTI (1985), 290.

⁹⁵ For the late XIXth century, J. LORIMER (1908), II-B, 750, mentions that many inhabitants of Hormūz village moved to Mināb for the date picking season. In more recent times, seasonal migrant labour from Central Iran worked in date-palm plantations in Hūzestān, see A.K.S. LAMBTON (1969/92), 327f.

season coincided with the migration to cooler stations somewhat removed from the summer heat of the seashore. The journey held out free feeding on the palms produce, which in pre-harvest season when food shortages were regularly experienced, emptied the port city of a large share of its population⁹⁶. Conversely, some localities between the coast and Tārom were deserted except during the months in which dates were picked⁹⁷. However, in Bandar-e 'Abbās this seasonal migration rarely interfered with the needs of the harbour, which hardly saw any shipping movements in summer⁹⁸.

Date cultivation and date-picking in the hinterland of Bandar-e 'Abbās are discussed in some detail in the contemporaneous treatise *Phoenix Persicus seu Historia Dactyliferae* by the German physician E. Kaempfer⁹⁹. He reports that only at the outset of the picking season families joined forces to rent units of 40 date-palms (*yek nahl*) for a rent varying from year to year and based on the estimated yield of the individual trees¹⁰⁰. Our sources tell us little about ownership patterns of palm-groves in Moğostān in the Safavid period, but in the early XVIth century A. Tenreiro observed that the village which was to become Bandar-e 'Abbās was "populated by poor people, whom the merchants of Hormūz kept here to pick dates"¹⁰¹. Whether the merchants in turn had rented the land is not stated. From Kaempfer's account it is not clear whether the owners of the groves expected to be paid in cash or whether they retained a share of the dates collected¹⁰², but similar contracts are usually known to involve payment in kind. Those not able to afford either were allowed to gather up dates that had fallen from the

⁹⁶ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1024rff.: F.De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1672. See also E. KAEMPFER (1712), *Amoenitatum...*, 716ff., and more specifically for the seasonally repeated shortage of foodstuffs in June *ibid.* 720.

⁹⁷ P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 323.

⁹⁸ See similarly for the Arabian coast Aḥmad b. Māğid an-Nağdī, *Kitāb al-fawā'id...*, *loc. cit.*, 227, where he speaks of closed ports "in the time of [but causally unconnected with] the date harvest"; the seasonal rhythm was different in Al-Bašra, but there the larger population averted shortage of unskilled labour.

⁹⁹ E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus...*, 545ff.; the treatise must have been written in ca. 1687, according to a remark in a letter sent to N. Witsen in 1687, see E. KAEMPFER, *Die Briefe Engelbert Kaempfers*, ed. K.E. MEIER-LEMGO (=Abh. AWLit. math.-nat.wiss. Kl. VI), Mainz 1965, 267-314, 284f.

¹⁰⁰ E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus...*, *loc. cit.*, 151; here no mention is made of a *momaiyez*, or valuer, but it seems that the landowner himself set the value.

¹⁰¹ A. TENREIRO (1560), *Itinerario...*, *loc. cit.*, 8; see also Don G. De SILVA Y FIGUEROA (1703-05), *Commentarios...*, *loc. cit.*, vol.1, 271f.

¹⁰² For the mid-XXth century see A.K.S. LAMBTON (1969/92), 328, who quotes cases from Ġāhrom (only 1/20 (*sic*) of the harvest is left to the gatherers) and Kārzīn (1/2 of the produce left) in Fārs.

trees. Kaempfer does not discuss the yield of date trees growing in the hinterland of Bandar-e ‘Abbās¹⁰³.

Here and elsewhere, dates were processed in a variety of ways, either dried, preserved in their own juice or pressed and spread with their own juice, and kept in goats-skins and bags made of palm-leaves. No screw presses are mentioned for the separation of the date-juice, but only the use of pyramidal mat-work-container, formed by palm-leaves connecting three poles, through which under the gravitational weight of the dates themselves and the sun date-juice is filtered into earthen jars. Villagers from the surrounding mountainous area were reported to win some inferior date-juice from crushing and boiling already pressed dates¹⁰⁴.

The products of the date trees could be put to multiple uses for the domestic economy: palm fronds were used as building material for *barasti* huts¹⁰⁵, the trunks - split lengthwise - served as construction beams, palm sticks could be utilized for making *šahšahs*, light, one-man fishing crafts. In places, dates could serve as supplementary animal feed¹⁰⁶, and from palm-leaves mats and baskets were woven¹⁰⁷. In the hinterland of Bandar-e ‘Abbās palm-leaves were also employed to make sandals¹⁰⁸. It is surprising to find that A. Hamilton in his description of Masqat should have failed to mention dates as one of the chief components of the local diet¹⁰⁹. So crucial were freshly picked dates to meet the minimum daily calory requirement in

¹⁰³ Conforming with trends in other parts of the Persian Gulf average yields had fallen to as little as 8 kg per tree by 1983, see U. FABIETTI (1985), 290, see also for ‘Umān J. WILKINSON (1977), 30f.

¹⁰⁴ See E. KAEMPFER (1716), *Phoenix Persicus...*, *loc. cit.*, 123.

¹⁰⁵ For Masqat, E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc. cit.*, 148, speaks of "Tamerhütten", literally "datehuts"; for Bandar-e ‘Abbās, J.A. von MANDELSLO (1637-40), *Journal...*, *loc. cit.*, 13, writes that "von dißem Holtz (i.e.: date-trees) bauwen sie all jhre Heußer, vnd der gemein Man decket seine Hütte mitt den Esten vnd Blettern von selbigen Beymnen". For contemporaneous observations see P. COSTA (1985), The palm-frond house of the Batinah, *JOMS* VIII, 117-120, pl.1-16.

¹⁰⁶ See S.B. MILES (1919), 395f. and P. COSTA (1987/88); see also A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, *APO*² IV-II-1/2, 82 for Šūhār.

¹⁰⁷ See E. KAEMPFER (1712), *Amoenitatum...*, 752.

¹⁰⁸ P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 318, on a village between Fūrg and Tārom.

¹⁰⁹ See A. HAMILTON (1727), *A New Account of the East Indies*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 63.

Oman, that Ibādī taxation laws defined *rut.ab* and *bisr* as untaxable produce¹¹⁰. Similarly, in South-East Iran meals were served of bread, dates and goats milk¹¹¹.

The rationale behind the export of dates was that as of old they represented a readily available ballast cargo, for which a constant demand existed in India¹¹². Profitability was only a secondary consideration¹¹³. As bullion exports grew in importance in the XVIIth century, entire shiploads of dates were carried from the Persian Gulf Area to India, and we learn of cases where Arab traders proposed to freight entire European ships with dates¹¹⁴.

Quantitative data is very sketchy and incomplete as the bulk cargo often went unrecorded: in 1646 the "*Sun*", a vessel of the "New" English East India Company arrived at Surat from Bandar-e ʿAbbās carrying some 27.172,5 kg of dates as freight for local merchants¹¹⁵, in 1651 three vessels of Muslim merchants, Hāḡḡī "Sjaas" Beḡ's, Sayyid "Saetca" and Režā, imported from Al-Baṣra a total of more than 280.000 kg of dry and wet dates¹¹⁶. Exports of dates from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Coromandel are also recorded¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁰ J. WILKINSON (1977), 146; in most of the Bāṭina, where the export variety of *bisr* was produced, palmgroves would stretch along the littoral and would not need any irrigation systems. This could explain the 10% tax mentioned in Dutch reports which would correspond to the *baʿl*-rate, see ARA VOC 1304, fl.486r: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 20/2/1674.

¹¹¹ See E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, *loc. cit.*, 129.

¹¹² Until recently, Persian Gulf traders measured tonnage in stowage capacity baskets of dates, see A. VILLIERS (1940), *Sons of Sindbad*, London, 11f.

¹¹³ See *EFI* I, 140ff., 141: Th. Kerridge et al., Surat, to Persian factors, dated 29/10/1619 and 6/11/1619.

¹¹⁴ *EFI* VIII, 235ff., 237: Instruction of Presidency Surat for G. Tash, dated 20/1/1649.

¹¹⁵ ARA VOC 1162, fl.116rff.: Shipping list Surat 10/1/1646-26/1/1647.

¹¹⁶ ARA VOC 1188, fl.567rff.: "*Notitie...*", 22/2/1651-27/12/1651. Numerous other ships carried dates, but only numbers of bales are given.

¹¹⁷ The "*Narsa Šahr*" left with a cargo of wet dates in 29/4/1652, see ARA VOC 1188, fl.371rff.: Shipping list 1/1/1652-14/5/1652.

Nuts and Dried Fruit

Other products were insignificant if compared to dates. Nuts were carried only in small amounts. In fact, although profits of 50% could be expected regularly upon sale in Indian ports, this was a commerce largely left to petty traders¹¹⁸. Pistachio nuts were among the highly priced goods which could be procured locally at Bandar-e ʿAbbās. Only when local supplies ran out, would they be ordered from Eṣfahān, while for the domestic trade tradition has it that the finest pistacchio nuts could be found in Qazvīn¹¹⁹.

Raisins and currants were brought to the port from Fārs. Traders in Bandar-e ʿAbbās employed women to sort raisins and dried grapes¹²⁰. Dried fruit was best bought in November and December. Some was sent as far as the ports of the Malayan archipelago¹²¹, where it was prized, among local princes, as delicacies¹²². Exports of dried fruit were literally decimated in the late 1670's when a prolonged drought struck South-East Iran¹²³.

¹¹⁸ See e.g. J. THEVENOT (1664-84), vol.2, 353, on trade out of Bandar-e Kong.

¹¹⁹ ARA VOC 1245, pp.773ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664. Such supplies from Central Iran were unlikely to arrive before the end of the calendar year, see ARA VOC 1307, fl.638rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 21/12/1675. On Qazvīn: J.B. TAVERNIER (1679), vol.1., 609.

¹²⁰ ARA VOC 1245, pp.773ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664.

¹²¹ Dried fruit was stored in earthenware, available in the port at 0.5 *maḥmūdī* apiece, see ARA VOC 1185, fl.554rff.: "Factura" "*De Osch*", dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 18/5/1651.

¹²² *EFF* VI, 303ff., 307: Presidency Surat to Persian factors, dated 15/11/1641.

¹²³ ARA VOC 1349, fl.1656rff.: F.L.Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/2/1679.

Table 9

Invoice Prices for Dried Fruit at Bandar-e 'Abbās (1636-1688)

Year	Raisins	Currants	Apricots	Figs	Plums
1636	10	8		14	
1641	3.5	3-3.5	7	4	8.5
1642	6	5.3	18		8
1643	10	6	30		27.6
1644	9	7			24
1644	10	5.3			
1645	8	6.4			16
1646	8	5.5			7
1651	10	7.2			9.6
1657	10	6.4			8
1666	8.75	6.3			17.5
1683	10.2	10.2			
1683	9.6	9.6			9.6
1684	10	10			6.9
1688	9.35	8.5			

Sources:

1636: ARA VOC 1119, fl.951rf.: *Factura* exports to Surat, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 5/4/1636; *Factura* exports to Batavia, Bandar-e 'Abbās, BGP 572f.; 1641: ARA VOC 1135, fl.732rf.: *Factura* exports to Batavia, Bandar-e 'Abbās 9/5/1641; 1642: ARA VOC 1141, non-fol.: *Factura* exports to Batavia and Masulipatnam, 21/5/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.495Ar: *Factura* exports to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1644: ARA VOC 1150, fl.183rff.: *Factura* exports to Batavia and Surat, 12/2/1644; 1644: ARA VOC 1150, fl.126rff.: *Factura* exports to Masulipatnam, 10/5/1644; 1645: ARA VOC 1153, fl.794rf.: *Factura* exports to Coromandel, 23/7/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1153, fl.846rf.: *Factura* exports to Surat, 20/1/1646; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.554rff.: *Factura* exports to Batavia, 18/5/1651; 1657: ARA VOC 1224, fl.409rff.: *Factura* exports to Batavia, 30/3/1657; 1666: ARA VOC 1259, p.3305ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 12/3/1666; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; 1684: ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1688: ARA VOC 1434, fl.555rff.: A. Verdonck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/6/1688.

Table 10

**Invoice Prices for Nuts, Pistachio Nuts and Almonds
exported from Bandar-e 'Abbās**

Year	Almonds	Hazelnut	Pistachio
1628			16
1636	10		24-25
1641	2.4	12	15
1642	4.8-5	24-30	28-30
1643	8	32	24
1644	6.6-8	24	20-24
1645	7	40	38
1646	7.6		32
1651	5		32.5
1657	6.4		22
1666	5.6		
1683	12-12.75	17*	23.25-24.7
1684	12.4	20.3	35
1687	34.9	22-24.5	43.1-48.8
1688	10.6	20.5	39.1

* Prices at Esfahān

Sources:

1628: *Factura* exports, 8/4/1628, *BGP* 226; 1636: ARA VOC 1119, fl.951rf.: *Factura* exports to Surat, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 5/4/1636; *Factura* exports to Batavia, Bandar-e 'Abbās, *BGP* 572f.; 1641: ARA VOC 1135, fl.732rf.: *Factura* exports to Batavia, Bandar-e 'Abbās 9/5/1641; 1642: ARA VOC 1139, fl.485r: *Factura* exports to Surat and Batavia, 9/3/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; ARA VOC 1141, non-fol.: *Factura* exports to Batavia and Masulipatnam, 21/5/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.495Ar: *Factura* exports to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1644: ARA VOC 1150, fl.183rff.: *Factura* exports to Batavia and Surat, 12/2/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; ARA VOC 1150, fl.126rff.: *Factura* exports to Masulipatnam, 10/5/1644; 1645: ARA VOC 1153, fl.794rf.: *Factura* exports to Coromandel, 23/7/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1153, fl.846rf.: *Factura* exports to Surat, 20/1/1646; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.554rff.: *Factura* exports to Batavia, 18/5/1651; 1657: ARA VOC 1224, fl.409rff.: *Factura* exports to Batavia, 30/3/1657; 1666: ARA VOC 1259, p.3305ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e Abbas, to Batavia, 12/3/1666; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683; ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; 1684: ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1687: ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687; 1688: ARA VOC 1434, fl.555rff.: A. Verdonek, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/6/1688.

Salt and Red Earth

Other bulk and ballast cargoes from South-East Iran's ports are linked to the area's geology. The most prominent geomorphological feature of Hormūz is undoubtedly its rock-salt hills. They owe their origin to a secondary phenomenon of tectonic foldings which sees salt formations rise and break through weakened top layers of the earth's surface¹²⁴. There is no need to discuss evidence for the consequent lack of any significant vegetation on the island¹²⁵. The Jesuit missionary Gaspar Barzaeus described the topography accurately in the mid-XVth century: "The hills of the island are of salt, which is called *saljemma*; from them spring a number of rivulets of salinated water which coagulate in their course, due to the great heat..."¹²⁶. It was this salt incrustation which was collected for export¹²⁷ and either loaded directly into Ocean-going vessels in one of the two Northern anchorages of Hormūz or carried by lighters to Bandar-e 'Abbās for transshipment.

This method of collecting salt from the surface of the lower reaches of these ravines accounted for its seasonal availability. The Dutch noted that during the wintermonths "salt was not easily available on the islands, as it had largely dissolved due to the strong rains, but [that] it shall grow [hard] again in the hot summer [months]"¹²⁸. It was exported to Cochim, and thence to Bengal, where it could be sold profitably¹²⁹. Later, it was carried as ballast all over

¹²⁴ For the characteristics of the geological formation see H. HIRSCHI (1944), *Über Persiens Salzstöcke*, *Schweizerische Mineralogische und Petrographische Mitteilungen* XXIV, 30-56, C.A.E. O'BRIEN (1957), *Salt Diapirism in South Persia*, *Geologie en Mijnbouw* N.S. XIX, 357-376, and A. GANSSER (1960), *Über Schlammvulkane und Salzdomes*, *Vierteljahrsschrift der naturforschenden Gesellschaft Zürich* CV/1, 1-46 and J.R. WOLF (1959), *The Geology of Hormuz Island at the Entrance of the Persian Gulf*, *GMij* XXI, 390-396.

¹²⁵ Now see also G. KUNKEL (1977), *The Vegetation of Hormoz, Qeshm and Neighbouring Islands (Southern Persian Gulf Area)*, Vaduz.

¹²⁶ *DHMP* VII, 71ff.: Gaspar Barzaeus, Hormūz, to Ignatius of Loyola, dated 16/12/1651, and *DInd* II, 245ff.; see also *DInd* I, 595ff., 599: *Id.*, to "*sociis S.I. in India et Europa degentibus*", dated 1/12/1549 (also *DHMP* IV, 375), where the Flemish Father compares the phenomenon to the frozen rivers of his native land. On the author see N. TRIGAULT (1610), *Vita Gasparis Barzaei Belgae*, Antwerpen. For the localisation see also Don G. De SILVA Y FIGUEROA (1703-05), *Comentarios...*, *loc. cit.*, vol.1, 251f.

¹²⁷ *DInd* I, 599: *loc. cit.*: "...aynda não se acaba de tirar hum monte de sal quando yá hé outro no mesmo lugar do rio qualhado...".

¹²⁸ See *DR* XIII, 335ff., 340, under 26/10/1661.

¹²⁹ P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, pt.3, 15. Whether the salt was used for salt-fish is not quite certain. On the basis of G. Barzaeus' comment ("*não se pode salgar carne que não a corte*"), *DInd* I, 599, *loc. cit.*, it has been argued that it was too corrosive for that purpose, see J. AUBIN (1973), 167, N.532, and it is possible that marine salt was used instead. Salt-fish was exported and formed an important part of the local diet, see F. MARTIN (1665-94), *Memoires...*, *loc. cit.*, vol.1, 214.

the Indian Ocean and, at times, could yield some modest sums on sale in the ship's final destination¹³⁰. However, most of the time, Persian factors reckoned that expenses for porters, local lighters and presents necessary to induce the local governor to provide these facilities outgrew possible profits¹³¹. In fact, a request of the Governor General of the VOC in Batavia who had ordered from the Persian factory to send no less than 1.500 *last* annually, was never fully satisfied¹³².

The red ochre of Hormūz occurs in veins linked to the island's salt dome. The presence of haematite was known since prehistoric times¹³³ and the quarries in the South of the islands were worked for exports of the ore to be used as red oxide pigment¹³⁴. The "red earth" of Hormūz lent itself to being embarked as low cost ballast for which freighters, if lucky, could still find a buyer at the ships final destination¹³⁵. It would seem as if invoice prices varied, possibly because of the varying cost of hiring lighters and local labour¹³⁶.

¹³⁰ E.g. CAA VI, 327f.: *Mandado* P. Mascarenhas, *capitão* Cochim, to A. Lopes, *almoxarife* of fort Cochim, dated 23/8/1515, referring to a cargo of 196 *quintães* (ca.11.500kg); some 14 *last* (ca.28.000kg) were carried in the "Venenburgh" bound for Surat and Batavia, see DR XII, 249f., under 15/12/1657; later, Batavia asked for cargoes of 50-60 *last* to be sent annually, see DR XIII, 335ff., 340, under 26/10/1661.

¹³¹ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636; in 1654, a *barcx ladingh* of Hormūzī would seem to have cost 52 *maḥmūdī*, see ARA VOC 1208, fl.234Arff.: *Factura*, dated 22/1/1654.

¹³² ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 15/12/1635. That season, only 250 *last* could be sent.

¹³³ See H.G. CARLS (1982), 42, N.2. On the geology see A. GANSSER (1960), *loc. cit.*, 1-46.

¹³⁴ For the late XIXth century see A.W. STIFFE (1874), The Island of Hormūz (Ormuz), *The Geographical Magazine* I, 12-17, 13, who writes that "...red earth, called by them *gairu*, ...is used for staining and seasoning wool, and is sent to Maskat, and thence to Calcutta." J. LORIMER (1908), II-B, 749, mentions a locality "Sar Pūzeh" in the South of the island, "the site of the present red oxide workings ...which employ about 200 hands".

¹³⁵ *EFT'* III, 301ff.: Instructions of Presidency Surat to Cpt. Swanley, dated 12/12/1628; see also *ibid.* 187f.: D.David's ledger of the "Heart" 1627/28. For a commentary to the contrary from Surat see *EFT'* IV, 57ff., 58f.: Pres. Rastell, Surat, to Persian factors, dated 6/10/1630.

¹³⁶ In 1657, 600 *pond* cost 2,5 *maḥmūdī*, see ARA VOC 1215, fl.866rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 14/5/1657, but in 1682, 1.729 kg of red earth sent to Batavia were invoiced at 159,75 *maḥmūdī*, see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2670vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 14/6/1682.

Part 2

IMPORTS

INTRODUCTION

Early on the non-luxury trade (in foodstuffs such as rice, dyestuffs such as indigo, or simple cotton piece goods) was identified as the mainstay of exchange between the subcontinent and the Persian Gulf Area¹. Although many of the products discussed below were destined for mass consumption, they were first and foremost import goods and as such subject to extraneous influences and price fluctuations. The figures given below must therefore not be misinterpreted as representing trends in Safavid Iran as a whole: prices for the tables and graphs have been compiled from Dutch sources alone not only because the VOC's country trade is more consistently documented than that of any other European Company, but also because during most of the period here discussed the VOC was undoubtedly the largest single player in the port cities of the Persian Gulf Area. A proper price history would of course have to include sales prices not only of EIC, CIO and other Companies, but, more importantly, of private traders, Surati and Ġolfan trading houses, and many many more. Chapters five and six may shed some light on the role played by non-VOC traders. A detailed discussion of quantities imported has been left for another occasion. With the exception of monopoly goods, the figures below therefore imply price formation on the basis of a relatively inflexible demand and varying supplies.

In Bandar-e ʿAbbās, prices for most goods were recorded in *lārtn* per *man-e Surat*, except for textiles, for which prices were often given in *mahmūdī* per *gez* (95cm)². However, there was no uniformity, and some reports speak of different weights used by local traders when dealing with non-European foreign merchants³. In Bandar-e ʿAbbās, the English, too, had been authorised to use their own weights (and units: 30 lbs. = 31.625 *pond* = ca. 15.62kg). In Eşfahān, wholesale and retail-traders alike used the *man-e Šāh* (ca. 5.8kg). For the tables and graphs below, prices have been converted into *lārtn* per *man-e Surat*.

We mentioned above that the Portuguese never quite succeeded in suppressing the local spice (clove, mace, nutmeg) and pepper trade across the Arabian Seas. The same problem

¹ Initially, there had even been suggestion by Company servants to carry such goods preferably under private traders' names in order for the Companies not to incur the wrath of the local merchant community, see e.g. ARA VOC 1094, fl.406rff.: "*Daghregister...*" D. van der Lee, 1627/28.

² ARA VOC 1324, fl.684rff.: "*Memoire*" D. Sarcerius, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās May 1655.

³ See ARA CWG (ex-Aanw. Alkmaar): "*Notitie van de Parsiaensche gewichten*", dated 1/11/1640, see also *ibid.* 248: "*Aantekeningen betreffende de in Perzie gangbare munten en gewichten*": 31.75*pond* = ca. 15.685kg.

presented itself to the Dutch, although from the mid-XVIIth century they were somewhat more successful in implementing a system of regulated prices. Having established a near monopoly for some spices in the Indian Ocean, they attempted to introduce a system of fixed prices encompassing the Arabian Seas area⁴, but at the same time, a balance needed to be struck between artificially low prices aimed at driving caravan traders out of the Iranian transit markets and a sufficiently high price level to stem the outflow of spices via the Levant to Europe⁵. This policy seems to have been successful as there is next to no information on overland spice imports after the 1630's⁶.

South-East Asian spices used to be distributed from the Coromandel ports to Upper India, especially to Agra, whence they were carried overland to Iran overland⁷. This widely documented but little studied overland connection flies in the face of all assumptions about the advantages sealanes held over overland routes. The overland trade route held the Upper Indian and Iranian spice-markets in a delicate balance. From the mid-1620's, however, a general depression of prices for Indonesian spices hit Upper Indian *bāzārs* as a result of expanding direct Company imports into Coromandel, Surat and Iran, which ruined both the North Indian homemarket and its overland export market⁸. At the same time, price fluctuations on the Iranian markets for spices

⁴ GM III, 85ff., 103: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 4/12/1656, on the difficulties of keeping the policy of controlled prices working in the Western Indian Ocean: large Indian trading houses would simply try to push down prices for other VOC goods.

⁵ See GM I, 507ff., 524: H. Brouwer, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 4/1/1636.

⁶ BGP 482ff.: N. Overschie, "*Prijsberekening...*", 1634, does not mention spices among the goods carried overland, but his list is incomplete.

⁷ GM I, 131f.: P. De Carpentier, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 3/1/1624: spices imported via Coromandel "werden alle in Moorenlanden geconsumeert, te weten in 't rijk van den Coningh van Golconda, van Visiapour, van Nisamchia ofte Melicobar, in 't land van den Grooten Mogul off Achabar, in Persien ende van daer in Tartarijen, sonder dat eenige derselver naer Christendom off oock in 't rijk van den Turck vervoert worden."

⁸ By 1627, prices for the main spices had plummeted between 25% and 60% from their 1625 level, see COEN VII/2, 1193ff.: H. Vapour, Agra, to Batavia, dated 26/10/1627. In 1627, caravans of 300, 500, 800 oxen reached the Agra market each carrying up to 8 *man-e pādešāhī* [à 33.56kg] "hetwelck de agrasche [*scil.*: prices] op de bloote tydinge, van Berampoer comende, in een dach off twe 10, 15 jae 20 rop[i]as per mao conde doen sitten...". Those who used to buy 20-30 bales would now buy only two and wait. See also *ibid.* V, 16ff., 21: J.P.Coen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 9/11/1627, who explains this development "ten aensien van den toevoer door ons selfs in Persia ende op de cust van Choromandel, behalven 't geene Engelschen, Portugiesen ende Deenen daer noch bygebracht hebben, waardoor d'Armenische ende andere Indostansche cooplieden, welke de speceryen over landt in Agra plachten te comen soucken ende vandaer nae 't rijke van Persia ende andere omleggende quartieren te vervoeren, soo niet meer trecken als te voeren, ende dienvolgende de speceryen comen te sitten". Incidentally, the Portuguese, too, planned sending spices, but especially pepper and cinnamon, to Iran for transshipment to Russia and Anatolia, see DRI VIII, 29ff.

and pepper were also occasioned by the failure of Ottoman buyers to reach Eṣfahān during the Safavid-Ottoman wars⁹.

Dutch attempts at monopoly trade and fixed prices for spices meant that reexports from the Persian Gulf Area to India occurred only infrequently. Spices were sometimes reexported from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Surat under a disguising name¹⁰, but when vaster opportunities opened up, VOC factories in the Persian Gulf Area were instructed to raise the price of imports immediately¹¹. But while some held that reexports from the Persian Gulf Area threatened to undermine the VOC's system of minimal prices by controlled supply, VOC servants in Bandar-e ʿAbbās argued that the extra costs incurred would make this an unprofitable business¹². However, prices for cloves were consistently higher in Surat, although both ports followed the general development of steep (decreed) price rises during the two decades from ca.1650-1670.

The Persian Gulf spice trade included all destinations: Indian and Persian traders tried to bypass the royal customs houses with their cargoes of spices, but more especially with pepper ships, and often chose minor ports such as Ġāsk or Nāhīlū for imports into Iran¹³. Bandar-e Kong, too, was an important centre for imports, and in the 1630's, only Safavid government purchases of spices in exchange for raw silk helped the Dutch to fend off Portuguese competition on the free market¹⁴. In the Persian Gulf Area, markets for spices were connected almost as in a hydraulic system: thus, sales in Masqaṭ immediately translated into reduced demand in Bandar-e

⁹ See BGP 285ff., 286: H. Visnich, Eṣfahān, to Batavia, dated 28/2/1629; doubts arise over the veracity of his claims on the pepper trade given his large scale involvement in private pepper trade, see *ibid.*, 295ff., 296: J.L. Hasselt, "Remonstratie...", 1629: H. Visnich "heeft in tijdt van de vendimy alle de peper, die te becoomen was, doen opcoopen door 2 à dry personen, die daertoe geïmployeert wierden".

¹⁰ ARA VOC 1253, 1688ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/9/1665.

¹¹ ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: Factory Persia, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1660: cloves at Surat sold at the equivalent of 276.8 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat*; Indian merchants in Bandar-e ʿAbbās seemed to be willing to buy cloves for reexports at around 200 *lārīn*, significantly more than the current market price. The new VOC price was 260 *lārīn*.

¹² The example is of 150 *pond* cloves sold at Surat at the fixed price of 80 stv. per *pond* (total: stv.12.000). One has to add in Surat 2.5% for the public weigher, 1.75% for the broker, 0.75% for the "genier"; stv.3:8 for porters, stv.42 for bags and wages to sew them, stv.3:8 for the packers, 4% export duties and other customary fees and bribes (stv.672), in Bandar-e ʿAbbās 4.5% (or stv.546) for import duties (!), for beach guards, *ḡānešīn*, and the *dārāḡe* of the customs house stv.7, freight per bag stv.140, for *nāhoda* and scribes of the vessel stv.10:8, for the usual underweight of 2% (stv.240): total stv.13.958:8. These figures had been supplied by Banyan traders, see ARA VOC 1253, pp.1688ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/9/1665.

¹³ BGP 230ff. (extracts), 234: "Daghregister..." D.v.d. Lee, 4/6/1627-1/6/1628.

¹⁴ BGP 475ff. (extracts), 479: Report M.v.d. Trille, dated ca.Juni 1634.

‘Abbās¹⁵. It is interesting to observe that the régime of regulated prices caused sharper price rises in Al-Başra than in Bandar-e ‘Abbās.

Just as the Portuguese before them, the Dutch feared spice and pepper imports into Al-Başra might affect price levels of the Mediterranean markets, but local agents could reassure Batavia: vast domestic demand in the Persian Gulf Area and the Ottoman Empire in particular, heavy tolls from Al-Başra to Aleppo, high insurance costs, as well as tolls on the road from Aleppo to Tripoli and export duties in Syrian ports would make reexports an unprofitable business¹⁶. In the late 1670's the perceived impoverishment of Safavid Iran translated into lower sales volumes of spices¹⁷.

¹⁵ ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F.De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/10/1673.

¹⁶ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens: "*Schriftelijck relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

¹⁷ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1889vff.: "*Deductie...*" R. Casembroot, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās 13/2/1680.

Table 11

Wholesale Prices for Cloves in the Persian Gulf Area (1623-1688)

Year 16.../ (quarters)	Bandar-e 'Abbās	Esfahān	Al-Baṣra	Masqat
23(1)	284-296.5			
24(1)	290			
24(1)	280			
24(2)	212			
24(3)	292			
26(2)	240			
26(3)	160-200			
28	140-240			
28(4)	180-240	180		
28/29		200		
29		180		
30(4)		180		
31(1)		220		
31	200			
32	300			
32(4)		300		
32(4)		300		
32(4)		200-300		
33	150-165			
33(4)	160			
34(1)	140			
34(2)	140			
35(2)	160			
35(3)	125			
35(4)	125			
36(1)	130			
36(3)	140			
36(4)	125	125		
37(1)	80-130			
38	85			
39(1)	100			
40(4)	75-80	110		
41(1)	75-81			
41(2)	70			
41(3)	70-75	40		
41(4)	60-65			
42(1)	60-75			
42(1)	65			
42(2)	80			
43	80			
43(2)	80			
43(4)		122.5		
44(1)	87-90			
44(2)		112.3		
44(3)	100	102.4		
44(4)	80-82			
45(3)			114	
46	112			
46(2)	113			
46/47	95			
47(1)	95			
48	80			

Year 16.../ (quarters)	Bandar-e 'Abbās	Esfahān	Al-Baṣra	Masqat
49	125			
52	100			
53	130-135			
53(4)	162			
54(2)	160-168			
54(3)			252-288	
54(4)			252-288	
57(2)	157.5-180			
58(1)	194			
59(4)	276.8			
60(2)	260			
60(3)	260			
63(2)	260.25			
65(1)	240			
65(2)	240			
65(3)			300	
67(3)	275			
68(2)	275			
69(2)	257.6-275			
70(2)	257.5-275			
70(4)			385.2-8	
71				345.6
71(4)			385.2	
72(2)			385.2-396	
			337.5-356.2	
72(3)	270-275			
73(1)			396-403.2	
73(4)	272		403.2	
74(2)	249		361.4-403.2	
75(2)	240		348.6-361.4	
76(3)	250		352	
77(1)	240			
77(2)	235			
77(3)	235			
78(1)			342.4-345.6	
78(2)	230			
79(2)			339.2-352	
80(1)			339.2	
80(2)	240			
81(2)	240			
82(1)			326.4-339.2	
82(3)	230-240			
82/3			399-432.5	
83(2)	240			
83(3)	250			
84(1)			326.4	
84(3)	250			
85(2)			307.2-576.5	
86(4)			374.4	
87(1)			367.2-388.8	
87(4)	272			
88	272			

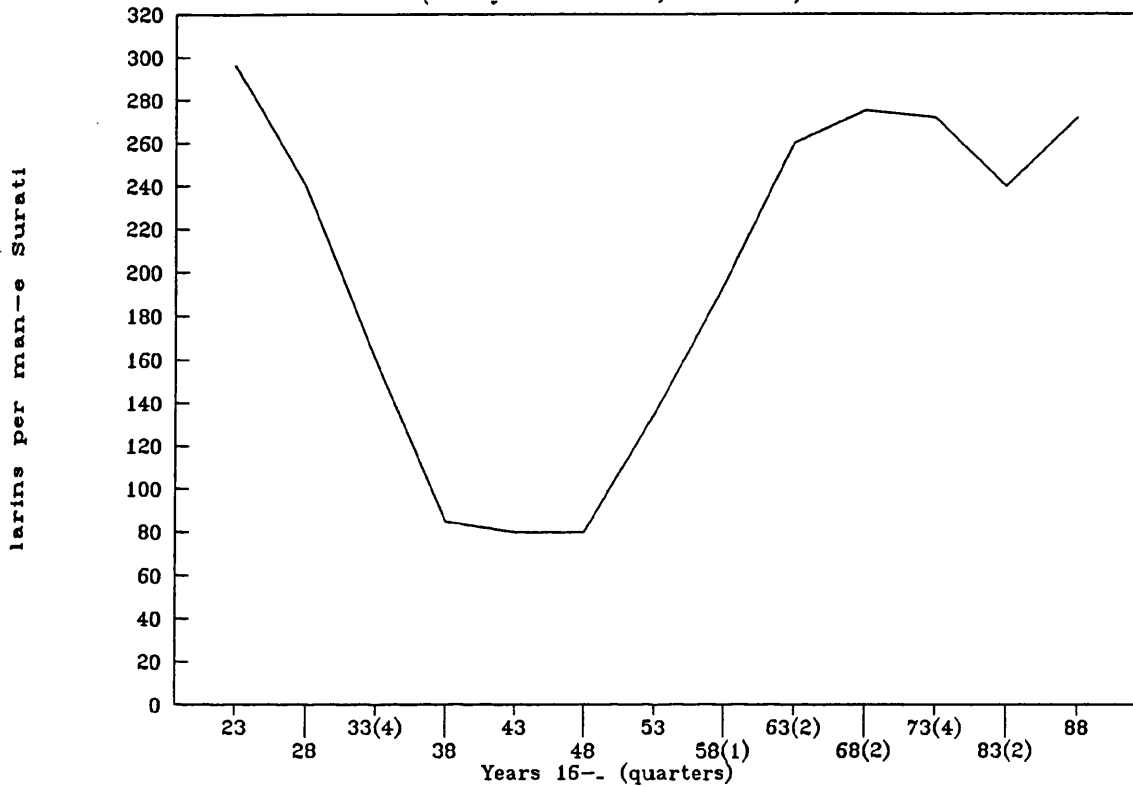
Sources:

1623(1): H. Visnich, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 15/11/1623, in: H. TERPSTRA (ed.) (1918), 294f.; 1623/1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1624(1): H. Visnich, Eşfahān, to Surat, 18/1/1624, *BGP* 39f.; 1624(2): ARA VOC 1084, fl.75: Resolutië, Eşfahān, 1/7/1624; 1624(3): Dagregister Perzië 1623/24, *BGP* 65ff.; 1626(2): VOC contract with royal factor, 23/4/1626, *BGP* 184f.; 1626(3): H. Visnich, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 17/8/1624, *BGP* 196ff.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; Factura H. Visnich, Eşfahān, to royal factor, Nov.1628, *BGP* 258ff.; 1628(4): ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1628/1629: ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.: Pricelist, Eşfahān, 1628/29.; 1629: ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.: Pricelist, Eşfahān, 1628/29.; 1630(4): A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 20/12/1630, Pricelist, Eşfahān, *BGP* 351ff.; 1631(1): Pricelist, Eşfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Oct.1632; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Eşfahān, 22/10/1632; 1632(4): Sales to royal factor, A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Batavia, 26/10/1632, *BGP* 388ff.; 1632(4): A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 3/11/1632, *BGP* 390ff.; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186f.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; ARA VOC 1106, fl.186vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; 1635(2): ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; 1635(3): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1635(4): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(3): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; N. Overschie, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, *BGP* 590ff.; 1637(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1639(1): ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Eşfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. van Oostende, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 13/2/1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.738rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 24/3/1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Eşfahān, 10/8/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.705r.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 22/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1642(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.611f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Claes Cornelisz., 21/5/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Eşfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Eşfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Eşfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rff.: Pricelist Eşfahān, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 25/9/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.30vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646; 1646(2): ARA VOC 1153, fl.620rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1646; 1646/1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646/47; 1647(1): ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; 1649: ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1653: ARA VOC 1201, fl.777rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/4/1653; 1653(4): ARA VOC 1203, fl.781rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/3/1654; 1654(2): ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 12/4/1654: Pricelist; ARA VOC 1203, fl.767rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 16/4/1654; 1654(3): ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; 1654(4): ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1657: ARA VOC 1224, fl.288rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/4/1657; ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 5/6/1657; ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1658(1): ARA VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/3/1658; ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1659(4): ARA VOC 1230, fl.312rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 23/4/1660; 1660(2): ARA VOC 1230, fl.312rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 23/4/1660; 1660(3): ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/9/1660; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f. ; 1665(1): ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 9/1/1665; 1665(2): ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/6/1665; 1665(3): ARA VOC 1251, p.1551ff.: VOC sales, Al-Basra, 15/9/1665; 1667(3): ARA VOC 1255, fl.879rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/8/1667; 1668(2): ARA VOC 1268,

fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; ARA VOC 1261, fl.745rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/7/1668; 1669(2): ARA VOC 1278, fl.1809rff.: L.v.d. Dussen, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 16/5/1670; ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1669; 1670(2): ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; 1670(4): ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1671: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2242rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Surat, 1671; 1671(4): ARA VOC 1274, fl.753rff.: G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 7/10/1671; 1672(2): ARA VOC 1279, fl.947rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 31/4/1672; Masqat: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1029rff.: Memorie F.De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, R. Padtbrugge, 6/6/1672; 1672(3): ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; 1673(1): ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; 1673(4): ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/4/1673; ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; 1674(2): ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; ARA VOC 1292, fl.567rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 14/6/1674; ARA VOC 1307, fl.679rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1674/5; 1675(2): ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; ARA VOC 1313, fl.568rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 1/4/1675; ARA VOC 1307, fl.679rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1674/5; 1676(3): ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1677(1): ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/1/1677; 1677(2): ARA VOC 1330, fl.734rff.: Resolution, VOC factory Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/6/1677; 1677(3): ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/72/1678; 1678(1): ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1678; 1678(2): ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; 1679(2): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1680(1): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/3/1680; 1680(2): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1681(2): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; 1682(1): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 6/3/1682; 1682(3): ARA VOC 1364, fl.395rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 6/7/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 7/9/1682; 1682/1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683; 1683(2): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; 1683(3): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; 1684(1): ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/2/1684; 1684(3): ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1685(2): ARA VOC 1416, fl.1666vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1685; 1686(4): ARA VOC 1425, fl.460rff.: W. Bullestraate, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/9/1687; 1687(1): ARA VOC 1425, fl.454rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/1/1687; 1687(4): ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687; 1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688.

Graph 1

Wholesale Prices for Cloves at Bandar-e 'Abbās (ca. five-year intervals 1623-1688)

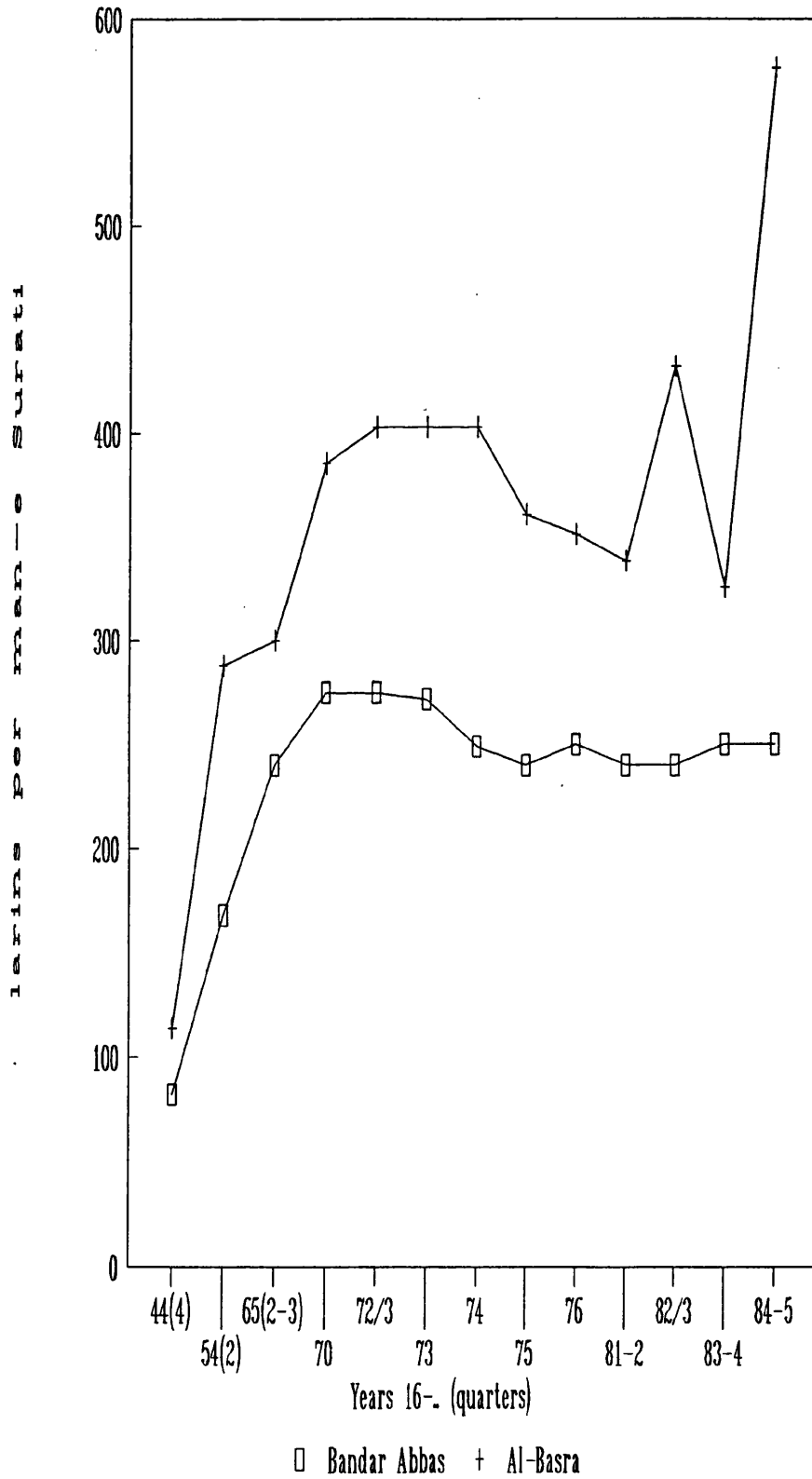


Sources:

1623(1): H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 15/11/1623, in: H. TERPSTRA (ed.) (1918), 294f.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; Factura H. Visnich, Esfahān, to royal factor, Nov. 1628, *BGP* 258ff.; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829ff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; 1653: ARA VOC 1201, fl.777rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/4/1653; 1658(1): ARA VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/3/1658; ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; 1668(2): ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; ARA VOC 1261, fl.745rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/7/1668; 1673(4): ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/4/1673; ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; 1683(2): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; 1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688.

Graph 2

Wholesale Prices for Cloves in Persian Gulf Ports (1644-1685)

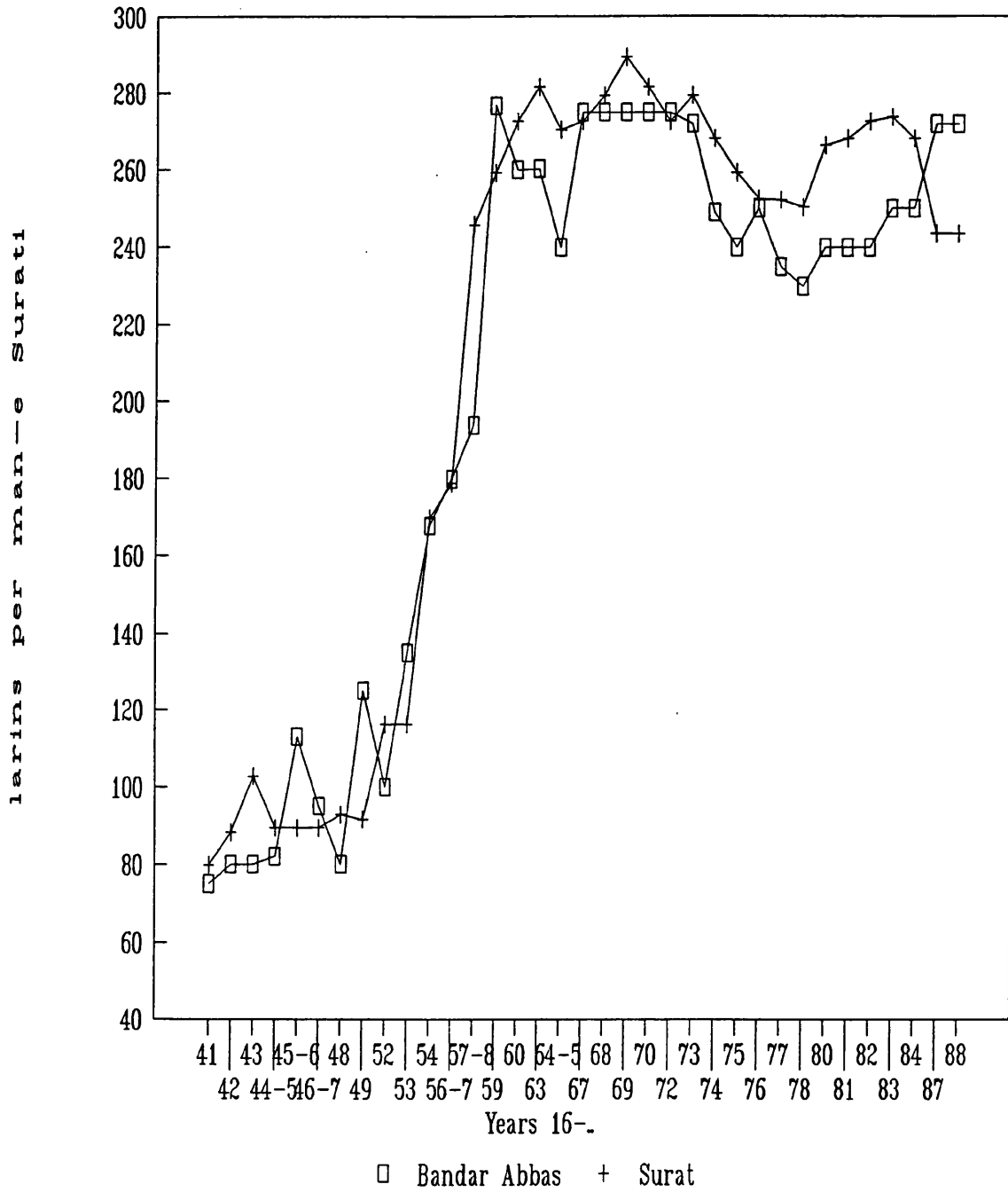


Sources for Graph 2:

1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 25/9/1645; 1654(2): ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 12/4/1654: Pricelist; ARA VOC 1203, fl.767rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 16/4/1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; 1665(2-3): ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/6/1665; ARA VOC 1251, p.1551ff.: VOC sales, Al-Basra, 15/9/1665; 1670: ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1672/1673: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/4/1673; ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; 1673: ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/4/1673; ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; 1674: ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; ARA VOC 1292, fl.567rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 14/6/1674; ARA VOC 1307, fl.679rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1674/5; 1675: ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; ARA VOC 1313, fl.568rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 1/4/1675; ARA VOC 1307, fl.679rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1674/5; 1676: ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1681/1682: ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 6/3/1682; 1682(3): ARA VOC 1364, fl.395rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 6/7/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 7/9/1682; ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683; 1683/1684: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/2/1684; 1684/1685: ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; ARA VOC 1416, fl.1666vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1685.

Graph 3

Wholesale Prices for Cloves at Bandar-e 'Abbās and Surat (1641-1688)



Sources for Graph 3:

1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; Factura H. Visnich, Esfahān, to royal factor, Nov. 1628, *BGP* 258ff.; ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?) 1633; ARA VOC 1106, fl.186vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1633; 1634: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; 1635: ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; 1636: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1637: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1639: ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641: ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Esfahān, 10/8/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.705r.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 22/9/1641; 1642: ARA VOC 1144, fl.611f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Claes Cornelisz., 21/5/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829ff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1644/1645: ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645/1646: ARA VOC 1153, fl.620rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1646; 1646/1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646/47; ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; 1649: ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1653: ARA VOC 1201, fl.777rf.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/4/1653; 1654: ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 16/4/1654; ; 1656/1657: ARA VOC 1224, fl.288rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/4/1657; ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 5/6/1657; ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1657/1658: ARA VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/3/1658; ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1659: ARA VOC 1230, fl.312rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 23/4/1660; 1660: ARA VOC 1230, fl.312rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 23/4/1660; 1663: ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; 1664/1665: ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 9/1/1665; ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/6/1665; 1667: ARA VOC 1255, fl.879rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/8/1667; 1668: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; ARA VOC 1261, fl.745rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/7/1668; 1669: ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1669; 1670: ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; 1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; 1673: ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/4/1673; ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; 1674: ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; ARA VOC 1292, fl.567rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 14/6/1674; ARA VOC 1304, fl.508rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/9/1674; 1675: ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; ARA VOC 1313, fl.568rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 1/4/1675; ARA VOC 1304, fl.508rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/9/1674; 1676: ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1677: ARA VOC 1330, fl.734rf.: Resolution, VOC factory Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/6/1677; ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/72/1678; 1678: ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; 1680: ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1681: ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; 1682: ARA VOC 1364, fl.395rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 6/7/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 7/9/1682; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; 1684: ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1687: ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687; 1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688. For Surat: K. GLAMANN (1959), 301f.; H. van SANTEN (1982), 217.

Table 12

Wholesale Prices for Mace in the Persian Gulf Area (1623-1674)

Year 16.. (quarters)	Bandar-e 'Abbās	Esfahān	Al-Baṣra
1623(1)	138-150		
1623-4	120-135		
1624(1)	123		
1624(3)	135-137		
1626(2)	130		
1628	120-130		
1628(4)	130	170	
1630(4)		170	
1631	170	160	
1632	200		
1632(4)		200-220	
1633	150-160		
1633(4)	160		
1634(1)	140		
1634(2)	160		
1635(2)	160		
1635(3-4)	110		
1636(1)	110		
1636(3)	110	110	
1636(4)	130-140		
1637(1)	130-150		
1638	160		
1639(1)	110		
1640(4)	120-122		
1641(1)	110-122		
1641(2)	120		
1641(3)	70-120		
1641(4)	125		
1642(1)	120-125		
1643	160		
1643(2)	140-160		
1643(4)		153.2	
1644(2)		163.4	
1644(3)		180	
1644(4)	130		
1645(3)			143.25
1645(4)	110-120		
1663(2)	260-295.1		
1674(3)	240		
1685(2)			798.3-842.7

Sources:

1623(1): Daghtregister/Grootboek 1623: VOC sales to royal factor, *BGP*; H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 15/11/1623, in: H. TERPSTRA (ed.) (1918), 294f.; 1623/1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1623/24.; 1624(1): H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Surat, 18/1/1624, *BGP* 39f.; 1624(3): Daghtregister Perziē 1623/24, *BGP* 65ff.; 1626(2): VOC contract with royal factor, 23/4/1626, *BGP* 184f.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; Factura H. Visnich, Esfahān, to royal factor, Nov.1628, *BGP* 258ff.; 1628(4): ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1630(4): A. Del Court, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 20/12/1630, Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 351ff.; 1631: Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Oct.1632; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; ARA VOC 1106, fl.186vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, June(?) 1634; 1635(2): ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Febr. 1635; 1635(3-4): Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Jan. 1636; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(3): Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, *BGP* 590ff.; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1638; 1639(1): ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.738rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 24/3/1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Esfahān, 10/8/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829ff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1643; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rff.: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās; C. Constant, Esfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 25/9/1645; 1945(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1239, fl.1675rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 4/6/1663; 1674(3): ARA VOC 1304, fl.508rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 4/9/1674.

Table 13

Wholesale Prices for Nutmeg in the Persian Gulf Area (1623-1688)

Years 16./ quarters	Bandar-e 'Abbās		Esfahān		Al-Basra		Masqat
	nutmeg	"rompen"	nutmeg	"rompen"	nutmeg	"rompen"	"rompen"
23/1	106						
23-4	110						
24/2	64						
24/3	104						
26/2	100						
28	100						
28/4	100						
28/29			200				
29			100				
30/4	100						
31/1			110				
31	100						
32	120						
32/4			140				
32/4	120						
33	100						
33/4	100						
34/1	80						
34/2	80-90						
35/2	100						
35/3	70						
35/4	70						
36/1	80						
36/3	80						
36/4	80-90		70				
37/1	90-95						
38	95						
39/1	70						
40/4	60-62		75-76				
41/1	60-65	35					
41/2	50	30					
41/3	52-55	35					
41/4	60	30-32					
42/1	52-68	30-35					
42/1	50	30					
43	50	30					
43/2	38-48	30					
43/4			61.3	49			
44/1		30					
44/2			59.2-61.3	38.8-40.8			
44/3	58	37	58.4	38			
44/4	40-42	25-27					
45/3					143.25	60	
45/4	45-48	30-32					
46	50	33					
46/2	50	33					
47/1	44	28					
47/48	40	24-28					
48	44	24					
49	40	25					

Years 16./ quarters	Bandar-e 'Abbās		Esfahān		Al-Basra		Masqat
	nutmeg	"rompen"	nutmeg	"rompen"	nutmeg	"rompen"	"rompen"
51		24					
53		36					
54		32-34					
54/3					72-79.2	46.8-54	
54/4					72-79.2	46.8-54	
55/56		29.7					
56/2		34					
56/3						64.8	
57/2		29.6-39.4					
58/1		55					
58/2		55					
59/4		72					
60/3	85						
61/2	109						
63/2		94.8-107					
65/1		107					
67/3		107					
67/4		100					
68/2	102	102					
69/2		75-102					
70/2		102					
70/3		104					
71		128					
71/2	104	104					
72/2		123.75-131.25					
72/4				120			
73/1		144				144	
73/3		95.5					
73/4		144.2		120			
74/1							112.5-127.5
74/2		102				128	
75/2		102				140.8	
75/4					140		
76/3		102					
77/2		85-90					
77/3		90					
78/1						147.2-153.6	
78/2		80					
80/2		91					
81/3	88						
82/1						124.8-137.6	
82/3		80					
82/3						161.2	
83/2		80					
83/3		90					
84/3		88-90				121.6	
86/1						162	
87/1						23/7	
87/4		426					
88		120					

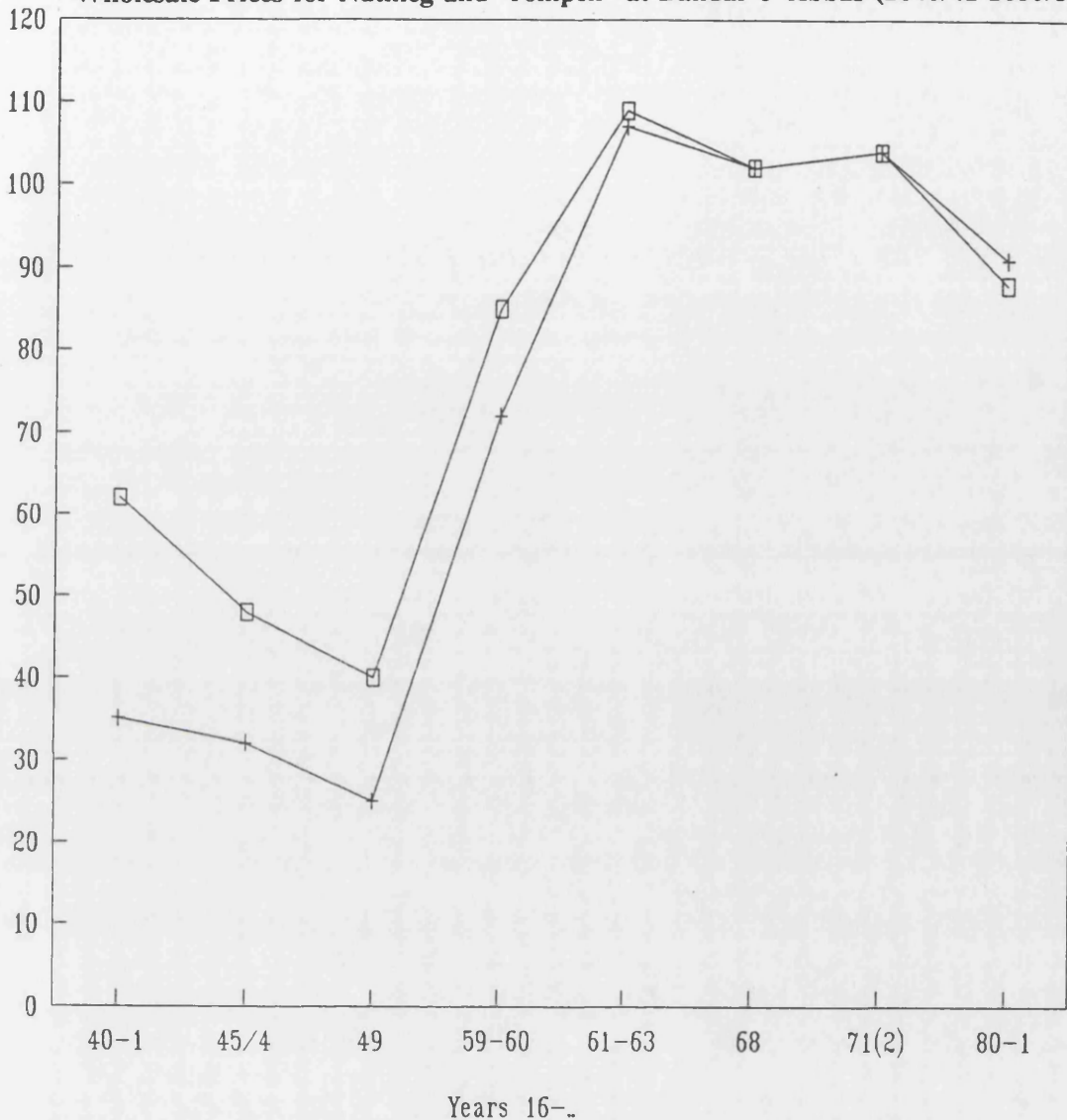
Sources:

1623(1): H. Visnich, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 15/11/1623, in: H. TERPSTRA (ed.) (1918), 294f.; 1623/1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1624(2): ARA VOC 1084, fl.75: Resolutië, Eşfahān, 1/7/1624; 1624(3): Dagregister Perzië 1623/24, *BGP* 65ff.; 1626(2): VOC contract with royal factor, 23/4/1626, *BGP* 184f.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; Factura H. Visnich, Eşfahān, to royal factor, Nov.1628, *BGP* 258ff.; 1628(4): ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1628/1629: ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.: Pricelist, Eşfahān, 1628/29.; 1629: ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.: Pricelist, Eşfahān, 1628/29.; 1630(4): A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 20/12/1630, Pricelist, Eşfahān, *BGP* 351ff.; 1631(1): Pricelist, Eşfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Oct.1632; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Eşfahān, 22/10/1632; 1632(4): Sales to royal factor, A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Batavia, 26/10/1632, *BGP* 388ff.; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rff.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; ARA VOC 1106, fl.186vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; 1635(2): ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; 1635(3): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1635(4): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(3): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; N. Overschie, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, *BGP* 590ff.; 1637(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1639(1): ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Eşfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. van Oostende, Eşfahān, to Heren XVII, 13/2/1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.738rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 24/3/1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Eşfahān, 10/8/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829ff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rff.: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Eşfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Eşfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Eşfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rff.: Pricelist Eşfahān, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 25/9/1645; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.30vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646; 1646(2): ARA VOC 1153, fl.620rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1646; 1647(1): ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1647/1648: ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; 1649: ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1651; 1653: ARA VOC 1201, fl.777rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/4/1653; 1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1654; 1654(3): ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; 1654(4): ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1655/1656: ARA VOC 1210, fl.860r and 829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/5/1655-30/4/1656; 1656(2): ARA VOC 1215, fl.730rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 22/4/1656; 1656(3): ARA VOC 1210, fl.929rff.: J. Barra, Al-Basra, to Surat, 11/9/1656; 1657(2): ARA VOC 1224, fl.288rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/4/1657; ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 5/6/1657; 1658(1): ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1658(2): ARA VOC 1226, fl.817rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/5/1658; 1659(4): ARA VOC 1229, fl.872rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 8/11/1659; 1660(3): ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/9/1660; 1661(2): ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; ARA VOC 1239, fl.1673rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/4/1663; 1665(1): ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 9/1/1665; 1667(3): ARA VOC 1255, fl.879rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/8/1667; 1667(4): ARA VOC 1268, fl.1347rff.: W. Roothals(?), Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 3/12/1667; 1668(2): ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.:

Pricelist, Esfahān, 1628/29.; ARA VOC 1122, fl.547rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Ahmadabad, 16/5/1637 (information from Persian merchants at Surat); 1669(2): ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1669; 1670(2): ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; 1670(3): ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van den Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/8/1670; 1671: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2242rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Surat, 1671; 1671(2): ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L. van den Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/5/1671; 1672(2): ARA VOC 1279, fl.1029rff.: Memorie F. De Haze to R. Padtbrugge, 6/6/1672; 1672(4): ARA VOC 1285, fl.5rff.: VOC sales Esfahān; F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/12/1672; 1763(1): ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; 1673(3): ARA VOC 1285, fl.379rff.: F. De Haze, Širāz, to Heren XVII, 15/7/1673; 1673(4): ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/10/1673; 1674(1): ARA VOC 1291, fl.561rff.; 1304, fl.473rff.: G. Wilmsen, Masqat, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674; 1674(2): ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; ARA VOC 1292, fl.567rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 14/6/1674; ARA VOC 1307, fl.679rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1674/5; 1675(2): ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; ARA VOC 1313, fl.568rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 1/4/1675; ARA VOC 1307, fl.679rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1674/5; 1675(4): ARA VOC 1307, fl.638rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/12/1675; 1676(3): ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; 1677(2): ARA VOC 1330, fl.734rff.: Resolution, VOC factory Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/6/1677; 1677(3): ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/72/1678; 1678(1): ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1678; 1678(2): ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; 1680(2): ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Širāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1681(3): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; 1682(1): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 6/3/1682; 1682(3): ARA VOC 1364, fl.395rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 6/7/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 7/9/1682; 1682/1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683; 1683(2): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; 1683(3): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; 1684(3): ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1686(1): ARA VOC 1430, fl.1495rff.: J. van Heuvel, Esfahān, to Batavia, 31/1/1686; 1687(1): ARA VOC 1425, fl.454rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/1/1687; 1687(4): ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687; 1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688.

Graph 4

Wholesale Prices for Nutmeg and "rompen" at Bandar-e 'Abbās (1640/41-1680/81)



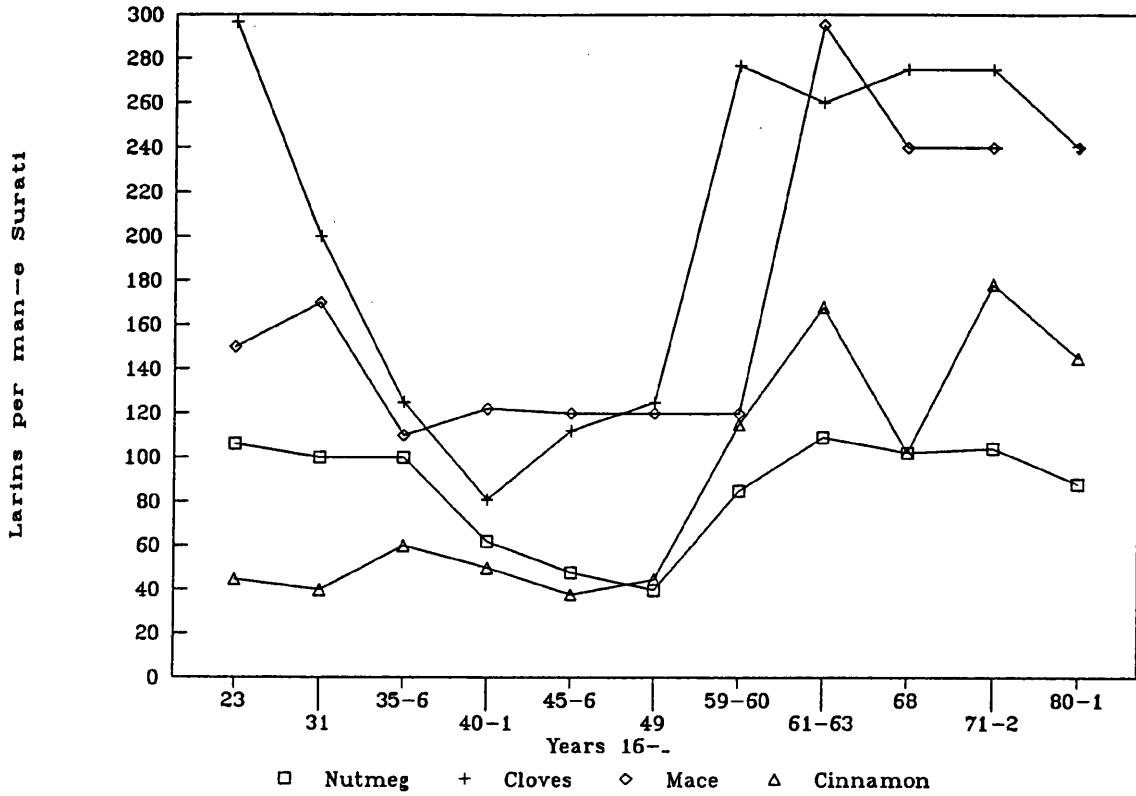
□ Nutmeg + Rompen

Sources:

1640/1641: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Eṣfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1649: ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; 1659/1660: ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/9/1660; ARA VOC 1229, fl.872rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 8/11/1659; 1661/1663: ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also DR XV-1664.; ARA VOC 1245, fl.308rff.: J. Wagenvelt, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 24/10/1664 418f.; 1668: ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.: Pricelist, Eṣfahān, 1628/29; ARA VOC 1122, fl.547rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Ahmādad, 16/5/1637 (information from Persian merchants at Surat); 1671(2): ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L. van den Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/5/1671; 1680/1681: ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681.

Graph 5

Wholesale Prices for Spices at Bandar-e 'Abbās (1623-1680/81)



The VOC dominated much of the cinnamon trade from Ceylon across the Arabian Seas after they had wrested the island from the Portuguese. This is clearly reflected in the development of price levels in the Persian Gulf Area in the second half of the XVIIth century, which realised almost exactly the intentions of the VOC governors in Batavia. But local country trade continued to evade Dutch controls and we hear of reexports from Kanara ports via ‘Umān to Al-Ḥasā’, Baḥrayn, Al-Baṣra and minor Iranian ports¹⁸. From Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Persian and Banyan merchants dominated the cinnamon trade to Al-Baṣra¹⁹.

¹⁸ ARA VOC 1291, fl.561rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās 20/2/1674.

¹⁹ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, dated 17/9/1681.

Table 14

Wholesale Prices for Cinnamon in the Persian Gulf Area (1623-1688)

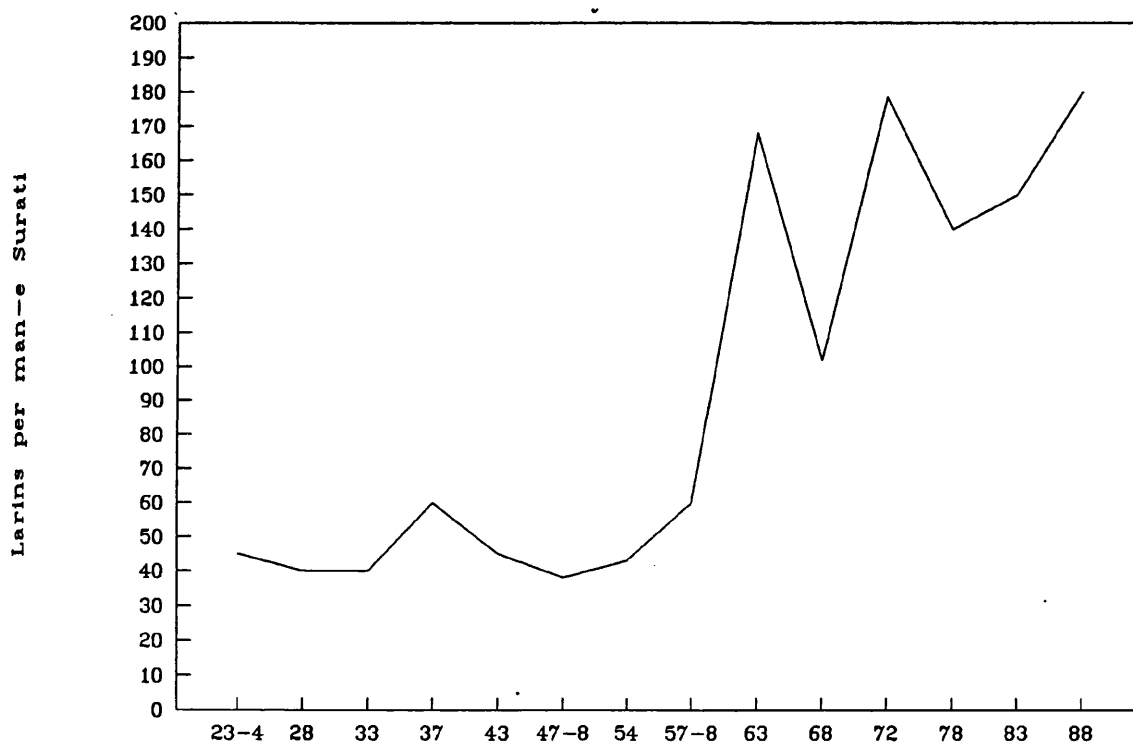
Year 16-/ quarter	Bandar-e 'Abbas	Esfahan	Al-Basra	Masqat	Comments
23-4	22.5-45				
28	40				
31	40	40-50			
32		50			
33	40				
34	80-90				
35/1	20				poor qual.
35/2	60				
36/1	50				
36/3	50-60				
36/4	70				Ceylon
	20				Acheh
37	60				Ceylon
	15				"Matte"
40	45-48	70			
41/1	45-50				
41/2	40				
41/3	40-45	27			Ceylon
41/4	40				
42/1	40				
43/1	33-45				Ceylon
43/2	32-45				
43/4		77.6			
44/3	40-45	92			
44/4		80			
45	50-52		120		
46-7	40				
47-8	38				
49	45				
51	40				
54	43				
54	55		50.4-57.6		
56			64.8		
57	59.5				last year's
	33.3-43.6				
57-8	45-60				
59	115				
60	124				
61	168				
63	168				unsold
64	154-168		52.8		
66	147				
68	102				
69	168				
70/2	160				
70/3-4	162		217.8-223.2		
71	162		217.8-223.2	204.8	
72	178.5		216		
73/1			192		
73/4			223.2		
74/1				195	
74/2			223.2	204-223.2	
74	160		198.3-217.5		
75	140		211-217.5		
76	140		243.2		
77	140				
78	140		224		
79	140		224		
80	145		217.6		
81	140				
82/1			211.2		
82/3	120				
83	120-150		248.9		
84	140-150		179.2-217.6		
85			?		
86			241.2		
87	180		241.2-243		
88	180				

Sources:

1623-1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1634: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; 1635/1: ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; 1635/2: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1636/1: ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636/3: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636/4: ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641/1: ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.630rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.738rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 24/3/1641; 1641/2: ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641/3: ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Esfahān, 10/8/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; 1641/4: ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642/1: ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643/1: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; 1643/2: ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rff: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1643/4: ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644/3: ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1644/4: ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; 1645: ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 25/9/1645; ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1646-1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646/47; ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1647-1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1649: ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.541rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/5/1651; 1654: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1656: ARA VOC 1210, fl.929rff.: J. Barra, Al-Basra, to Surat, 11/9/1656; 1657: ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1657-58: ARA VOC 1226, fl.807rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1658; ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1659: ARA VOC 1229, fl.872rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 8/11/1659; 1660: ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/9/1660; 1661: ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1663: ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; 1664: ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; for Al-Basra: ARA VOC 1245, fl.317rff.: J. Wagensvelt, Al-Basra, to Surat, 28/8/1664; 1666: ARA VOC 1251, p.1325ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/4/1666; 1668: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; 1669: ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1669; 1670/2: ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; 1670/3-4: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van den Duse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/8/1670; ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1671: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L. van den Duse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/5/1671; ARA VOC 1284, fl.2242rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Surat, 1671; 1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; 1673/1: ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; 1673/4: ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; 1674/1: ARA VOC 1291, fl.561rff.; 1304, fl.473rff.: G. Wilmsen, Masqat, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674; 1674/2: ARA VOC 1292, fl.567rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 14/6/1674; ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; 1674: ARA VOC 1307, fl.679rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1674/5; 1675: ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; ARA VOC 1313, fl.568rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 1/4/1675; ARA VOC 1307, fl.638rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/12/1675; 1676: ARA VOC 1330, fl.734rf.: Resolution, VOC factory Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/6/1677; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1677: ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/72/1678; 1678: ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1678; 1679: ARA VOC 1332, fl.912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1680: ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/3/1680; 1681: ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; 1682/1: ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 6/3/1682; 1682/3: ARA VOC 1364, fl.395rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 6/7/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 7/9/1682; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; ARA VOC 1364, fl.396r-v: A. Verdonck, Al Basra, to Heren XVII,

11/11/1682; 1684: ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/2/1684; 1685: ARA VOC 1408, fl.829rf.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 18/4/1685; 1686: ARA VOC 1430, fl.1495rf.: J. van Heuvel, Esfahān, to Batavia, 31/1/1686; 1687: ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687; ARA VOC 1425, fl.454rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/1/1687; ARA VOC 1425, fl.460rf.: W. Bullestraate, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/9/1687; 1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688.

Graph 6
Wholesale Prices for Cinnamon at Bandar-e 'Abbās (ca.five-year intervals 1623-1688)



Sources:

1623-1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1637: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rf.: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1647-1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1654: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1657-1658: ARA VOC 1226, fl.807rf.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1658; ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1663: ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; 1668: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rf.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; 1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rf.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rf.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; 1678: ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rf.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1678; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; ARA VOC 1364, fl.396r-v: A. Verdonck, Al Basra, to Heren XVII, 11/11/1682; 1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688.

The post-Portuguese pepper trade in the Persian Gulf Area was highly fragmented and warrants a separate study. Masqaṭ, Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Bandar-e Kong functioned as main points of transshipment, but we also hear of direct voyages to Al-Baṣra. Despite the stiff competition of Malabari fleets, we hear of reexports of pepper from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Al-Baṣra being embarked on local crafts²⁰. On the whole it seems that the mark-up on pepper prices in Al-Baṣra and Eṣfahān compared to the prices obtained in the three ports at the entrance to the Persian Gulf chiefly stemmed from additional transport and transaction costs. The same appears to hold true for ginger imports, where we also find a constellation in which regional varieties similarly competed against each other. At the same time, the consistently high price differentials between Chinese, Gujarati and Malabari ginger would point to different uses or market segments.

²⁰ ARA VOC 1210, fl.820rf.: C. Majj, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam,. dated 19/7/1656.

Table 15

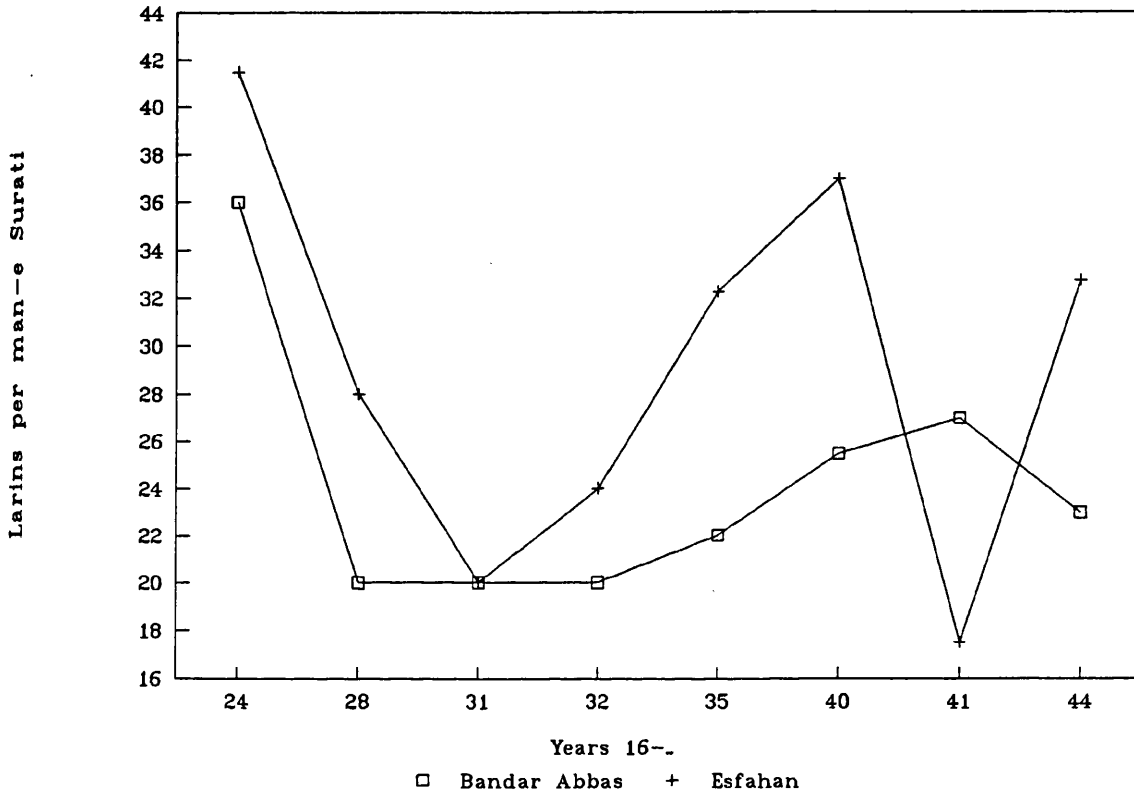
Wholesale Prices for Pepper in the Persian Gulf Area (ca.1620-1690)

Year/ quarter	Bandar-e 'Abbas			Hajjabin	Al-Basra			Amount
	SB-Asia	N.N.	Malabar		SEAsia	N.N.	Malabar	
1623/4		25-29		*		*		*
1624(1)		*		42.33		*		*
1624(1)		*		40.75		*		*
1624(2)		35-36		*		*		*
1624(3)		*		41.75		*		*
1624(3)		*		41.5		*		*
1624/5		27.25-30.5				*		*
1626(2)		*		40		*		*
1626(3)		*		30-35		*		*
1628(1)		30-35		*		*		*
1628(3)		*		23-25		*		*
1628		20		40		*		*
1628		*		24		*		*
1628		*		28		*		*
1629		*		27		*		*
1630(4)		*		21		*		*
1631(1)		*		20		*		*
1631		20		*		*		*
1632		20		*		*		*
1632(4)		*		24		*		*
1632(4)		*		18-26		*		*
1633(4)		16		*		*		*
1634(1)		16		*		*		*
1634(2)		16		*		*		*
1634(2)		17		*		*		*
1634(3)		22		*		*		*
1635(1)		*		32.25		*		*
1635(4)		22		*		*		*
1636(1)		23		*		*		*
1636(3)		20		*		*		*
1636(4)		20-21		*		*		*
1637(1)		24-25		*		*		*
1638		25		*		*		*
1639(1)		32.25		*		*		*
1640(1)		28-25		*		*		*
1640(4)		25.5		36-37		*		*
1641(1)		24-28		*		*		*
1641(2)		22		*		*		*
1641(3)		26-27	30-32	17.5		*		*
1641(4)	25		27	*		*		*
1642(1)	25-25.5		26.75-27	*		*		*
1642(1)	23-24		25	*		*		*
1643	24.5		25	*		*		*
1643(2)	22		25	*		*		*
1643(4)	36.75(Pagu)		34.7	*		*		*
1644(1)	22-23(Sum.)		25	*		*		*
1644(2)		*		32.75		*		*
1644(3)		32		32		*		*
1644(4)	20-22		23-24	*		*		*
1645(1)	23		25	*		*		*
1645(4)	20		21	*		*		*
1646		20		*		*		*
1646(2)	20			*		*		*
1646/7	15		15	*		*		*
1647(1)			16	*		*		*
1647(3)			16.5	*		*		*
1648		16.5		*		*		*
1648(2)	16.5		16.5	*		*		*
1649		20		*		25		*
1650		20.9		*		19.6		*
1652		17.5		*		*		*
1653		15		*		*		*
1654			15.6-16.8	*		*		*
1654(3)		*		*	23.4-25.2(small)/28.8-32.4(large)			*
1654(4)		*		*	23.4-25.2/28.8-30.6			*
1655(4)		13.5		*		*		*
1656(1)		9.5		*		*		*
1656(2)		11		*		*		*
1657(2)		9.5-11		*		*		*
1658(1)		13-13.75		*		*		*
1659(4)		19.1		*		*		*
1660(2)	11.25-12		10	*		*		*
1661(2)	15.5		13-13.5	*		*		*
1661(3)			19.5	*		*		*
1662(2)			15.5	*		*		17.75
1663(2)	18.5		16.25-16.75	*		*		*
1664(3)		*		*		25.4		*
1664(4)		*		*		21.25		*
1665(2)		14.25-16.5		*		*		*
1666(4)		16.75		*		*		*
1667(3)			17	*		*		*
1668(2)			17.5-19.5	*		*		*
1669(2)		17.6		*		*		*
1670(2)		14.33		*		*		*
1670(4)		*		*	15.4		15.4-16.8	*
1671		*		*				17.3
1671(4)		13.5		*		14.2		*
1672(2)		*		*		15.8-17.3		*
1672(4)		15.5		21.5		17.3-20.2		*
1673(1)			18.7-20.2	*		21.1		*
1673(4)				21.5	18.25		22	*
1674(2)		14		*		*		*
1675(2)	13		14.75	*		*		*
1676(2)		11-12		*		*		*
1676(3)	11		12	*			17.3-19.2	*
1677(1)		11		*				*
1677(2)	12-15		11-14	*				*
1677(3)	13.5		12.5	*				*
1678(1)		*		*			15.6	*
1678(2)	*		12	*		*		*
1679(2)	*		15	*			16.3-19.2	*
1680(1)				*			17.3	*
1680(2)	*		15	*				*
1681(2)		18		*				*
1682(1)		*		*		22.15		*
1682(3)		18		*		*		*
1683(2)		18		*		*		*
1683(3)		12-25		*		*		*
1684(3)		20		*		*		*
1685(2)		*		*		20.6		*
1686(1)		*		*		21.2		*
1686(2)		24-28		*				*
1687(1)				*		22.1-24		*
1687(4)		*		*				*

ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24; H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Batavia, 28/1/1624, *BGP* 40f.; H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Surat, 18/1/1624, *BGP* 39f.; ARA VOC 1084, fl.75: Resolutië, Esfahān, 1/7/1624; Dagregister Perzië 1623/24, *BGP* 65ff.; Grootboek Perzië 1623/24, *BGP* 89ff.; ARA VOC 1084, fl.88rff.; H. Visnich, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/2/1625; VOC contract with royal factor, 23/4/1626, *BGP* 184f.; H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 17/8/1624, *BGP* 196ff.; H. Visnich, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 13/2/1628, *BGP* 221ff.; J. Verhoeven, Esfahān, to Surat, 20/9/1628 *BGP* 259f.; Factura H. Visnich, Esfahān, to royal factor, Nov.1628, *BGP* 258ff.; ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales to royal factor 1628/29; Sales to royal factor, 1629, *BGP* 317f.; A. Del Court, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 20/12/1630, Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 351ff.; Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Oct.1632; ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; Sales to royal factor, A. Del Court, Esfahān, to Batavia, 26/10/1632, *BGP* 388ff.; ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634, *BGP* 482ff.; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; ARA VOC 1117, fl.732vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; pricelist Esfahān, Oct. 1635; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to A. Smit, 19/10/1635; ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; 1636(3): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. (?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1639(1): ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640(1): ARA VOC 1134, fl.222rff.: A. van Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 8/5/1640; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. van Oostende, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 13/2/1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.738rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 24/3/1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Esfahān, 10/8/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.705r.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 22/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rff: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Esfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(1): ARA VOC 1152, fl.92rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/3/1645; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.30vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646; 1646(2): ARA VOC 1153, fl.620rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1646; 1646/1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646/47; 1647(1): ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1647(3): ARA VOC 1168, fl.768rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 3/9/1647; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; 1648(2): ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1649: ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Baṣra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1650: ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Baṣra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1653: ARA VOC 1201, fl.777rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/4/1653; 1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1654; 1654(3): ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Baṣra, 30/7/1654; 1654(4): ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Baṣra, 15/10/1654; 1655(4): ARA VOC 1215, fl.799rff.: VOC sales to one merchant, J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat 6/10/1655; 1656(1): ARA VOC 1210, fl.860r and 829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/5/1655-30/4/1656; 1656(2): ARA VOC 1215, fl.730rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 22/4/1656; 1657(2): ARA VOC 1224, fl.288rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/4/1657; ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 5/6/1657; ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1658(1): ARA VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/3/1658; ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1659(4): ARA VOC 1229, fl.872rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 8/11/1659; 1660(2): ARA VOC 1230, fl.312rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 23/4/1660; ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1660; 1661(2): ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1661(3): ARA VOC 1236, fl.773rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 3/9/1661; 1662(2): ARA VOC 1240, fl.686rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 13/5/1662; ARA VOC 1234, fl.293rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/7/1662; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1239, fl.1675rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 4/6/1663; ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; 1664(3): ARA VOC 1245, fl.317rff.: J. Wagenvelt, Al-Baṣra, to Surat, 28/8/1664; 1664(4):

ARA VOC 1245, fl.308rff.: J. Wagenvelt, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 24/10/1664; 1665(2): ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/6/1665; 1666(4): ARA VOC 1264, fl.653rff.: H. De Lairese, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 30/11/1666; 1667(3): ARA VOC 1255, fl.879rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/8/1667; 1668(2): ARA VOC 1261, fl.745rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/7/1668; 1669(2): ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1669; 1670(2): ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; 1670(4): ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1671: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2242rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Surat, 1671; 1671(4): ARA VOC 1279, fl.907rff.: L. van der Duse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/1/1672 (on November 1671); ARA VOC 1274, fl.753rff.: G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 7/10/1671; 1672(2): ARA VOC 1279, fl.947rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 31/4/1672; 1672(4): ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; ARA VOC 1285, fl.5rff.: VOC sales Esfahān; F. De Haze, Bandar 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/12/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; 1673(1): ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; 1673(4): ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/10/1673; 1674(2): ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; 1675(2): ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; 1676(2): ARA VOC 1307, fl.647rff.: Offers for VOC goods; F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/5/1676; 1676(3): ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1677(1): ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/1/1677; 1677(2): ARA VOC 1329, fl.1547vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/6/1677; 1677(3): ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/72/1678; 1678(1): ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1678; 1678(2): ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; 1679(2): ARA VOC 1349, fl.1648vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/6/1679; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1680(1): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/3/1680; 1680(2): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; 1681(2): ARA VOC 1355, fl.433r: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 10/6/1681; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; 1682(1): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 6/3/1682; 1682(3): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2670vff.: R. Casembroot, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/6/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2777rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 29/6/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 7/9/1682; 1683(2): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; 1683(3): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; 1684(3): ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1685(2): ARA VOC 1416, fl.1666vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1685; 1686(1): ARA VOC 1430, fl.1495rff.: J. van Heuvel, Esfahān, to Batavia, 31/1/1686; 1686(2): ARA VOC 1430, fl.1530vff.: W. Lycothon, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 22/6/1686; 1687(1): ARA VOC 1425, fl.454rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/1/1687; 1687(4): ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687.

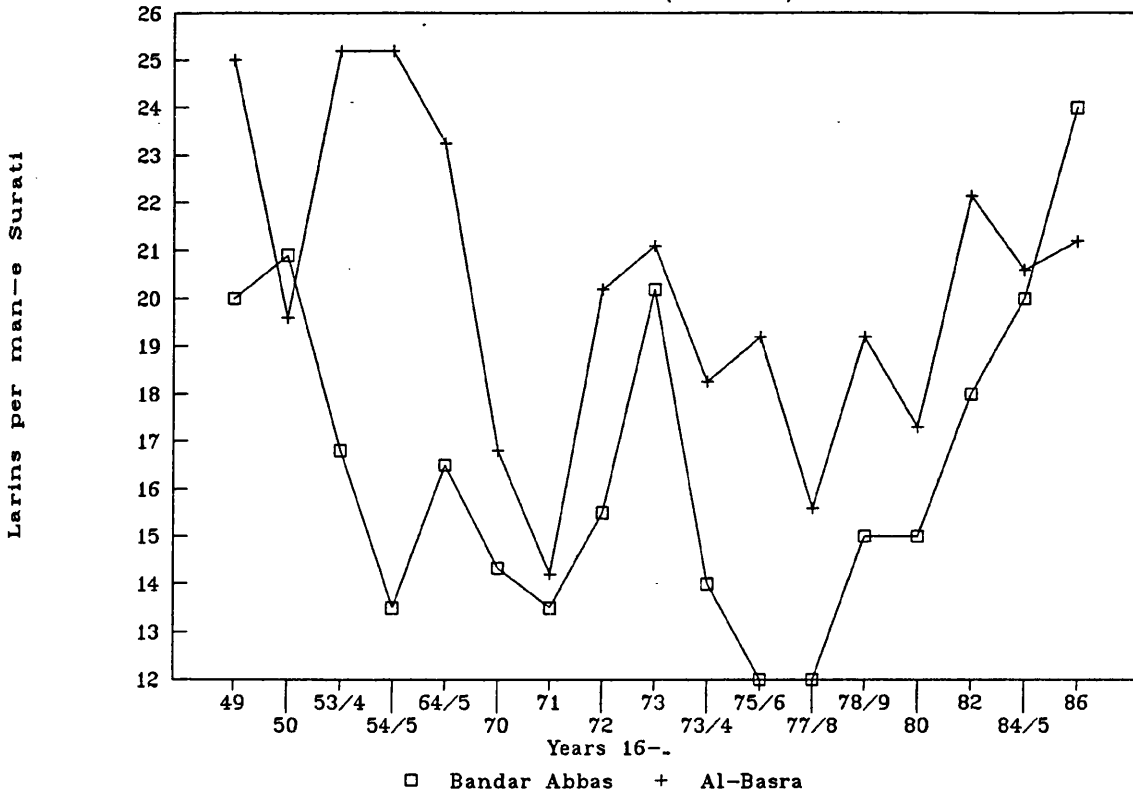
Graph 7
Wholesale Prices for Pepper in Safavid Iran (1624-1644)



Sources:

1624: ARA VOC 1084, fl.75: Resolutië, Esfahān, 1/7/1624; Grootboek Perzië, 1623/24, *BGP* 89ff.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.: Pricelist, Esfahān, 1628/29.; 1631: Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Oct.1632; ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; 1635: ARA VOC 1117, fl.732vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; pricelist Esfahān, Oct. 1635; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to A. Smit, 19/10/1635; ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641: ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.705r.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 22/9/1641; 1644: ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644.

Graph 8
Wholesale Prices for Pepper in Persian Gulf Ports (1649-1686)



Sources:

1649; ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1650: ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1653/1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; 1654/1655: ARA VOC 1215, fl.799rff.: VOC sales to one merchant, J. Willemssz., Bandar-e 'Abbās to Surat 6/10/1655; ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1664/1665: ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/6/1665; ARA VOC 1245, fl.308rff.: J. Wagensvelt, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 24/10/1664; 1670: ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1671: ARA VOC 1279, fl.907rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/1/1672 (on November 1671); ARA VOC 1274, fl.753rff.: G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 7/10/1671; 1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; 1673: ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 3/9/1673; 1673/1674: ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/10/1673; ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; 1675/1676: ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1677/1678: ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/7/1678; ARA VOC 1340, fl.1531vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 12/2/1678; 1678/1679: ARA VOC 1349, fl.1648vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/6/1679; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1680: ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/3/1680; ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; 1682: ARA VOC 1379, fl.2670vff.: R. Casembroot, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/6/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2777rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 29/6/1682; 1684/1685: ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; ARA VOC 1416, fl.1666vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1685; 1686: ARA VOC 1430, fl.1495rff.: J. van Heuvel, Esfahān, to Batavia, 31/1/1686; ARA VOC 1430, fl.1530vff.: W. Lycothon, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 22/6/1686.

Table 16

Wholesale Prices for Ginger in Safavid Iran (1623-1681)

Year 16-/ quarter	Bandar-e 'Abbās			Esfahān		Comments
	Dried	Conserved	N.N.	Dried	Cons.	
23/24			18.75-22.5			
28	7	15-28				
28					40	
30(4)		32				
31(1)				20		
31	20	16				
32(4)				36	44	
33	16	18				
33(4)	25	15-25				
34(1)	20					
34(2)		20				Calicut
34(2)			15			Dabul
34(3)	12	15 (Ch.)				
35(4)		14				
36(1)	20 (Ahm.)	14				
36(3)	12	14				
36(4)	14-16	14 (Ch.)				
		20				Hindustan
37(1)	15-16	14 (Ch.)				
		20				Hindustan
37		22				Ahmadabad
38	20	16-30				
38(4)	16-18	25-26				
40(4)	10-12	8		16-17	20	China
	15-16					Ahmadabad
41(1)		16-18				
41(2)		6				China
	6	15				Ahmadabad
41(3)	7	14-15		7	14	China
	6-7					Vengurla
	5-5.5					Surat
41(4)		8				China
		15-16				Ahmadabad
	8					Surat
42(1)		6-8				China
		18-20				Ahmadabad
	6-7					Vengurla
43(2)		8				China
		16				Ahmadabad
	8					Vengurla
43(4)		20.4				
	13.3					
44(2)				14.3	32.7	
44(3)				30		
44(4)	8-10	8-10				China
45(4)		10-12				China
63(2)			24			Malabar
65(3)		23				Batavia, Bengal
66(2)	8					
75(2)	9					Malabar
76/77	4					last year's
80(2)	8					
80(3)	6					
81(2)	7.5					
81(3)	7.5					

Sources:

1623/1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1628: Factura H. Visnich, Eṣfahān, to royal factor, Nov.1628, *BGP* 258ff.; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1628: ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1630(4): A. Del Court, Eṣfahān, to Heren XVII, 20/12/1630, Pricelist, Eṣfahān, *BGP* 351ff.; 1631(1): Pricelist, Eṣfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Eṣfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; ARA VOC 1106, fl.186vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; 1634(2): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634, *BGP*; 482ff.; 1634(3): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1635(4): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(3): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1637: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/3/1637, *BGP* 617; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.111: VOC sales at Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1638(4): ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Eṣfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. van Oostende, Eṣfahān, to Heren XVII, 13/2/1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.705r.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 22/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 10/8/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Eṣfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f. ; 1665(3): ARA VOC 1253, p.1618ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 8/9/1665; 1666(2): ARA VOC 1251, p.1325ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/4/1666; 1675(2): ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; 1676/1677: ARA VOC 1329, fl.1547vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/6/1677; 1680(2): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; 1680(3): ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1681(2): ARA VOC 1355, fl.433r: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 10/6/1681; 1681(3): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681.

Indigo was, alongside cotton textiles, India's most important export to the Persian Gulf Area, as well as the only commodity for which direct competition obtained between overland and maritime country trade and the Indo-European trade. Although Portuguese indigo imports to Europe probably been underestimated²¹, it is generally believed that most indigo reached Europe via Aleppo, its chief marketing centre in the Levant²². In Europe the product became known as *Indigo Lauri*, as it travelled West with regular caravans via Lahore and Eşfahān. In the first quarter of the XVIIth century the marketing centre for indigo had gradually shifted to Agra²³. Later, Armenian, Persian and "Mughal" overland traders as well as Aleppo-based merchants²⁴ showed a remarkable resilience when the East India Companies tried to squeeze them out of the market with massive investments and intervention at the highest political level. Despite the doubling of prime costs between 1622 and 1640 and indigo re-exports from England into the Mediterranean basin from the mid-1620's²⁵ they continued to be the major purchasers of indigo. In the mid- and late 1620's the indigo trade was linked to speculative spice imports from the Coromandel Coast, and we hear of traders ruining themselves with overpriced purchases²⁶. The famine and Deccani wars of the 1630's temporarily closed the roads between the wholesale markets of the Agra region and both the Coromandel and Gujarati coasts²⁷, but local traders could further expand their market share when the East India Companies decided to boycott the Mughal monopoly on indigo sales inaugurated in the early 1630's²⁸, while Mughal

²¹ Up to 1630, indigo was consistently among the most important commodities of the *carreira da Índia*. For 1595-98 see L. De Figueiredo FALCÃO (1607), *Livro em que se conta toda a fazenda e real patrimônio dos reinos de Portugal, Índia e ilhas adjacentes* ..., Lisboa 1859, 144. In 1630, 11.5% of the aggregate value of Portuguese exports from India had been invested in indigo, see A. DISNEY, *A decadência do império da pimenta*, Lisboa, 141, 199.

²² K.N. CHAUDHURI (1965), *The English East India Company. The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640*, London, 174f.

²³ F. PELSART (1627), "*Remonstrantie...*", *loc. cit.*, 277. A detailed study of local markets is H. NAGASHIMA (1980), *Indigo Production and Circulation in Northern India During the XVIIth Century. A Study of the Bayana Tract, The Shirin LXIII/4*, 31-64 [in Japanese with Engl. summary].

²⁴ F. PELSART (1627), "*Remonstrantie...*", *loc. cit.*, 263, 276.

²⁵ For prime costs see H. van SANTEN (1982), table 15; on reexports: N. STEENSGAARD (1973), table 14.

²⁶ COEN VII/2, 1193ff.: H. Vapour, Agra, to Batavia, dated 26/10/1627.

²⁷ BGP 351ff., 356: A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 20/12/1630.

²⁸ On the monopoly see J.N. SARKAR (1975), *Studies in the Economic Life in Mughal India*, Dehli, 186ff.; see also H. van SANTEN (1982), 146 and 163ff.

governors, too, entered the Indo-Iranian indigo trade on a large scale²⁹. When the Companies abandoned their embargo, they found saturated markets both in Eşfahān and Aleppo³⁰. The competitiveness of non-European indigo merchants, but especially of the overland traders, seems to have rested on a number of pillars: firstly, they supplied markets with seemingly different technical requirements and did not disdain the purchase of varieties other than the coveted Indigo Biyana, such as indigo from Koil and Khurja, "mede goede[n] indigo, maer niet befaemt als Bayaensen", thus realising savings on the cost price³¹. It seems that in the Eşfahān markets good Sarkhej-indigo from Gujarat and cheaper indigo Biyana vied directly for the same purchasers³² and price lists from Bandar-e ʿAbbās, too, suggest that sales of the two varieties were interconnected. Non-Company traders resolutely capitalised on their easier access to local knowledge, buying the produce directly from peasants and village headmen, offering them or other relevant officials credit arrangements, and generally adjusting their purchases to the requirements of the Mughal revenue system³³. We also hear of overland traders of indigo traveling in the train of ambassadors, thereby saving on customs and other duties³⁴. Possibly, in some cases, small scale operations³⁵ and self-exploitation helped to keep low overhead costs. On the other hand, profits in the range of 50% for indigo on the markets of Eşfahān, Baġdād and Tabrīz do not confirm the rule that overland traders expected lower profit margins³⁶. In 1637,

²⁹ ARA VOC 1127, fl.46rff.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 28/11/1637.

³⁰ See BGP 610ff., 615: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1637.

³¹ F. PELSART (1627), 260: "also fine indigo, but not as renowned as indigo Biyana". "Gorsa" indigo went through the same sophisticated production processes as indigo Biyana, *ibid.* 261; "Kohel" indigo ranked among the chief commodities exported by Persian traders from the ports of Sind, *ibid.* 279. Later, Persian merchants dominated at times the purchases of Khurja indigo, see e.g.: T. Andrews, Agra, to London, *EF*^I VIII, 301f.

³² See e.g. ARA VOC 1135, fl.802rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1641. It is worth remembering that around 1625, most Sarkhej-indigo was purchased by the Companies, see W. GELEYNsz. De Jongh, *De Remonstratie...*, 43, 46ff. Only when the production fell dramatically during and after the famine of the 1630's they resorted more exclusively to purchases of indigo Biyana, which had gained a reputation for being of the highest quality, see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1965), 180ff.

³³ F. PELSART (1627), 262 for a scathing portrayal of his successful Armenian competitors.

³⁴ ARA VOC 1103, fl.240rff.: J.v. Hasselt, Surat, to Batavia, dated 1/5/1631.

³⁵ See BGP 188: David De Willem, Aleppo, to Amsterdam, dated 29/04/1626, for a small caravan carrying 15 chests of indigo; H. Visnich sent a New Ğolfan partner David to Aleppo with, among other things, eight bales of indigo, see BGP 295ff.: J.L. Hasselt, *"Remonstrantie..."*, 1629.

³⁶ See BGP 587: N. Overschie, Eşfahān to Amsterdam, dated 5/9/1636, this compares not unfavourably with the returns for seabound exports to the Middle East. It is, of course, that all indigo exports to Iran travelled by sea, as suggested in BGP 485: N. Overschie, *"Prijsberekeninge..."*, ca.1634.

the VOC could buy up more indigo in anticipation of poor harvests while Armenian and Banyan traders had been hit by lower than usual profits caused by oversupply in the Eṣfahān market³⁷.

The market for indigo in the Persian Gulf Area was vast, for blue was the colour preferred by peasants for their clothing and the dye obtained from the leaves of *indigofera tinctoria* was almost without alternatives³⁸. Yet, markets showed some inelasticity because they depended on the growth of the finishing industries and prices obtained by overland traders at Eṣfahān were closely linked to those realised by importers in the ports. Repercussions of changes on either market were felt immediately and Company servants suggested repeatedly to push overland traders out of the markets by selling at Bandar-e ʿAbbās, for a number of seasons, large amounts of indigo at dumping prices³⁹. In peacetime, unruly Bālūcī tribes could wield a rather independent rule over the border provinces between the two empires, as for example reported for 1636⁴⁰. When the overland route was blocked by Mughal-Safavid wars Muslim and Armenian merchants often resorted to having their goods transshipped from Surat to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, on one occasion in 1638 for example a cargo of no less than 100 carts of indigo⁴¹. Many similar requests had to be accommodated that season. Nor surprisingly, the price structure in the Persian Gulf ports, unable to withstand the strong downward pressure was thrown into disarray. The VOC alone were forced to return some 60.000 lbs. to Surat in order to avert a further slump of

³⁷ See e.g. ARA VOC 1128, fl.186v: W. Geleynsz., Agra(?), to B. Pietersz., dated 10/9/1637 [see also ARA CWG]. Recurring droughts kept having immediate effects on the price formation for export indigo, see *GM* II, 403ff., 413: C. Reijners, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 10/12/1650.

³⁸ For peasants' clothing of Iran's interior see R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, *loc.cit.*, 247; see the "Excursus" below for preferences in the coastal lands. In Europe, the inherent qualities of indigo made it superior to indigenous dyes, such as woad, see for the technology S. AIOLFI (1987), *passim*, and the bibliography below. See for the high reputation of Persian indigo dyers *RHPN* II, 202f.

³⁹ ARA VOC 1103, fl.240rff.: J.v. Hasselt, Surat, to Batavia, dated 1/5/1631, with some reservations, on suggestions "om desen Parsiaenschen annijl handel te diverteren, men trachten soude, soo grooten quantiteit ter zee derwaerts, ende bij wege van dien tot sulcken leegen prijs te brengen, dat gemelte Coopluijden over landt eenich voordeel te mogen doen soude benomen werden, t'welck achter de Comp|e juijst soo niet gelegen vallen, ofte na wensch effect te doen sorteren, al spade bij comen sal, voorleden jaer was den Sircheesen in Gamron tot soo leegen prijs datter geen ofte weijnich voordeel aen te rekenen was".

⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to Batavia, dated 8/4/1636 [the extracts in *BGP* 619f. lack this information]: "...verstaen seecker mogoll gearriveert sij, die 8 maenden uijt Spahan geweest is, nametlijk van Spahan tot Kidhoor [i.e. Qandahār] twee maenden; [te] Kindhoor is de caffila twee maenden gebleeven, omdat de bloots [i.e. Bālūcī] (sijnde een vrije natie staende onder neimants subjectie) den wegen geslooten hadden, ende alsoo noch den Grooten Mogoll noch den Coninck van parsia met force niet op dittos uijt vechten connen, hebben d'coopl. haeren geeijsten tholl betaelt, ende sijn met hun goederen gepaseert, gemelte mogoll Rapportteert hoe hij d'Caffila in Kindhoor gelaten heeft, ende dat sijn vertreck uijt Spahan den indigo bijane van 12 tot 7 thoman gedaelt was."

⁴¹ *GM* I, 663ff., 725: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 22/12/1638.

prices⁴². Conversely, when after the cessation of hostilities caravans flooded the Eşfahān market with indigo imported via Qandahar surprisingly early, prices at Bandar-e ʿAbbās dropped by 1/6. Consequently, wholesale prices in Surat fell by up to 40%, as economies of scale had become impossible for the season⁴³. When, after 1645, Mesoamerican indigo came to satisfy European demand⁴⁴, local maritime and overland merchants maintained a considerable share of Middle Eastern markets. Interestingly, the VOC at least seems to have reduced its efforts to control this trade in the Arabian Seas at about the same time.

We have no possibility of determining total quantities of indigo imports because of the voluminous overland imports: in 1636, for example, 250.-500.000 kg of indigo Biyana carried overland was sold in Eşfahān's *bāzār*⁴⁵. Yet, despite the competition of the overland trade, wholesale prices for all varieties of indigo were lowest at Bandar-e ʿAbbās. The port functioned as distribution centre both to the interior of Iran and minor ports of the area, and price differentials usually went well beyond the added cost of transport (see table). Such was the integration of markets between the Persian Gulf Area and the Biyana region that buyers in Agra were surprised when wholesale prices in India occasionally failed to conform to the course charted by the level of purchases in Iran⁴⁶ (see also figure). Some inferior qualities of indigo may have been grown in Hūzestān⁴⁷, while most was imported from Gujarat by sea or transshipped to

⁴² GM II, 34: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 18/12/1639.

⁴³ DR V, 311ff.: P. Crooq, Surat, to Batavia, dated 18/4/1641: 26 bales had to be returned to Surat as the VOC were unable to sell them in Iran, *ibid.* VI, 181.

⁴⁴ On the history of Mesoamerican indigo exports to Europe see M. RUBIO SANCHEZ (1976-78), *Historia del añil o xiquilite en Centro America*, 2 vols., San Salvador, vol.1, ff., and R.S. SMITH (1959), Indigo Production and Trade in XVIIth Century Guatemala, *HAHR* XXXIX, 181-211; for the pre-1647 Indo-European indigo trade of the VOC see J.I. ISRAEL (1989), *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740*, Oxford, 177f.

⁴⁵ ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: A. van Oostende, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 6/12/1636; the volume of overland imports is all the more remarkable as we also hear of obstructions of caravans by Bālūcī tribesmen in the Qandahār area, see ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to Batavia, dated 8/4/1636. However, van Oostende also speaks of huge losses incurred by overland indigo importers in that season.

⁴⁶ ARA VOC 1128, fl.174v: W. Geleynsz., Agra(?), to Surat, dated 17/5/1637 [see also ARA CWG]. *Ibid.* on the early arrival of this piece of information among agents of importing houses.

⁴⁷ No such cultivation is mentioned in either commercial reports or travelogues from our period. H. WULFF (1966), 192, has *indigofera tinctoria* grown in the Šuštār and Dezfūl areas without reference to a specific period. Later Persian sources report indigo cultivation in valleys of the Iranian coastal area, see F. RAHĪMĪ LĀHEĠĀNĪ (1988), *s.v.* Tolls levied on indigo leaving Al-Baṣra for the hinterland seem to have doubled between the 1550's and 1575, cfr. R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux Ottomans...*, *loc.cit.*, 232, N.2.

caravans in minor ports along the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf⁴⁸. But it seems that towards the second half of the XVIIth century among the Persian Gulf ports Al-Basra emerged as the most important market for indigo.

⁴⁸ See R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux Ottomans...*, *loc.cit.*, 238. "Kadim" could be either a misspelling for "Katif" (Al-Qatīf), or a reference to "Qadima", a locality recently identified as a precursor of Kuwait, which first appears on a 1652 map of the Arabian peninsula by Nicolas Sanson, see B.J. SLOT (1991), *The Origins of Kuwait*, Leiden, 39ff. Transshipment in ports such as Al-Qatīf helped to reduce transport costs: a bale (*guelle*) of indigo paid 16 *akçe* on entering the port and a further 48 *akçe* at the gates of Al-Basra; the duty at Al-Basra harbour was 96 *akçe* per 3.25 *man*, see R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *loc.cit.*, 228, 238, 249. A dyeing house in mid-XVIth century Al-Qatīf is mentioned in the *mühimme defterleri*, see J. MANDAVILLE (1970), 504, N.142.

Table 17

Wholesale Prices for Indigo at Al-Basra (1645-1685)

Year 16../ (quarter)	Sarkhej		Biyana	Khurja	Comments
	"matten"	"ronden"			
45(3)	82.8		128		
49		149.4			
50		112			
54(3)	46.2-53.8	43.1-44.6	146.2-153.8		
54(4)	61.6-72.3	55.4-61.6	126.2-130.8	150.8-163	
70(4)	46.2-52.3	32.3-33.8	123.1-138.5		
75(1)				125.8	
85(1)			184.9-193		
	80.4-88.5				Cambaya

Sources:

1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 25/9/1645; 1649: ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1650: ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1654(3): ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; 1654(4): ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1670(4): ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1675(1): ARA VOC 1313, fl.568rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 1/4/1675; 1685(1): ARA VOC 1408, fl.829rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 18/4/1685.

Table 18

Wholesale Prices for Indigo in Safavid Iran (1624-1657)

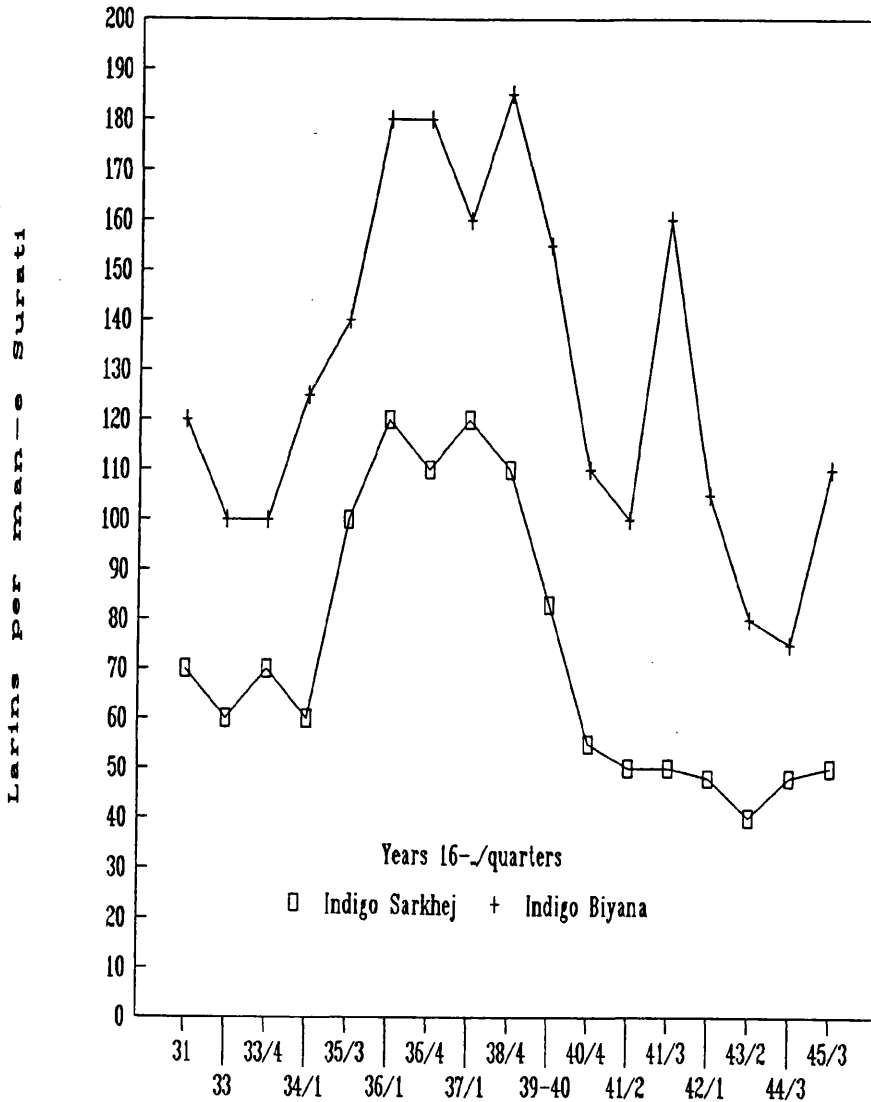
Year 16/ quarter	Bandar-e 'Abbās					Esfahān		
	N.N.	Sarkhej	Biyana	Khurja	Others	Sarkhej	Biyana	Others
24	27.75							
28		50						
28/9		25-30						
31(1)						57	108-114	
31		70	120					
32(4)						85	120	
33		60	100					
33(4)		70	100					
34(1)		60	100					
34(2)			125					
35(3)		100	140					
36(1)		120	180					
36(4)		110	180					
37(1)		90-120	110-160					
38		90-100						
38(4)		100-110	180-185					
40(2)		65-83	155					
40(4)		54-55	100-110		65-70 Suali		140-145	
41(1)		54						
41(2)		50	100					
41(3)		35-50	100-160					
41(4)		45-50	100					
42(1)		45-48	100					
42(1)		45-46	100-105					
43(2)		40	80					
43(4)							102.1	52.5 Saffala
								75.9 Poetchij
44(2)							106.4	57.2 Saffala
								70 Golconda
44(3)		48-50	70-75				112.3	56 Saffala
								60 Golconda
45(3)			100-110		60-65 Saffala			
46								
47/48			107					
49								
50			116.5					
54								
57				96.35				

Sources:

1624: VOC contract with royal factor, 23/4/1626, *BGP* 184f.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1628/1629: ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales to royal factor 1628/29.; 1631(1): Pricelist, Eṣfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1631; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Eṣfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, June(?) 1634, *BGP* 482ff.; 1635(3): Pricelist, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.136rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1638; 1638(4): ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1640(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.382rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās; P. Croocq, Surat, to Batavia, 17/5/1640; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Eṣfahān and Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, Febr./March 1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 10/8/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 8/10/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 15/9/1644; 1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.30vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1646; 1647/1648: ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1649: ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās and Al-Baṣra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1650: ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās and Al-Baṣra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; 1654: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1652; 1657: ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 5/6/1657.

Graph 9

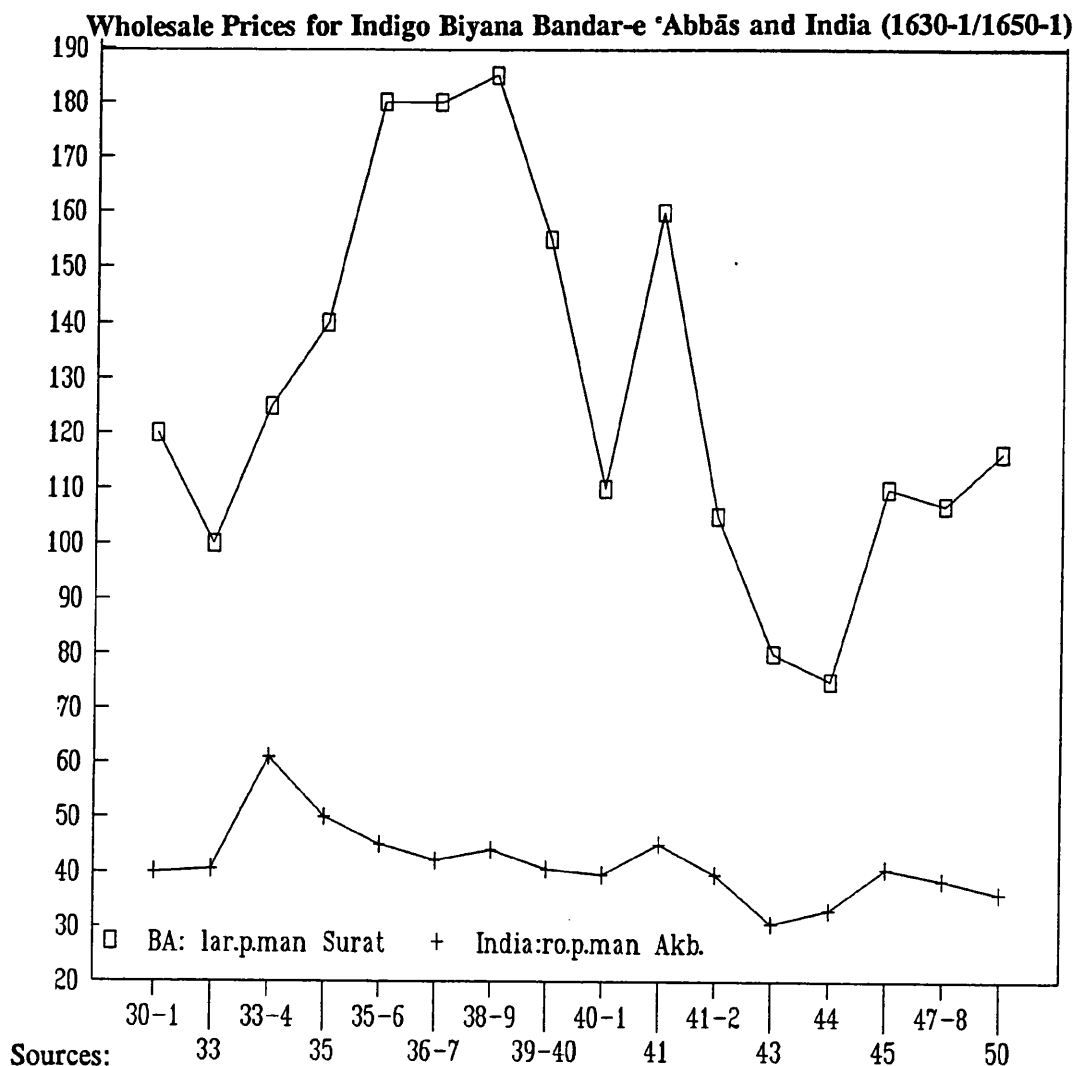
Wholesale Prices for Indigo Sarkhej and Biyana at Bandar-e 'Abbās (1630-1645)



Sources:

1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634, *BGP* 482ff.; 1635(3): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638(4): ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1639/1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.382rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; P. Croocq, Surat, to Batavia, 17/5/1640; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Esfahān, 10/8/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; 1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645.

Graph 10



1630/1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1633/1634: ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634, *BGP* 482ff.; 1635: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1635/1636: ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636/1637: ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638/1639: ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1639/1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.382rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; P. Croocq, Surat, to Batavia, 17/5/1640; 1640/1641: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641: ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Esfahān, 10/8/1641; 1641/1642: ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1644: ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; 1645: ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1647/1648: ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1650: ARA VOC 1185, fl.604rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās and Al-Basra 1649/50; D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/10/1650; for India see H. van SANTEN (1982), 143f.

Table 19
Wholesale Prices for Curcuma in Safavid Iran (1623-1666)

Years/ (quarters)	Bandar-e 'Abbās		< Provenance	Esfahān
	Chaul	Surat		
1623/24	9.3			
1628	4			
1631(1)				8
1631	6			
1632(4)				36
1633	6		< Dabul	
1634(1)	8			
1636(1)	6			
1636(4)	16			
1637(1)		8-10		
	14-15		< Rajapur	
1638	11			
1638(4)	6-7			
1640(4)	4-5	2.5-3	Chaul >	9
			Surat >	6-7
1641(2)	3	2		
1641(3)	4-4.5	2-2.5		
	4-4.5		< Vengurla	
1641(4)	5	2.5-3		
1642(1)	4-5	2-3		
1643(2)	4	3		
1643(4)			Chaul >	11.2
			Surat >	9.2
1644(2)				10.2-11.25
1644(3)				10.4
1644(4)	5-5.5	2-2.5		
1666	4			

Sources:

1623/1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1631(1): Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.111: VOC sales at Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1638(4): ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.705r.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 22/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1666: ARA VOC 1251, p.1325ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/4/1666.

Table 20

Wholesale Prices for Brazilwood at Bandar-e 'Abbās and Eṣfahān (1623-1683)

Year/ quarter	Bandar-e 'Abbās		Eṣfahān		Comments
	Bīma	Siam	Bīma	Siam	
1623-4	9.33-11.3				
1628	10				
1631	20		24		
1632	40		16		
1633/2	12.75-18				
1633/4	10	13			
1634	8-10				
1635/1	7	10			
1635/4	4		7		
1636/1	4-6				
1636/3	3				
1636/4	3	5			
1637/1	1-3	2-4			
1638	3				
1640	2.5-3	4	7	10	
1641/1	3-3.75				
1641/2	2	3			
1641/3	2-2.5	4			
1641/4	3-3.5	4-4.5			
1642/1	3-3.5	1-4.5			
1642/2	5				
1643	5				
1643/2	3	4			
1643/4			7.15		small pieces
			10.2		large pieces
1644/1	4				
1644/3			7.15		small pieces
			9.2		large pieces
1644/4	3	4-5	15.3		small pieces
			22.5		large pieces
1645		4-5			
1646-7	6-6.5				
1647	6				
1648		7			
1649	8				
1651	8				
1652	6.5				
1660	11.5				Ceylon
1661	12	14			
1662	19.25-21				
1664	3	10.1			3: Cochim
1667	11.5	5			5: Malabar
1678	4				
1679	3				
1680	5				
1683	2.5				

Sources:

1623-1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Oct.1632; ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633/2: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1633; 1633/4: ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634: ARA VOC 1108, fl.107rff.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1634; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1635/1: ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; 1635/4: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; ARA VOC 1117, fl.732vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; pricelist Esfahān, Oct. 1635; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to A. Smit, 19/10/1635; 1636/1: ARA VOC 1117, fl.729rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Smit, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 26/12/1635; ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636/3: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636/4: ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637/1: ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641/1: ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. van Oostende, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 13/2/1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.630rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; 1641/2: ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641/3: ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; 1641/4: ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642/1: ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642/2: ARA VOC 1144, fl.611f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; W. Geleynsz., et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Claes Cornelisz., 21/5/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829ff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; 1643/2: ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1643/4: ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644/1: ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; 1644/3: ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644/4: ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645: ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1646-1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646/47; 1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; 1649: ARA VOC 1170, fl.869rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/2/1649; 1951: ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1651; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1660: ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/9/1660; 1661: ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1662: ARA VOC 1234, fl.293rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/7/1662; ARA VOC 1240, fl.1409rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 30/8/1662: sales of an English private merchant; 1664: ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; 1667: ARA VOC 1255, fl.879ff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/8/1667; 1678: ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; 1679: ARA VOC 1332, fl.912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679; 1680: ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683.

Table 21

[illegible]

1623/1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1631(1): Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634, *BGP* 482ff.; 1635(2): ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; 1635(3): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1635(4): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(3): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/3/1637, *BGP* 617; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.111: VOC sales at Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1127, fl.136rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1638(4): ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1639(1): ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.630rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Esfahān, 10/8/1641; ARA VOC 1139, fl.705r.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 22/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1642(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.611f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; W. Geleysz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Claes Cornelisz., 21/5/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1146, fl.829ff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Esfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; 1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Baṣra, 25/9/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.30vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646; 1646/1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646/47; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1651; 1654: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1655/1656: ARA VOC 1210, fl.860r and 829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/5/1655-30/4/1656; 1658: ARA VOC 1226, fl.807rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1658; 1660(2): ARA VOC 1230, fl.312rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 23/4/1660; 1660(3): ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 2/9/1660; 1662(3): ARA VOC 1234, fl.293rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/7/1662; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; 1665(2): ARA VOC 1245, fl.506rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 29/4/1665; 1665(3): ARA VOC 1253, p.1618ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 8/9/1665; 1666(1): ARA VOC 1251, p.1325ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/4/1666; 1667(3): ARA VOC 1255, fl.879ff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/8/1667; 1668(2): ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; ARA VOC 1261, fl.745rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 12/7/1668; 1669(2): ARA VOC 1266, fl.950rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 20/7/1669; 1670(2): ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; 1672(4): ARA VOC 1285, fl.5rff.: VOC sales Esfahān; F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/12/1672; 1673(1): ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; 1673(3): ARA VOC 1285, fl.379rff.: F. De Haze, Šīrāz, to Heren XVII, 15/7/1673; ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/10/1673; 1674(2): ARA VOC 1304, fl.508rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/9/1674; 1676(3): ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; 1677(3): ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/72/1678; 1678(2): ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; 1679(2): ARA VOC 1332, fl.912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679; 1680(2): ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683.

For other dyestuffs, such as brazilwood, curcuma or lac, similar phenomena of competition between regional varieties existed. While these were goods in universal demand for the area's textile finishing industries, demand for other imports was more culturally differentiated. Coffee was one of the commodities for which the integration of Persian Gulf markets was almost complete. In late October 1655⁴⁹, for example, VOC servants at Bandar-e 'Abbās awaited their coffee cargo with anxiety, for on the basis of commercial intelligence from Masqaṭ, Bandar-e Kong and Al-Baṣra they believed they could anticipate prices up to 40% below the level reported earlier in the season⁵⁰. On the other hand, the Basran market for coffee was sometimes considered virtually limitless⁵¹: more than 20 vessels plyed the coffee trade between Mohā and Masqaṭ in the 1670's, which operated as chief distribution centre for the Persian Gulf Area⁵². For chinaware on the other hand and for coffee cups in particular of which many tens of thousands were imported every year, regional tastes influenced purchases in East Asia: Repeatedly, the VOC factory Persia reported back to Batavia reminding their superiors of the preferences of their Persian customers for "de cleene grove copjens, alhier genaemt Siargoll"⁵³. Ivory, on the other hand, which was imported from East Africa and the Bay of Bengal was not in demand in Bandar-e 'Abbās. The Safavid port only served as point of transshipment for reexports to Sindi destinations⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ Otherwise, direct ships from Mohā would arrive at Bandar-e 'Abbās in September, see e.g. ARA VOC 1141, non-fol.: W. Geleynsz., Esfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 20/10/1641.

⁵⁰ ARA VOC 1208, fl.551rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 23/10/1655.

⁵¹ ARA VOC 1181, fl.843rff.: "Dagregister..." E. Boudaens, 14/3/1651-15/6/1651.

⁵² ARA VOC 1307, fl.638rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 21/12/1675.

⁵³ ARA VOC 1152, fl.78rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 11/3/1645.

⁵⁴ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/5/1671.

The Persian Gulf Area and Iran in particular was an important market for copper, which had been imported into Iran overland in sheets and bars, at great cost, for it was considered a strategic commodity and hence barred from being carried via Portuguese Hormūz⁵⁵. In the XVIIth century, it became known that there was a large market for Japanese copper in Iran as long as the imported metal was completely pure and of a high degree of fineness⁵⁶. European copper imports from Sweden and Hungary were found to be inferior to and more expensive than Japanese copper⁵⁷, but J. Chardin reports that both Swedish and Japanese copper were used to temper the rather coarse copper of domestic production⁵⁸.

However, maritime imports had to compete against domestically mined copper: "much copper from the mine of Sabzavār (situated near Mašhad close to the borders with Tartary) is carried to Tabrīz, Qazvīn, Eṣfahān, Šīrāz, Lār and other places, which is just as good [as imports] and cheaper. In addition there are imports from Aleppo and (via the Caspian Sea) from Muscovy..."⁵⁹. The volume of the metal extracted in Iran grew around the mid-XVIIth century, possibly thanks to support given to the mining industry by Grand Vizir Moḥammad Beḡ, and again later in the century after the discovery of new ores⁶⁰, and the market for imported copper was contracting⁶¹. Yet, in the third quarter of the XVIIth century, the VOC imported up 100.000

⁵⁵ See the English reports from IOR E/3/6 used by R.W. FERRIER (1976), 198. For the Portuguese copper trade in the East Indies see V. MAGALHÃES GODINHO (1984), vol.2, 36ff.

⁵⁶ BGP 230ff. (extracts), 232: "Dagregister..." D.v.d. Lee, 4/6/1627-1/6/1628. The suggestion in V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 177, to read references to Japanese copper in Iran in E. KAEMPFER (1712) as "a slip for Georgia" must be rejected in the light of overwhelming evidence from commercial sources.

⁵⁷ ARA VOC 1151, fl.842rff.: A.v. Diemen, Batavia, to Factory Persia, dated 9/8/1644. For the European context see H. KELLENBENZ (ed.) (1977), *Schwerpunkte der Kupferproduktion und des Kupferhandels in Europa 1500-1650*, Köln/Wien; for Hungary e.g. J. VLACHOVIČ (1971), *Produktion und Handel mit ungarischem Kupfer im XVI. und im ersten Viertel des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, in: I. BOG (ed.) (1971), *Der Außenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450-1650. Die ostmitteleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa*, Köln/Wien, 600-627; for the Swedish market see A. FRIIS (1939), *Forbindelsen mellan det europeiske og asiatiske kobbermarked*, *Scandia* XII, 151-180.

⁵⁸ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 62.

⁵⁹ ARA VOC 1146, fl.902rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 12/2/1644.

⁶⁰ For the mid-XVIIth century see J.B. TAVERNIER (1676-79), vol.1, 557f.; for the later years: J. FRYER (1698), *loc.cit.*, vol.3, 12; see also for newly discovered copper mines in Kermān ARA VOC 1349, fl.1678rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 1/6/1679.

⁶¹ ARA VOC 1248, pp.3035ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 30/8/1664; see also ARA VOC 1273, fl.1924rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 28/2/1669: "beginende haar hier den lantaert met het groff koper dat persia slects uijtgeeft en voort merendeel strecken can, hoe langh soo meer te behelpen, en daar door 't Japans fyn koper minder 't estimeren".

lbs. of Japanese copper bars ("staeff cooper")⁶², despite a régime of regulated prices (including copper exports) introduced in Japan⁶³.

In the Middle Ages, Al-Baṣra had imported Iranian copper⁶⁴, but no such trade is documented on any significant scale for the XVIIth century. 'Umān, on the other hand, could also rely on domestic copper mining⁶⁵, and local tinnern, just as their Persian counterparts, used a mixture of imported tin and salomonniac for the coating of copper vessels⁶⁶, although most of the salomonniac imported into Maṣqaṭ was transshipped to Iranian ports.

In Iran, the governor of Lār had traditionally participated in the copper trade, often through Jewish merchants, but by 1664 he had the metal bought up in the ports, had it distributed to the Lārī coppersmiths as a monopolist and even sold part of it to merchants for reexport to Surat⁶⁷. Such was the pull of the Surati market, that price lists for Bandar-e 'Abbās in the mid-1660's included current rates at Surat as a matter of fact and in the 1670's importers found it difficult to sell the metal in Bandar-e 'Abbās at prices which prevented reexports⁶⁸. Japanese copper appreciated continuously from the mid-XVIIth century and profitability of sales outstripped exports to Europe⁶⁹. Sales prices for Japanese copper in Bandar-e 'Abbās and Surat followed closely purchasing rates recorded for Japan, which would point to a lack of interference of copper from other sources. From the mid-1650's, prices in Bandar-e 'Abbās were lower than in Gujarat, which highlights the attractions of the reexport trade.

⁶² P. van DAM, *Beschrijvinghe...*, *loc. cit.*, 360f. For the wider context see K. GLAMANN (1953), *The Dutch East India Company's Trade in Japanese Copper 1645-1736*, *ScEHR* 1/1-2, 41-79, but also A. KOBATA (1981), *Production and Trade in Gold, Silver, and Copper in Japan. 1450-1750*, in: H. KELLENBENZ (ed.) (1981), 273-276.

⁶³ See also *GM* III, 618ff., 625: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 18/10/1668.

⁶⁴ See e.g. J.W. ALLAN (1979), *Persian Metal Technology 700-1300 AD*, Oxford, 33ff.

⁶⁵ See e.g. G. WEISGERBER (1980), ...Und Kupfer in Oman, *Der Anschnitt* XXXII, 62-110.

⁶⁶ For Iran see R. DU MANS (166), *Estat...*, *loc. cit.*, 196; for 'Umān: ARA VOC 1288, fl.442v: Report R. Padtbrugge, dated Colombo 25/10/1672.

⁶⁷ *DR* XV, 309ff., 317.: letter of the Persian factory received at Batavia on 13/8/1664: "in de stadt Laar is de groote coperslagerye, daer den gouverneur 30, 40 a 50 duysent pond gedurig in voorraet heeft en daerin monopoliseert, en van deselve zouden de cooplyuden ...eenigh coper gecocht en naer Suratte vervoert hebben." See also ARA VOC 1252, pp.702ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665.

⁶⁸ For the mid-1660's: ARA VOC 1253, pp.1688ff.: H.v. Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 8/9/1665; for the 1670's: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2310ff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 7/3/1671.

⁶⁹ *GM* III, 779ff., 809: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 31/1/1672.

In Iran, imported tin was used on a large scale for coating copper vessels with a heat-resistant layer. Both for utilitarian purposes and the use of decorated objects of artistic value tinned copper had become more common ever since the Timurid period. For copper kitchenware the coating had to be renewed every six to eight months according to J. Chardin⁷⁰. Tin was imported from South-East Asia in large quantities and was on occasion reexported from Surat, when merchants learnt about relatively high prices in the Persian Gulf Area⁷¹.

⁷⁰ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 248, who judges the Persian craftsmanship in this field superior to its English counterpart.

⁷¹ ARA VOC 1233, fl.69rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 13/3/1660.

Table 22

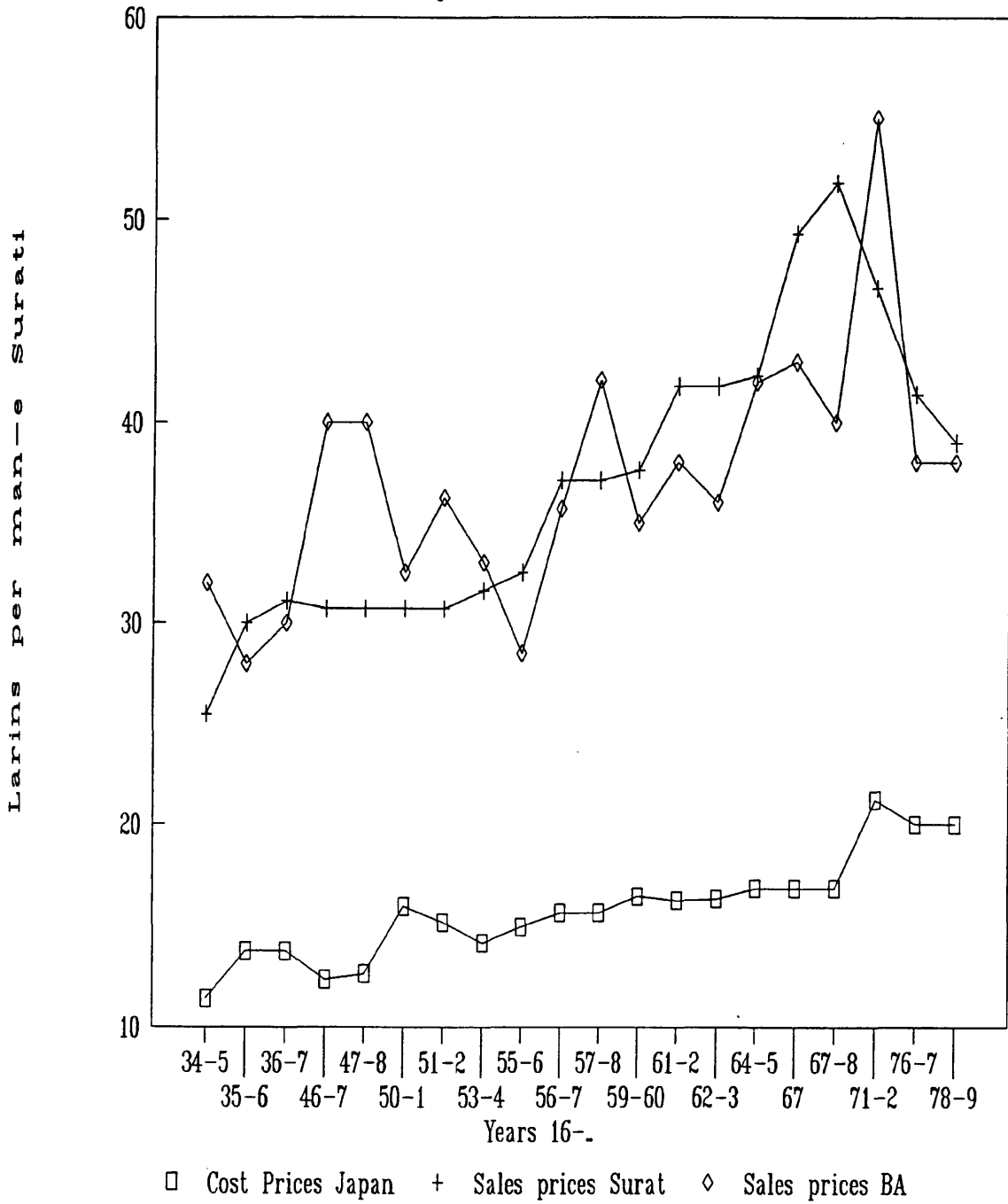
Wholesale Prices for Imported Copper in Safavid Iran (1624-1685)

Years 16... quarters	Bandar-e 'Abbās			Esfahān		Non- Safavid
	Japan		Other	Japan		Port Cities
	grooff	staeff		grooff	staeff	
24(1)				53		
31(1)		40				
32(4)				50		
33(2)	40					
33(4)	36					
34(1)	30	40				
34(2)	30-32					
35(4)				20		
36(4)	28	30				
37(1)	28-30	30-32				
38	30					
40(4)	35-40	40-44		42-44	45-50	
41(1)	48					
41(2)	40					
41(4)	40-42	48				
			32 (Swed.)			
42(1)	45	50				
43(4)				40.8		
44(2)				45	49	
44(3)	41			41.6	43.2	
44(4)	32		30-32 (H/Sw)			
45(4)	30-32		34-36 (Sw)			
47(1)	40					
48(2)	29.25-40					
51	32.5					
52	36.25					
54	30					
54(1)	33					
56(1)	32.5					
56(2)	28.5					
57(2)	35.7					
58(1)	41					
58(2)	42.1					
60(2)	35					
61(2)	38					
63(1)	38					
63(2)	36					
65(1)	42					
67(4)	43					
68(2)	40					
69(2)	45.6					
72(2)	55					
74(2)						Masqat: 51.6-52.5
77(1)	38					
79(3)	38					
85(2)						Al-Basra 96.5-112.6

Sources:

1624: H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Batavia, 24/7/1624, *BGP* 58ff.; Grootboek Perzië, 1623/24, *BGP* 89ff.; Dagregister Perzië 1623/24, *BGP* 65ff.; 1624(1): H. Visnich, Esfahān, to Surat, 18/1/1624, *BGP* 39f.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; Factura H. Visnich, Esfahān, to royal factor, Nov.1628, *BGP* 258ff.; ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1631(1): Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Oct.1632; 1632(4): ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633(2): ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): ARA VOC 1113, fl.172rff.: H. Hagenae, a/b "Zeelandia", to Batavia, 17/1/1633; Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rff.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634; 1635(1): ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; ARA VOC 1117, fl.732vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; pricelist Esfahān, Oct. 1635; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to A. Smit, 19/10/1635; 1634(3): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1635(4): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; ARA VOC 1117, fl.732vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; pricelist Esfahān, Oct. 1635; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to A. Smit, 19/10/1635; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(3): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rff.: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1644(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Esfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1647(1): ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1648(2): ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1651; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1654; 1654(1): ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 12/4/1654; 1656(1): ARA VOC 1210, fl.860r and 829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/5/1655-30/4/1656; 1656(2): ARA VOC 1215, fl.730rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 22/4/1656; 1657(2): ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1658(1): ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1658(2): ARA VOC 1226, fl.817rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/5/1658; 1660(2): ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1660; 1661(2): ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1663(1): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1675rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 4/6/1663; 1665(1): ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 9/1/1665; 1667(4): ARA VOC 1268, fl.1347rff.: W. Roothals(?), Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 3/12/1667; 1668(2): ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; 1669(2): ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1669; 1672(2): ARA VOC 1279, fl.1029rff.: Memorie F. De Haze to R. Padtbrugge, 6/6/1672; 1674(2): ARA VOC 1291, fl.561rff; 1304, fl.473rff.: G. Wilmsen, Masqat, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674; 1677(1): ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/1/1677; 1679(3): ARA VOC 1332, fl.912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679; 1685(2): ARA VOC 1408, fl.829rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 18/4/1685.

Graph 11
Wholesale Cost and Sales Prices Copper (Japan, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Surat) 1646-1679

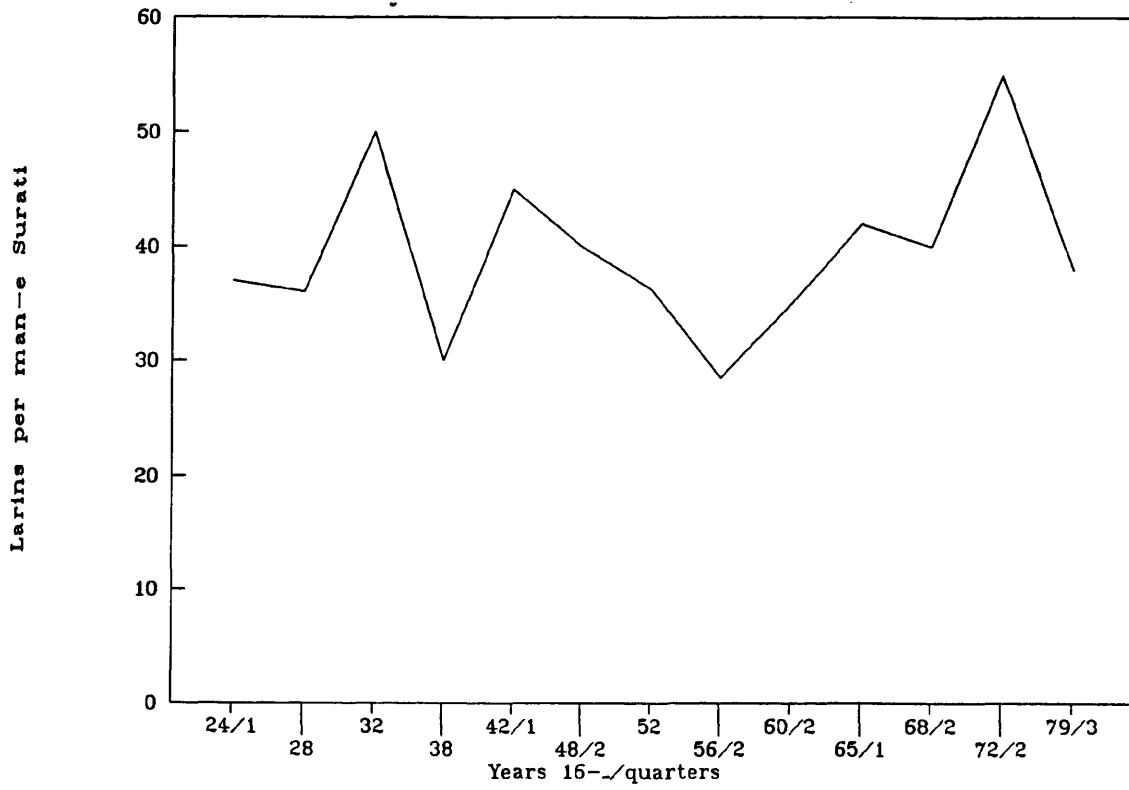


Sources for Graph 11:

1634/1635: ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; ARA VOC 1117, fl.732vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1635; pricelist Esfahān, Oct. 1635; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to A. Smit, 19/10/1635; 1635/1636: ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; N. Overschie, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, *BGP* 590ff.; 1636/1637: ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1646-1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1647/1648: ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1650/1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1651; 1651/1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; 1653/1654: ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 12/4/1654; 1655/1656: ARA VOC 1215, fl.730rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 22/4/1656; 1656/1657: ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1657/1658: ARA VOC 1226, fl.817rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/5/1658; 1659/1660: ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1660; 1661/1662: ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1662/1663: ARA VOC 1239, fl.1675rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 4/6/1663; 1664/1665: ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 9/1/1665; 1667: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1347rff.: W. Roothals(?), Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 3/12/1667; 1667/1668: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; 1671/1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1029rff.: Memorie F. De Haze to R. Padtbrugge, 6/6/1672; 1676/1677: ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/1/1677; 1678/1679: ARA VOC 1332, fl.912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679. For Surat K. GLAMANN (1953), 64f., 68f.; for Japan: *ibid.*; O. NACHOD (1897), *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan im XVII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, CCVIII.

Graph 13

Wholesale Prices for Imported Copper in Bandar-e 'Abbās
(ca. five-year intervals 1624-1679)



Sources for Graphs 12 and 13:

1624(1): H. Visnich, Eṣfahān, to Batavia, 24/7/1624, *BGP* 58ff.; Grootboek Perzië, 1623/24, *BGP* 89ff.; Dagregister Perzië 1623/24, *BGP* 65ff.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; Factura H. Visnich, Eṣfahān, to royal factor, Nov.1628, *BGP* 258ff.; ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Oct.1632; 1633(2): ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1633(4): ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rf.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): ARA VOC 1113, fl.172rf.: H. Hagenaer, a/b "Zeelandia", to Batavia, 17/1/1633; ARA VOC 1108, fl.107rf.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1634; Pricelist, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474 f.; 1634(2): ARA VOC 1113, fl.63rf.: Report M. van der Trille, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, June(?) 1634; ARA VOC 1113, fl.1113r: Pricecalculation, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, June(?) 1634; 1635(1): ARA VOC 1115, fl.405r: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Febr. 1635; ARA VOC 1117, fl.732vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Febr. 1635; pricelist Eṣfahān, Oct. 1635; N. Overschie, Eṣfahān, to A. Smit, 19/10/1635; 1636: ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Jan. 1636; ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Febr. 1636; Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Sept.(?) 1636, *BGP* 589f.; ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās 1638; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Eṣfahān and Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Febr./March 1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, May 1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rf.: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rf.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās; C. Constant, Eṣfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 18/10/1645; 1647(1): ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rf.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1648(2): ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rf.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 25/3/1651; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās 1652; 1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 1654; 1654(1): ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rf.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, 12/4/1654; 1656(1): ARA VOC 1210, fl.860r and 829rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 1/5/1655-30/4/1656; 1656(2): ARA VOC 1215, fl.730rf.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, 22/4/1656; 1657(2): ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rf.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1658(1): ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1658(2): ARA VOC 1226, fl.817rf.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 18/5/1658; 1660(2): ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rf.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1660; 1661(2): ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rf. and 677rf.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1663(1): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās, March-May 1663; 1663(2): ARA VOC 1239, fl.1675rf.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, 4/6/1663; 1665(1): ARA VOC 1245, fl.364rf.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, 9/1/1665; 1667(4): ARA VOC 1268, fl.1347rf.: W. Roothals(?), Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 3/12/1667; 1668(2): ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rf.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; 1669(2): ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rf.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1669; 1672(2): ARA VOC 1279, fl.1029rf.: Memorie F. De Haze to R. Padtbrugge, 6/6/1672; 1677(1): ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 20/1/1677; 1679(3): ARA VOC 1332, fl.912rf.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679.

Table 23

Wholesale Prices for Salammoniac in Safavid Iran (1623-1645)

Year/ quarter	Bandar-e 'Abbās	Esfahān
1623	22.5-24	
1628	10	
1630		24
1631	15	
1632	27	
1634	25	
1636	25	
1637	24-25	
1638	30-31	
1638(4)	24-25	
1640	24-25	32-33
1641(2)	24	
1641(4)	20	
1642(1)	20-25	
1643	22	
1644	25-26	
1645	27-29	

Sources:

1623: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1630: Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632: Sales to royal factor, A. Del Court, Esfahān, to Batavia, 26/10/1632, *BGP* 388ff.; 1634: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1636: ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/3/1637, *BGP* 617; ARA VOC 1122, fl.547rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Ahmadabad, 16/5/1637 (information from Persian merchants at Surat); 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.136rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1638(4): ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; 1644: ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645: ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645.

Table 24

Wholesale Prices for Tin in the Persian Gulf Area (1623-1688)

Year/ quarter	Bandar-e 'Abbas			Esfahān		Al-Basra	Masqat
	GB		SEAsia	GB	SEAsia		
23-4		52.5-75					
25		77.33					
26		130					
28		50					
28-9		70			65		
30					56		
31	56		60	50	60		
32		30		18-24	44		
33	22		30				
34/1	20		44				
34/2			40				
35	40		35				
36/1	28		28				
36/4	25-27		40				
37	24-26		34-36				
38	35-36		28				
39		32					
40	21		30-31	30	40-42		
41/1			31				
41/2	24		30				
41/3	24-25		32-33				
41/4	20		30-32				
42/1	20		30-32				
42/2	22		28				
43/2			30				
43/4				55.1	36.8		
44/1			35				
44/3		52		40-40.8	53.6-59		
44/4	22-24		32-34				
45/3			45				
45/4	25-26		35-40				
46		38					
47			45				
47-8		41.25					
48		38-40					
51		40					
52		32.5					
53		34					
54		30-32				46.8-57.6	
55-6		35					
57		49					
57-8		56-68					
58/2		68					
60		36					
61			35				
62			37				
63			36-41				
64		42.5				41.25	
65			35				
67		34-35					
68		30					
69		38					
70		37.5-38				48-53.8	
71		37.5					41.8
72		37.25				50.4	
74		39.5					47.5-50.6
75		35				43.2	
76		33				38.4	
77		29-33					
79		30-34				34.6	
80/1						32	
80/2		30					
80/3		30					
81		28					
82/1						28.8	
82/2		24-28					
82/3		28					
83/2		25-35				29.3-29.8	
84/1						31	
84/3						30.5	
85/2						30.7-78	
86						32.7	
87/1						31.7	
87/4		35					
87-8		35					

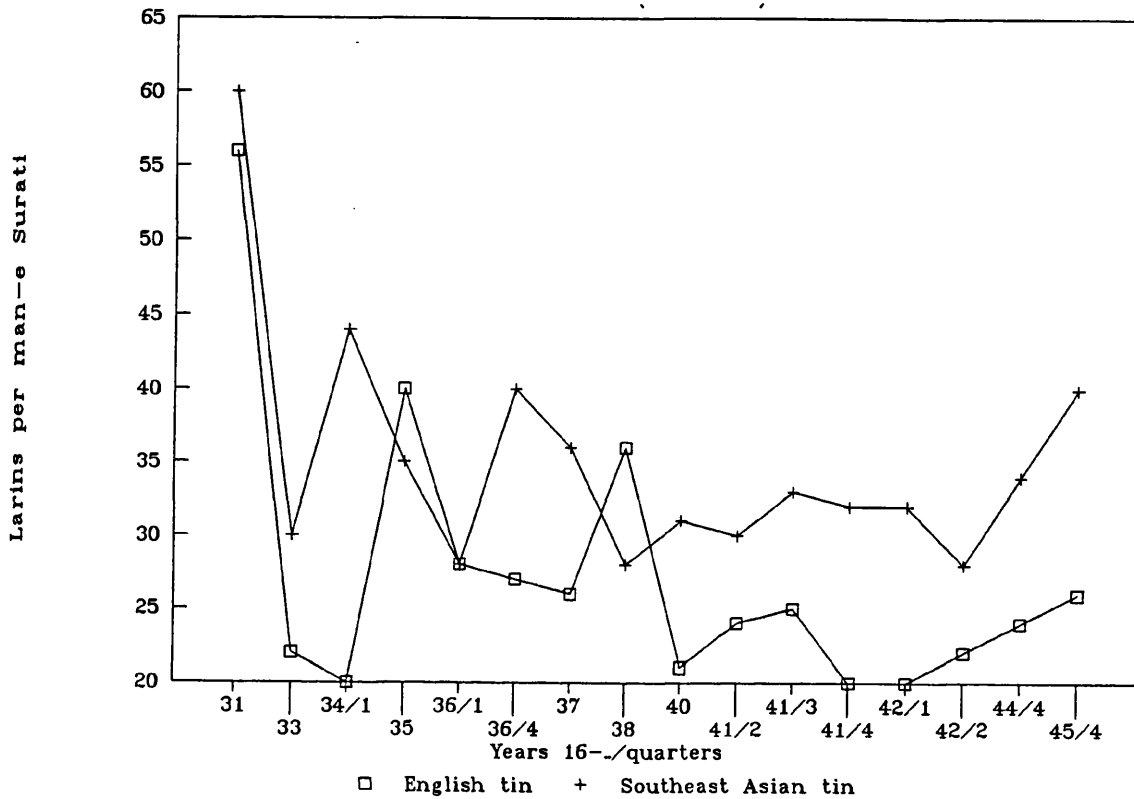
Sources:

1623/1624: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1623/24.; 1625: ARA VOC 1084, fl.88rff., H. Visnich, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/2/1625; 1626: VOC contract with royal factor, 23/4/1626, *BGP* 184f.; 1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1628/1629: ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales to royal factor 1628/29.; ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; 1630: A. Del Court, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 20/12/1630, Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 351ff.; 1631: Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, no fol.: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Oct.1632; ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān, 22/10/1632; A. Del Court, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 3/11/1632, *BGP* 390ff.; 1633: ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1634(2): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, June(?) 1634, *BGP* 482ff.; 1635: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637: ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1639: ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(2): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1146, fl.829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; 1643(4): ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Esfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1644(3): ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 13/7/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rff.: Pricelist Esfahān, 15/9/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Esfahān, to Batavia, 15/9/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(3): ARA VOC 1152, fl.445rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 25/9/1645; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645; 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.30vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1646; 1647: ARA VOC 1165, fl.169rff.: W. Geleysnz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/3/1647; 1647/1648: ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1648; 1651: ARA VOC 1185, fl.541rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/5/1651; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1652; ARA VOC 1195, fl.824rff.: D. van Schouten, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/5/1652; 1653: ARA VOC 1201, fl.821rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 16/8/1653; 1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1655/1656: ARA VOC 1210, fl.860r and 829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/5/1655-30/4/1656; 1657: ARA VOC 1215, fl.900rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 2/7/1657; 1657/1658: ARA VOC 1224, fl.448rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 13/6/1657-30/4/1658; 1658(2): ARA VOC 1226, fl.817rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/5/1658; 1660: ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1660; 1661: ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff. and 677rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 14/5/1661; 1662: ARA VOC 1240, fl.686rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 13/5/1662; ARA VOC 1234, fl.293rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/7/1662; 1663: ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1239, fl.1675rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 4/6/1663; 1664: ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; ARA VOC 1245, fl.308rff.: J. Wagenvelt, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 24/10/1664; 1665: ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/6/1665; 1667: ARA VOC 1255, fl.879rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 6/8/1667; 1668: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; 1669: ARA VOC 1266, fl.950rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 20/7/1669; 1670: ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van den Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/8/1670; ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1671: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L. van den Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/5/1671; ARA VOC 1284, fl.2242rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Surat, 1671; 1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; 1674: ARA VOC 1291, fl.561rff.; 1304, fl.473rff.: G. Wilmsen, Masqat, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, 20/2/1674; ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; 1675: ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; 1676: ARA VOC 1307, fl.647rff.: Offers for VOC goods; F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/5/1676; ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1677: ARA VOC 1329, fl.1547vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 5/6/1677; ARA VOC 1330, fl.971rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 17/72/1678; 1679: ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; ARA VOC 1349, fl.1648vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/6/1679; ARA VOC 1332,

fl.912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1680(1): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 4/3/1680; 1680(2): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; 1680(3): ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1681: ARA VOC 1355, fl.433r: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Resolutions, 10/6/1681; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; 1682(1): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 6/3/1682; 1682(2): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2670vff.: R. Casembroot, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 14/6/1682; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2777rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, 29/6/1682; 1682(3): ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 7/9/1682; 1683(2): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 28/2/1684; ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683; 1684(1): ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 28/2/1684; 1684(3): ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rf.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1685(2): ARA VOC 1416, fl.1666vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1685; ARA VOC 1408, fl.829rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 18/4/1685; 1686: ARA VOC 1430, fl.1495rff.: J. van Heuvel, Eṣfahān, to Batavia, 31/1/1686; 1687(1): ARA VOC 1425, fl.454rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 18/1/1687; 1687(4): ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687; 1687/1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688.

Graph 14

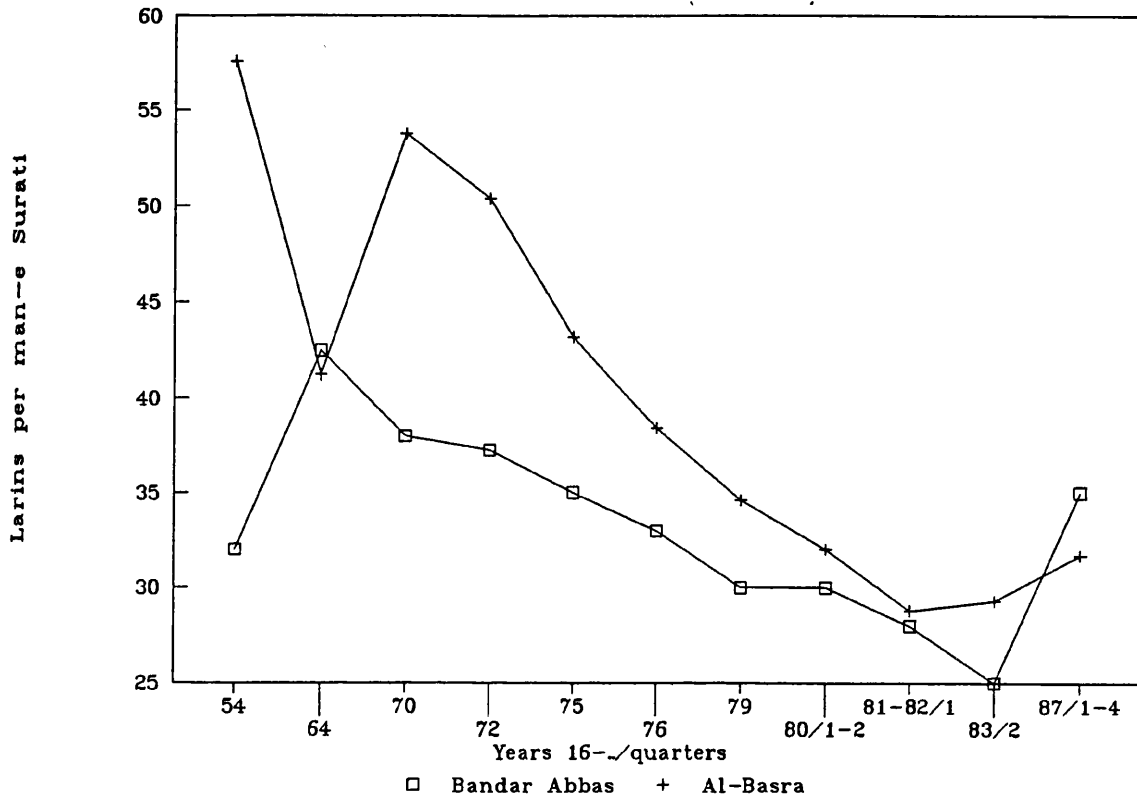
Wholesale Prices for English and South-East Asian Tin in Bandar-e 'Abbās (1631-1645)



Sources:

1631: Pricelist, Esfahān, *BGP* 361ff.; ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1633: ARA VOC 1108, fl.857rff.: M. Le Maire, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/12/1633; 1634(1): Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1635: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.952: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Jan. 1636; ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; 1636(4): ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637: ARA VOC 1119, fl.1582ff.: VOC sales; A. Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; 1642(2): ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645(4): ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/10/1645.

Graph 15
Wholesale Prices for Tin in Persian Gulf Ports (1654-1687)

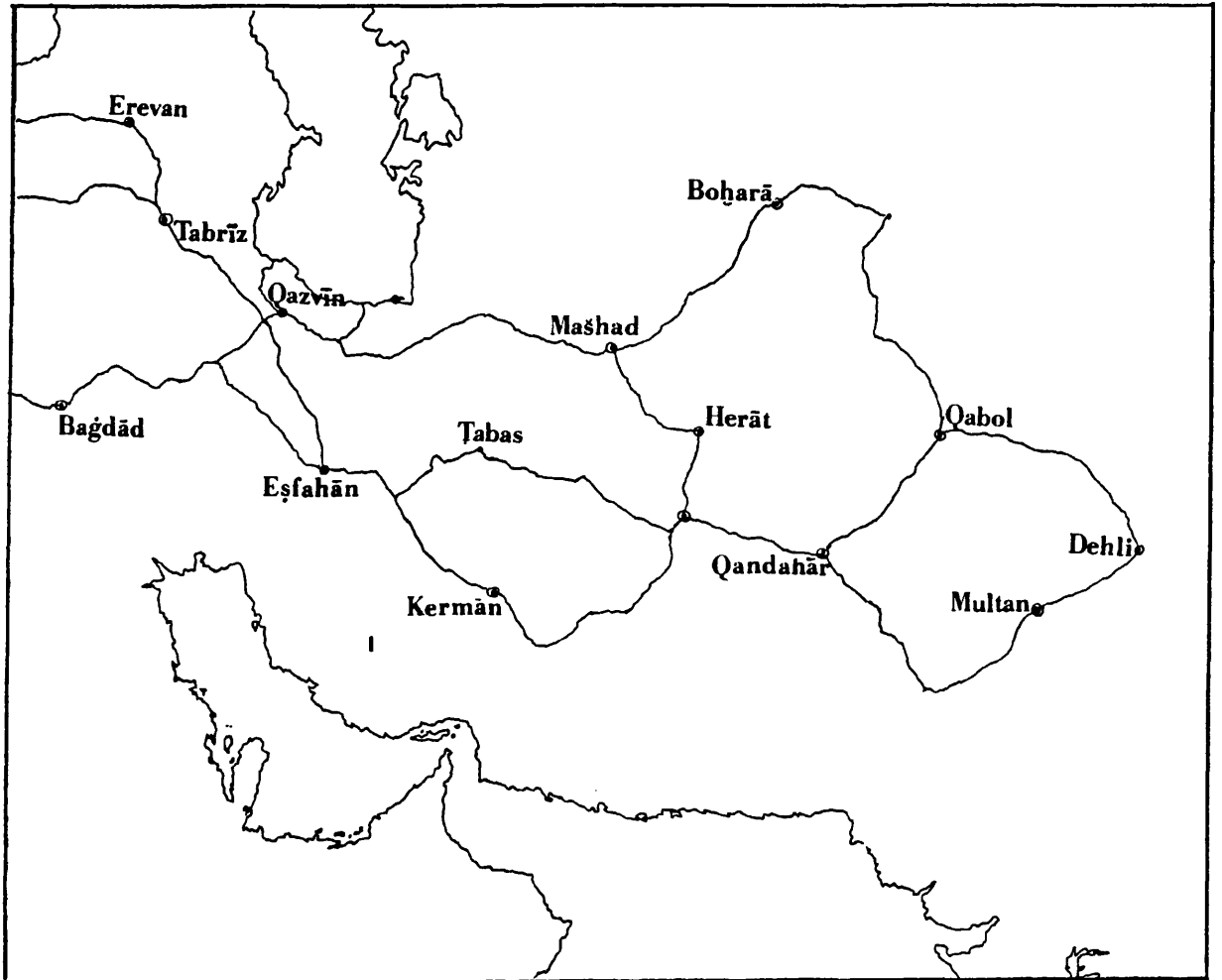


Sources:

1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1664: ARA VOC 1248, fl.1920rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/5/1664; see also *DR* XV-1664, 418f.; ARA VOC 1245, fl.308rff.: J. Wagenvselt, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 24/10/1664; 1670: ARA VOC 1270, fl.885rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/4/1670; ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van den Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 15/8/1670; ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.1017rff.: F. De Haze to Heren XVII, 27/9/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.1031rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/10/1672; 1675: ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 20/6/1675; 1676: ARA VOC 1307, fl.647rff.: Offers for VOC goods; F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 9/5/1676; ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1679: ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; ARA VOC 1349, fl.1648vff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 1/6/1679; ARA VOC 1332, fl.912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, July 1679; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2626rff.: Report C. Verdonck, Al Basra, 3/9/1680; 1680(1-2): ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 4/3/1680; ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; 1681/1682(1): ARA VOC 1355, fl.433r: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Resolutions, 10/6/1681; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 26/7/1681; ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 6/3/1682; 1683(2): ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; ARA VOC 1406, fl.1159rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/2/1684; ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683; 1687(1-4): ARA VOC 1425, fl.454rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/1/1687; ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/11/1687.

In chapters 5 and 6 we shall focus on two classes of goods, textiles and foodstuffs, for which the contact between Indian Ocean trading circuits and individual purchasers in the Persian Gulf Area was more immediate than was the case for raw materials. First the excursus will take up the example of textiles in order to illustrate problems inherent in the study of the early modern Middle Eastern consumer.

Map 11
Main long-distance overland routes across Iran



EXCURSUS: Problems in the Study of Textile Consumption

Any analysis of the textile trade in the early modern world is liable to revel in the use of superlatives: arguably the most voluminous trade of manufactures in the pre-industrial period, its role in the integration of economies can only be compared to that of precious metals. Alongside food and housing, clothing ranks among the prime human necessities and where the satisfaction of this basic need relies on resources outside the closed circuit of self-sufficiency, possibilities for exchange are potentially vast. Compared to the two other material expressions of social identities clothing is subjected to more rapid and frequent changes and outside influences. Two prime reasons can be named: first, transshipment on a large scale does not pose insurmountable problems even for pre-steam age transport technology, because the two variables weight and perishability were manageable. Secondly, the complex sequence of production, from collecting the raw material for the natural fibre to the finishing processes, could easily be broken up geographically in an ever widening circle of spatial division of labour, based on a judicious exploitation of cost advantages, available skills and cultural preferences.

Just as the Indo-European trade¹, Indian textile exports to the Middle East relied heavily on complex systems of advance contracts through which intermediaries tied together the otherwise distant worlds of producers and consumers. A study of the textile trade encroaches on a number of related fields pertaining to different academic specialities which rarely join forces. For perhaps more than other commodities exchanged in our period, the "social life"² of a given bale of cloth - spun, woven, put up for sale, transported, acquired, sewn, worn, passed on - contains in itself the essence of the societies tied together by its use. The social organisation of production and marketing of raw materials and manufactures, the economics of transport, the stratification of demand and the cultural statement inherent in the use of given fabrics, the ever-shifting balance between fashion and moral systems, all of these and many more are aspects to be considered were one to attempt a comprehensive study of the textile trade.

The neglect of the study of consumption can be attributed to a variety of factors. The highly differentiated textile market of the Malayan archipelago has become almost proverbial in

¹ See most comprehensively: K.N. CHAUDHURI (1974), *The Structure of Indian Textile Industry in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, *IESHR* XI/2-3, 127-182, and ID. (1978), 253ff.

² The phrase is borrowed from A. APPADURAI (ed.) (1986), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge.

Asian trade history but also serves as a prime example how economic historians have long been preoccupied more with carriers than with what was carried and to whom. This trend went at the expense of both the history of material culture - and hence of the detailed study of pre-world system commodity-unification of parts of the globe - and the history of consumption. Regardless of the manifest existence of different degrees of albeit incomplete commoditization in XVIIth century West- and South-Asia the existence of a "consumer" in our period has often been disputed. There is no need to stress that it would be anachronistic to speak on a consumer society. It would be equally misleading, however, to conceive of early modern economies as showing demand patterns that are exclusively a function of supply, in the rather crude sense that demand would accomodate itself to supply. The notion of "socially determined demand" applied to consumption patterns in the early modern world, while theoretically self-evident, may be helpful, after all, in so far as it introduces cultural correctives into an equation - based on comparative cost advantages - otherwise only in part able to explain XVIIth century commercial realities. The notion has a strong appeal for structuralist historians as it helps to appreciate unchanging variables while, at the same time, not precluding the terminology of economics³. In our view its usefulness can be extended to encompass socially determined *changes* in consumption patterns⁴. Concerning the Indo-European textile trade, successful attempts are now being made to link the calico-craze of the late XVIIth century to cultural, social (and/or technical) trends and developments⁵. In the context of Safavid Iran the task is far more daunting, as we are lacking even basic information on both retailing and consumer behaviour. In what follows all we propose is to present and discuss some of the data contained in our sources with regard to the substantial imports of Indian textiles into the Persian Gulf area and to ask ourselves whether they contain some clues as to whether and how local consumption patterns (and domestic production) might have been affected.

Some Considerations on the Problem of Sources

Sources employed to reconstruct clothing in the Safavid period are heterogeneous and do not allow the painting of a coherent picture. Surviving textiles where they are not unsewn musters

³ For a rather ill-conceived, inconclusive and unnecessarily vitriolic assault on this use in K.N. CHAUDHURI (1975), 16ff., see S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990), 344f.

⁴ For some stimulating thoughts see C. SHAMMAS (1990), *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America*, Oxford, *passim*, who elected to ignore the "structuralist" approach to material culture.

⁵ S. AIOLFI (1987), *Calicoes und bedrucktes Zeug. Die Entwicklung der englischen Textilveredelung und der Tuchhandel der East India Company. 1650-1750* (=BKÜ XL), Stuttgart; B. LEMIRE (1991), *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain 1660-1800*, Oxford, in more general terms also C. MUKHERJI (1983), *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism*, New York, 166ff.

or lengths are accomplished pieces of apparel of the highest standard, often parts of *hel'ats* or honorary robes and point to the fine craftsmanship of royal workshops but not to general patterns of clothing. Manuscript illuminations, crucial for the XVIth century (albeit difficult to use because of their being initially produced independently from the manuscript), lose some of their importance with the emergence of albums of single-figure studies, but the *caveat* not to confound stylistic developments in the pictorial arrangement of the miniatures' personnel with changes of fashion still applies⁶. Later in the XVIIth century, Persian oil paintings add to the stock of pictorial sources. Some travellers are at pains to describe what they perceived as the exotic clothing of Eşfahān society to their readership, but are, of course, less eloquent about the clothing of the mass of the people, urban, rural and nomadic. Pictorial sources are thus helpful for tracing the development of court fashions, although they also sometimes depict the odd servant, groom or craftsman⁷. Similarly, Ottoman albums of society's types invariably centre on the metropolitan society of Istanbul which must of course not be confounded with the costume of the 'Irāqī provinces.

Provincial schools of manuscript illumination, on the other hand, do not usually allow the identification of regional dress styles. Rather they represent artistically inferior versions of metropolitan models. For the mid-XVIth century Persian Gulf Area, the Codex Casanatensis No.1889 now in the old library of the Dominican Order in Rome⁸ offers fascinating if somewhat naive depictions of local costume, probably from the hand of a Indo-Portuguese artist who may have spent some time in Hormūz. The illustrations show male and female figures representing dress and activities typical for the countries which bordered on the *Estado da India*. Unlike the Indian and South-East Asian scenes the pages relevant for the Persian Gulf Area show mainly

⁶ For this latter warning see L.S. DIBA (1992), 791; she also draws attention to the fact that "tight-fitting trousers under transparent gathered skirts in the Indian style... illustrated by miniature painters ...are not otherwise attested", *ibid.* 794.

⁷ The study of S. ÜNVER (1958), *Geçmiş yüzyıllarda kıyafet resimlerimiz*, Ankara, focussing on an early XVIIIth century album, may soon be superseded by L. SCHICK's Harvard dissertation in progress on "Ottoman Costume Albums of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries". For examples of albums see A. ZACĄCZKOWSKI (1966), *Un album des Costumes turcs du XVIIe siècle, RoczkOr XXX*, 77-108, for the later XVIIth century e.g. BUB Ms.1044/n.119 *De turcarum vestitu* (ca.1680) and Raynal's, *Figures naturelles de Turquie* (1688) and C. Comte De FERRIOL (1714), *Recueil de cent estampes qui représentent différentes nations du Levant tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après nature en 1707 et 1708*, Den Haag.

⁸ See L. De MATOS (ed.) (1985), *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI*, Lisboa; on th emanuscript see G. SCHURHAMMER (1956), *Desenhos Orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier, GOR* [Número especial] 247-256.

costume studies of single figures (aside the odd footman), either walking or on horseback⁹. Sources have not yet been identified either in the Luso-Indian or the Indo-Persian context. If, on the whole, these illustrations are too formulaic to be much more than a "humanarium exoticum", some regional differences of dress do appear for the Persian Gulf Area: we find the longer overgarments of men of Inner Iran (here Fārs, Ḥorāsān) as opposed to the shorter robes characteristic for the coastal districts, or the overlong, loosely flowing decorative and no longer functional sleeves of the white Timurid overgarment for women surviving among the Turcomans of Iran and the Ġazā'ir tribes, but also among the Persians of Hormūz, as opposed to the wide wraps with printed or painted vegetal patterns which covers the female body from head to toe in the other illustrations, and of course the red cap of the Turcoman followers of the Safavids.

A variety of sources tell us about cut, design and colours of indigenous garments, but formidable obstacles prevent us from easily matching these data with information on fabrics and weaves, let alone provenance, especially in the case of the imported fabrics with which we shall be primarily concerned below. Costume historians have as yet found no satisfactory method permitting us to distinguish Persian from Indian fabrics: analyses of weave structures of specimens extant have been carried out (mainly on figural textiles), but research is still in the preliminary stages¹⁰. Otherwise, the procedure is usually one of exclusion: of the surviving Golkondā chintzes, for example, those not showing the patterns characteristically demanded by the European markets are usually thought to be "for the domestic or Persian market"¹¹. Identical patterns depicted in Mughal and Safavid illuminations and paintings could also be attributed to the migration of artists or the copy-book used¹². Conversely, commercial sources present us with

⁹ Nos.12 ("molheres xirazas"), 13 ("rumes ...de mequa he de baçora"), 14 ("turquimões" of Safavid Iran), 15 ("jizares" from the hinterland of Al-Basra), 17 ("gente parsia do reyno de ormuz, mouros"), 18 (a curious dinner-scene from the Luso-Hormūzī society), 19 ("corações") and 20 ("xirazes"). For No.12, L.De MATOS (1985) and G. SCHURHAMMER (1956) unexplicably read "xiraõas". The text shows clearly "xirazas", but this may be a misspelling for "sirianas".

¹⁰ C. BIER (ed.) (1987), *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart. Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran. XVIth-XIXth Centuries*, Washington, 237. Attempts to establish provenance of textiles by analysing the metal content of gold- and silver-thread metallic yarns have as yet been unsuccessful, see I.E. HARDIN / F.J. DUFFIELD (1986), Characterization of Metallic Yarns in Historic Persian Textiles by Microanalysis, in: H.L. NEDDLES / S.H. ZERONIAN (eds.) (1986), *Historic Textiles Paper Materials*, Washington, 231-252, and IID. (1993), Microanalysis of Persian Textiles, *IrSt* XXV/1-2, 43-59, and N. INDICTOR (et al.) (1988), The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings from Medieval Textiles Using Scanning Electron Microscopy -Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectrometry, *TextH* XIX/1, 3-22.

¹¹ See e.g. J. IRWIN/K. BRETT (1970), *Origins of Chintz*, London, Cat. No.6, plate 4b.

¹² See e.g. B. GRAY (1959), An Album of Designs for Persian Textiles [i.e.: J. DUNSTALL (1661), *Therd Booke of Flowers, Fruits, Beastes, Birds and Flies*, London], in: R. ETTINGHAUSEN (ed.) (1959), *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst. Fs. E. KÜHNEL*, Berlin, 219-226. Among the less known studies dealing with the diffusion of

long lists of imported fabrics more often than not without any description to speak of. To compound this difficulty, the same denomination often refers to cotton, silk or mixed weaves. One common name is often applied to textiles of different origin and make, but sharing one common feature, a characteristic pattern (*alāḡas*), or function (*mandīls*). To make matters worse, not all textiles were imported to be used as they arrived. Many underwent additional finishing processes, starching, bleaching, dyeing, painting or block-printing in Iran, processes of which next to nothing is recorded in our sources. Rarely we learn which textiles were to be treated in ancillary industries of the textile sector. Where company records offer a few technical clues as to which fabrics were suitable for further treatment it is dangerous summarily to assume finishing processes in Iran: these comments frequently refer to the suitability of Indian fabrics for European industries. On the whole, we are far from being able to combine into a coherent picture information gleaned from company records with these three groups of possible sources: descriptions of Safavid dress by contemporaries, in the best of cases, may give some general indications of the kind of material employed, but usually fail to give details on patterns or weaves, while the uniformly smooth execution of textiles in pictorial sources while displaying fashionable patterns does not permit us to distinguish fabrics; extant specimens by and large withstand geographical classification.

Safavid Royal Workshops and Textile Manufacturing

Indian textile exports to Europe, East Africa and South East Asia have long been recognised as mainstays of the respective trade networks¹³. As we shall see, a similar statement seems to hold true for Persian Gulf commerce with the Indian subcontinent. Yet, as we have observed above literature on the external trade of Safavid Iran shows an unevenly dispensed interest focussing on Iran's raw silk trade and at best acknowledges the vast dimensions of the Indo-Persian textile trade. Alongside large-scale imports of fabrics for clothing purposes, especially cottons, silk stuffs and mixed weaves, the quantitative incidence of a great variety of imported textile products used for interior furnishings and transport needs (saddle bags, gunny etc.) can hardly be overestimated. We shall argue that these three classes of goods of mass use were subject to market conditions which could influence processes of production and distribution.

European artistic influences in Safavid Iran see also E.G. SIMS (1983), *The European Print Sources of Paintings by the XVIIth Century Persian Painter Muḥammad Zamān b. Hāḡḡī Yūsuf of Qum*, in: H. ZERNER (ed.) (1983), *Le stampe e la differenza delle immagini e degli stili*, Bologna, 73-83.

¹³ See e.g. E. ALPERS (1976), *Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa*, *IJAfrHS* IX/1, 22-44; S.P. SEN (1962), *The Role of Indian Textiles in South-East Asian Trade in the XVIIth Century*, *JSEAH* III/2, 92-110; S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1986), *The Coromandel-Melaka Trade in the XVIth Century*, *MOOI* III, 55-80 [repr. in: ID. (1990), 16-46]; S. ARASARATNAM (1986), 97ff.

A different logic governed textiles employed for what may loosely be called "ceremonial use", where they had specific functions in the reproduction of a given societal order and were hence valued not in money equivalents alone. At the same time, it must not be overlooked that in the context of an emerging "world economy" various sectors of the trade in luxury textiles (or scarce raw materials destined for such sumptuous weaves and garments) competition among purchasers on behalf of ruling elites did exist. Above we had briefly mentioned the trade in *kork* and Iranian raw silk as prime examples for government interference. We shall briefly touch upon the sector of textile production for the royal court¹⁴, but we shall concentrate on a distinctly different form of trade in the following chapter, in which commensurability in money terms was crucial, although we also find examples of barter in the textile trade in the Persian Gulf Area.

A line needs to be drawn between the Šāh's wardrobe and garments included in honorific *hel'ats* on the one hand, and conspicuous consumption of courtiers on the other. Textiles for the former use were largely commissioned from the royal manufacturies (*boyūtāt*), which combined technical expertise, capital and raw materials, until later in the XVIIth century a large part of the production and finishing processes were contracted out to artisans resident in Eṣfahān and surroundings as reported by E. Kaempfer. Safavid *hel'ats*, which if for foreign emissaries were primarily graded by fabric, colour and quite simply quantity, were ranked for Safavid dignitaries also according to their place of manufacture, the royal cutting workshop for the highest, the amiral workshop for the lesser ranks¹⁵. Besides being reminiscent of Muḥammad's presentation of the *burda*, the usage of giving subordinates a new shift of clothes was vested with the semantic dimension of strengthening the identification between master and servant, as proven by the value placed on the "*qabā* that has been worn by the King" bestowed by Safavid Šāhs on the highest dignitaries of their empire¹⁶. Despite the patrimonial organisation of resources and labour in the *boyūtāt* and the pricing of the final product some approximation to market prices was sought¹⁷.

¹⁴ Miscellaneous information on domestic textile production in Safavid Iran derived from traveller accounts and other published sources has been collected in a number of exhibition catalogues and inventories of surviving Iranian textiles, see e.g. C. BIER (ed.) (1987) and R. NEUMANN (1988), *Persische Seiden*, Leipzig.

¹⁵ For this interpretation of *Taẓkerat ol-Molūk*, *loc. cit.*, 65f. see P.L. BAKER (1991), *Islamic Honorific Garments, Costume XXV*, 24-35, 31f.

¹⁶ See Mīrzā Samī'a, *Taẓkerat ol-Molūk*, *loc. cit.*, 66.

¹⁷ The *nāẓer* and knowledgeable men, among them, it seems, the *moḥtaseb*, fixed prices for the products to be purchased, see *Taẓkerat ol-Molūk*, *loc. cit.*, 66.; compare this practice to discussions in scholastic Europe, where some theorists felt that applying a *iustum pretium* to luxury goods would be a contradiction in terms, see R. De ROOVER (1958), *The Concept of the Just Price: Theory and Economic Policy*, *JEcH* XVIII, 418-434, 426.

Output of the royal workshops is difficult to assess. When Šaraf-Hān Bedlisī drew up an inventory of Šāh Ṭahmāsb's treasury in 1576 he found 800 brocaded overcoats (*sar-pūš*) and no less than 30.000 robes (*ḡāme ve farāḡe*)¹⁸. Šāh 'Abbās I was reported to have bestowed some 8.000 honorific robes on Iran's officials and foreign envoys¹⁹ and Soltān Ḥosayn, the last Safavid Šāh, was said, perhaps somewhat hyperbolically, to keep in the royal wardrobe sufficient textiles to clothe an army of 100.000 men²⁰. Garments of the royal wardrobes were burnt every seven years to recover precious gold and silver thread and few survived the sack of Eṣfahān in 1722²¹, but specimens of *heḷ'ats* preserved in Western collections testify to the fine craftsmanship of Safavid luxury textile production²² and mirror court dress of the time of presentation.

Whether or not the removal from the open market of large sectors of what was arguably one among the most sophisticated textile industries of the Islamic world was detrimental to the "national economy" seems to be an idle question in an at best partially commoditized environment. Most conspicuous consumption of the domestic textile production was connected to the political domain in any case. Conversely, observers noticed the contraction of the *zarbāfi*-industry of Eṣfahān when their products fell victim to a politically motivated import ban in India²³. Thus, the economic and cultural significance of secure demand on the part of the largest single consumer for luxury garments in Iran, the Safavid court, was to require and maintain a high level of skills, possibly to stimulate the adoption or invention of new techniques and to

¹⁸ Šaraf-Hān b. Šams od-Dīn Bedlisī, *Šarafnāme*, ed. V. Veljaminev-Zernov, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1860/62, vol. 1, 453; vol. 2, 251f., q.i. V. MINORSKY (ed.) (1943), 184f.

¹⁹ See A.F. KENDRICK (1924/25), A Persian Velvet, *Yearbook of Oriental Art and Culture*, 58-61, and R. NEUMANN (1988), 37ff.

²⁰ Moḥammad Hāšem ĀṢAF (1352/1973), *Rostam ot-tavārth*, Tehrān², German ed.: B. HOFFMANN (1986), *Persische Geschichte 1694-1835, erlebt, erinnert und erfunden*, 2 vols., Berlin, vol. 2, 444; L.S. DIBA (1987), *Visual and Written Sources: Dating XVIIIth Silks*, in: C. BIER (ed.) (1987), 84-96, 94.

²¹ Moḥammad Hāšem ĀṢAF, *Rostam ot-tavārth*, *loc. cit.*, vol. 2, 212 and 444; L.S. DIBA (1992), 787; see also J. ALLGROVE MCDOWELL (1989), *Textiles*, in: R.W. FERRIER (ed.) (1989), *The Arts of Persia*, New Haven, 168.

²² See e.g. the luxury vestments brought back as royal gifts by the 1639 Holstein-Gottorp embassy and described in A. OLEARIUS (1656), which have survived in the royal Danish collections, see F.R. MARTIN (1901), *Die persischen Prachtstoffe im Schlosse Rosenborg in Kopenhagen*, Stockholm; for J.B. Tavernier's *heḷ'at*, see S. SCHUSTER-WALSER (1977), *Ein Ehrengewand vom Safawiden-Schah*, *Der Islam* LIV, 126-132, and his portrait by N. De Laguillière in the Hrg. Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, see G. SIEVERNICH (et al.) (1989), *Europa und der Orient 800-1900*, Berlin, 821.

²³ R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, *loc. cit.*, 186f.: "Tel charbafé [*šā'rbāf*], ouvrier, qui avoit vingt et trente destega [*dastgāh*] (ouvrouiers), n'en peut pas garder deux ou trois, et avec cela ils n'ont pas de l'eau à boire. La plus part de ces ouvriers se sont mis à tisser de la toile ...ou des taffetas".

establish aesthetic models some characteristic traits of which would eventually trickle down to be emulated by those outside the narrower court circles who could afford it.

Court Fashions and the Textile Trade

However, in an age haunted by recurrent subsistence crises only the very apex of society's pyramid could indulge in the follies of fashion. Here, Safavid court dress was susceptible to rather more frequent and profound changes than European observers were wont to acknowledge: while Europe began to pride itself on skillfully playing the fashion game, it imagined the Muslim East - here as in other domains of social and economic life - as static. J.Chardin can perhaps be credited for introducing the notion that Iran's costume virtually never changed: when shown around Qal'e Tabarak of Eşfahān he observed that the preserved stately attire of Timur Leng bore a striking resemblance to courtly dress of his own time, with the colours, patterns and fabrics remaining unmodified for centuries²⁴. Early modern Europe considered fashion consciousness an index for the improvement in the general tenor of life. J.B. Say even ventured a linkage to civic society in general, when he wrote disapprovingly "que je n'ait aucun attrait pour les modes immobiles des Turcs et des autres peuples de l'Orient. Il semble" - he widened the scope of his remark - "qu'elles prêtent de la durée à leur stupide despotisme", only eventually to compare this inert state to the French peasantry trapped in a similarly stagnant world. The champion of the study of *longue durée* Fernand Braudel endorsed this correlation under a chapter heading "When society stood still"²⁵. Comments such as these are, of course, indicative of the perspective of the writer rather than of the societies depicted, and recent research by costume historians alerts us to the dangers of taking these statements at face value.

External influences and the cultural diversity of the empires did not go unnoticed by fashionable court society. Some of the alleged European influences are rather far-fetched or

²⁴ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 147 and vol.8, 153. Similarly sweeping statements are echoed in most observers of other Middle Eastern societies, e.g. on female court attire in early XVIIIth century Istanbul Mouragea D'Ohsson [Müradcan Tosun] (1787), *Tableau générale de l'Empire Ottoman...*, 7 vols., Paris.

²⁵ J.B. SAY (1829), *Cours complet de 'économie politique*, Paris, vol.5, 108; F. BRAUDEL (1979), *Les structures du quotidien*, Paris; Engl. ed.: *The Structures of Everyday Life*, London 1986, vol.1, 312ff. For a critique - chiefly on methodological grounds - see also K.N. CHAUDHURI (1990), 187ff.

outright misleading²⁶. At other times such inspiration of changes of single elements of the Safavid courtier's attire by European models is not entirely inconceivable²⁷. Thus it seems that the introduction of European-style buttons was instrumental in altering the development of the oversized, long sleeves characteristic of the pre-mid-XVIth century costume. But more importantly, reflections of regional costume of minorities incorporated into the empire needs investigation. Changes in Mughal dress have been linked to the ascendancy of Rajput and, later, Deccani elites at court²⁸. Similarly, the rise of Georgian courtiers in Eşfahān seems to have left traces in Safavid costume²⁹. Recent studies have demonstrated a variety of subtle changes of Safavid court dress³⁰. Indeed, there was hardly any element of male and female attire which was not subjected to constant variations over the almost two and a half centuries of the dynasty's rule. Perhaps the most salient constant feature of Safavid court dress was the wearing of various layers of garments of strongly contrasting colours³¹. This very trait accounted for almost infinite possibilities of varying fabric, weave, pattern, cut and composition of garments. From the XVIth to the XVIIth century, the attire of the Safavid male courtier showed a trend away from the neat vertical lines inherited from Timurid court styles. Instead, more composite features developed, with separate garments for the upper and lower parts of the body. The bell-shaped coats, which became fashionable in the later XVIIth century may have required certain stiffer fabrics; the multiple changes in size, form and draping of turban and sash - including, at one stage, the preference to plait together two different fabrics - brought about the use a a wider array of

²⁶ J.B. TAVERNIER (1676), 607, claims, that figural silks spread to Iran under the influence of European models through the mediation of Armenian traders, an assertion that cannot be upheld against overwhelming evidence. Tavernier may well have believed non-figural designs more authentically "oriental". In his portrait in Oriental attire his outer garment shows a floral pattern at a time when figural representations were *en vogue*, see G. SIEVERNICH (et al.) (1989), 821.

²⁷ In the early XVIIIth century, European and Armenian weavers were said to be working in New-Ġolfā, see C. De BRUIJN (1714), who also speaks of the copying of a Dutch herbal in one of the Šāh's workshops. For comparable developments from the Mughal Empire see V. RICH (1987), Mughal Floral Painting and Its European Sources, *OrAr* XXXIII, 183-189.

²⁸ H. GOETZ (1924), *Kostüm und Mode an den indischen Fürstenhöfen in der Großmoghol-Zeit*, *JbAsK* I, 67-101.

²⁹ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.2, 130 and vol.4, 148.

³⁰ Especially: L.S. DIBA (1992); J.M. SCARCE (1987b), *Vesture and Dress. Fashion, Function and Impact*, in: C. BIER (ed.) (1987), 33-56; EAD. (1987a), *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, London / Sydney, 132ff. The first survey were H. GOETZ (1938/39), *The History of Persian Costume...*, in: A. POPE (ed.) (1938/39), 2246ff., and J. UPTON (1929/30), *Notes on Persian Costumes of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries*, *Metropolitan Museum Studies* II, 206-220.

³¹ J. SCARCE (1987b), 36.

fabrics, the desire to combine new patterns with established favourites may well have facilitated the entry of Indian luxury wares.

Safavid Iran shared with other pre-modern societies a preoccupation with the social implications of dress, although it was seemingly not as obsessed as the Ottoman Empire with the subversion of the order of things ominously indicated by indiscriminate use of apparel, regardless of the wearer's station in life³². State intervention in the luxury trade, too, was seemingly less pronounced than the *dirigisme* punctuating the history of Ottoman external commerce³³. Nothing comparable to European sumptuary legislation seems to have developed nor anything similar to the complex symbolic language of fabrics prevailing in India³⁴. This is not to say that Safavid treatises, especially when balancing the twofold rôle of the Safavids as spiritual leaders and secular rulers was a pressing task in the XVIth century, neglected the aspect of dress when discoursing on proper conduct of the King: Ibn Karbalā'ī, in the second half of the century author of a "mirror of princes", counselled the ruler to adhere to the model set by the prophet and the *imāms* in food and clothing³⁵. Similarly, a decree probably issued by Šāh Ṭahmāsb and concerning functionaries at court exhorts the latter not to "adorn their body or attire and... [to] choose something less than what they can afford"³⁶. However, as we move into the XVIIth century, we repeatedly come across comments, especially on the part of Latin observers³⁷,

³² A. TIETZE (1982), *Mustafā 'Ālī on Luxury and the Status Symbols of Ottoman Gentlemen*, in: A. GALLOTTA / U. MARAZZI (eds.) (1982), *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata*, Napoli, 577-590.

³³ Cfr. for example M. ROGERS (1986), *Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulations*, in: H.G. MAJER (ed.) (1986), *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte in memoriam V. Boškov*, Wiesbaden, 135-155.

³⁴ See for example: B. COHN (1989), *Cloth, clothes and colonialism*. Paper in: A.B. WEINER / J. SCHEINER (eds.) (1989), *Cloth and Human Experience*, Washington, and C.A. BAYLY (1986), *The Origins of swadeshi* (Home Industry). *Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930*, in: A. APPADURAI (ed.) (1986), 285-321. H. GOETZ (1924) mistakenly quotes J. SARKAR (1916), *History of Aurangzeb*, 5 vols., Calcutta, vol.3, 103, for a Mughal *Kleiderordnung*.

³⁵ A.K.S. LAMBTON (1971), *Islamic Mirrors for Princes*, in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo*, Roma 1971, 419-442, 440.

³⁶ S.A. ARJOMAND (1988), *Two Decrees of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Concerning Statecraft and the Authority of Shaykh 'Ālī Al-Karakī*, in: ID. (ed.) (1988), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, New York, 250-262, 259.

³⁷ Sumptuary laws had been repealed in England in 1604 but continued to be widespread in most of continental Europe, see N.B. HARTE (1976), *State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England*, in: D.C. COLEMAN / A.H. JOHN (eds.) (1976), *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England*, London, 132-165; on the ambiguous attitude of XVIIIth century Italy see P. BURKE (1986), *Städtische Kultur in Italien zwischen Hochrenaissance und Barock*, Berlin, 111ff. and the institutionalised aspects of sumptuary legislation in Venice in G. BISTORT (1912), *Il magistrato alle pompe nella Repubblica di Venezia. Studio storico*, Venezia. On the French "quest for a morale of the consumer" see R.H. WILLIAMS (1982), *Dream Worlds. Mass Consumption in Late XIXth Century France*, Berkeley etc., 213ff.

stating that "on ne reprime point le luxe en Perse, tout au contraire il est généralement encouragé & excité". Others remarked, perhaps with some disdain, on perceived excesses of expenditure on apparel: "icy, d'ordinaire, ils portent sur eux plus que leur valliant"³⁸. By then, the display of wealth and prosperity, indeed of luxury, had become acceptable and theorists moving in court circles such as Mollā Moḥsen Fayḍ Kāšānī strove to integrate the need for outward splendour out of *raisons d'état* into their portrait of the ideal ruler³⁹.

While in court society apparel was a not only a strong marker of ranking but also functioned as signifier for effective power conferred⁴⁰, in civil society things were more complicated. Contrary to the preoccupation with social conformity prevalent in Ottoman social philosophy, later Safavid Iran seems to have subscribed to the rather more indulgent principle "honour is according to habit"⁴¹. On the other hand, the Carmelite Friar Paul Simon relates that the ruler had given orders to watch out for and reprimand individuals dressing too ostentatiously, "especialy if he is a soldier"⁴², just as in the Ottoman Empire the military in particular were targeted by admonitions to curb luxury⁴³. The great problem with state control of dress was of course that of enforcement. Pacifique des Provins mentions the existence in Safavid Iran of a "police pour les habits" which is difficult to identify⁴⁴.

³⁸ See e.g. J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 159; R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, *loc.cit.*, 101.

³⁹ For extracts from Mollā Moḥsen Fayḍ Kāšānī's *Ā'īne-ye šāhī*, Šīrāz 1320/1941, see W.C. CHITTICK (1988), Two XVIIth Century Persian Tracts on Kingship and Rulers, in: S.A. ARJOMAND (ed.) (1988), 267-304, esp.274: "...sovereignty commands the display of pomp and splendor for the sake of onlookers...". For temporary suspensions of sumptuary laws to allow for ostentatious celebrations of the state's achievements in Italian cities see D. OWEN HUGHES (1983), Sumptuary Laws and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy, in: J. BOSSY (ed.) (1983), *Disputes and Settlements. Law and Human Relations in the West*, Cambridge, 69-99.

⁴⁰ Later, Moḥammad Hāšem ĀṢAF, *Rostam ot-tavārīh*, *loc.cit.*, would define the position of a host of court servants by mentioning characteristic elements of their apparel.

⁴¹ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 264; J. HOUSEGO has chosen Chardin's rendering of the Persian saying as the title of her essay, without exploring the social repercussions of the underlying notions, see EAD. (1971), Honour is According to Habit. Persian Dress in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries, *Apollo* XCIII/109, 204-209.

⁴² H. CHICK (ed.) (1939), *A Chronicle...*, vol.1, 158.

⁴³ See A. TIETZE (1982), *passim*.

⁴⁴ P. PACIFIQUE DE PROVINS (1631), *Relation du voyage de Perse fait par le R. ~...*, Paris, 299 [this edition gives mistakenly 399]; possibly he refers to an office related to the *moḥtaseb* who bore some responsibility for upholding public morality. W. FLOOR (1985), The office of *muḥtasib* in Iran, *IrSt* XVIII, 53-74, questions A.K.S. LAMBTON (1954), *Islamic Society in Persia*, London, 13f., for accepting at face value the *moḥtaseb*'s tasks listed in a document dated 1662, which feature prominently the preservation of public morality but do not mention any *Kleiderordnung*. For the later period see also W. FLOOR (1971), The Market Police in Qajar Persia: The Offices of Darughā-yi Bazar and Muhtasib, *WI* XIII/3-4, 212-229.

But while European theorists came to appreciate the potential of fashion changes to stimulate economic activity ("Fashion or the alteration of Dress is a great Promoter of Trade, because it occasions the Expense of Cloathes before the Old ones are worn out"⁴⁵), different principles operated in Šāh 'Abbās I's Iran: in a description of his kingdom P. Della Valle credited the monarch with the introduction "per ragion di stato" of *alāḡa*-cottons, a multicoloured warp-striped fabric woven in many parts of Persia but also imported in a wide range of varieties from India, as the basic fabric for the chief components of male outward dress⁴⁶. The Italian polymath gives two reasons for the adoption of this popular weave which existed in an infinite degree of finenesses, namely "accioche ogni huomo povero possa con poco comparir galante & anche à fin che le sete, delle quali la Persia tanto abbonda, non si consumino tutte colà, ma vadano fuori"⁴⁷. This may be more than a idiosyncratic interpretation of the perceived uniform elegance of metropolitan Eṣfahān. We could read the comment of not as expression of the desire to create a national costume perhaps as an attempt to create conditions which allowed styles of the court society more easily to trickle down to other strata of society. The Carmelite Friar P. Simon observed in 1608 that "almost all of them [*scil.*: Šāh 'Abbās' subjects] go clothed in cotton stuffs of various colours in imitation of the king"⁴⁸. One might indeed wonder how much the policy sketched above, if implemented, contributed to the image of widespread prosperity of Safavid Eṣfahān evoked by many a visitor. As most of the stuffs were described as "lavori d'India", it would seem mistaken, however, to conclude that the measures taken were aimed primarily at substituting the use of Indian by domestic cottons⁴⁹. Rather one could speculate whether the intention was a rare if ultimately abortive attempt at effective product substitution: the wearing at court of high grade cotton, albeit imported from India, should release a larger share of the

⁴⁵ N. BARBON (1690), *A Discourse on Trade*, in: J. HOLLANDER (ed.), *A Reprint of Economic Tracts*, Baltimore, 14f.

⁴⁶ P. DELLA VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed. 147ff. It has been observed that authentic *ikats* are extremely rare among surviving Safavid textiles, but that many imitations, often in more costly, metal-ground fabrics have been found, see C. BIER (ed.) (1987), 160ff.

⁴⁷ P. DELLA VALLE (1628), *Delle conditioni di Abbas Re di Persia*, Venezia, 18. Only the second reason is found in ID. (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*; new ed. 147f.

⁴⁸ H. CHICK (ed.) (1939), *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Missions of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols., London, vol.1, 156. Cfr. the very different note struck by N. BARBON (1690), 32, who asserts that "the following of the Fashions is a Respect paid to the Prince & his Court, by approving of his choice, in the Shape of the Dress."

⁴⁹ R. FERRIER (1976), 206, N.118 and R. MATTHEE (1991), 402 speak of import substitution. For the use of Indian cottons stuffs for these garments see also P. DELLA VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed., 148ff. and here below. Compare this to the *de facto* substitution of French silks by light Indian calicoes in later XVIIth century England; this link, not considered in K.N. CHAUDHURI (1976), 281ff., has been suggested in C. MUKHERJI (1983), 189.

domestic silk production for export purposes, which, in turn, would boost the influx of precious metals into Iran. In fact, the measure reported by Della Valle seems to have referred primarily to the sometimes hip-length, waistcoat-like *arḥaloq*⁵⁰, which entered the Safavid costume only at the turn of the XVIIth century. The suspicion that the measure was a deliberate policy decision which required at least outward conformity is confirmed by the fact that for less conspicuous uses, such as underwear, courtiers were allowed to prefer more delicate Indian fabrics to homespun varieties⁵¹. Furthermore, the prescription to wear cotton extended to male attire only, as women of affluent families continued to don rich metal-ground (or metal-stamped) silk weaves⁵². However, later on, not only Persians resumed wearing rich silk weaves, but metal-ground sashes were among the choicest export items to Poland, where they were integrated into the costume of the nobility⁵³.

Thus, court fashion, on the whole, lead a life of its own and the royal will decreed changes in the way the his subjects dressed only occasionally. It is difficult to determine how deep the refined dress sense of the court penetrated society. As the cuts of most Safavid garments were relatively simple, the visual effects of fabrics could be imitated through apt finishing processes and no sanctions barred emulation, dissemination of fashionable styles outside court circles. This caused the oft-quoted difficulties of outsiders to Asian societies to chart social boundaries on the basis of costume alone: often these distinctions were expressed through the fineness of the fabric rather than through a particular piece of attire.

Textile Trade and Consumption Outside the Court

By and large European travellers tend to describe court dress or the costume of merchants and the upper echelons of the bureaucratic, military and religious hierarchy they had dealings with. Preferences of the middle ranks of society, which in Europe counted for much of the

⁵⁰ See also R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, *loc. cit.*, 101: "Le dessus est l'arkalou comme chemisole et ce de toile fine à pointe double et entre deux du coton piqué."

⁵¹ P. Della VALLE (1628), 18; see also ID. (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*; new ed. 147f.

⁵² P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed., 147; see also the report of Fr. Melchior de los Angeles, in: F. Mendes Da LUZ (ed.) (1952), 601ff.

⁵³ J.B. TAVERNIER (1676), *loc. cit.*, 609; for the XVIIIth century see J. HANWAY (1753), *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea With a Journal of Travels Through Russia into Persia*, 4 vols., London, vol. I, 127 on exports through Astrakhan: *kāšf* "silk sashes intermixed with gold, for the consumption of the Polanders"; see also T. MANKOWSKI (1931), Influence of Islamic Art in Poland, *AI* II, 93-117 and I. PIOTROWSKA (1942), XVIIIth Century Polish Sashes, *Polish Review* II, 6ff.

broadening of demand⁵⁴, remain largely obscure. Yet much of Indian imports was seemingly destined for this middle and lower range of the market, probably officers, better-salaried officials, merchants, parts of the religious establishment, and, in the provinces, local notables, landlords, and heads of subunits of tribes. At the time of Šāh ‘Abbās I, merchants who had become wealthy but did not belong to the ruling élite donned an *arhaloq* of *qutnt*, a lustrous mixed silk-cotton fabric with satin weave to exhibit their new-won affluence⁵⁵. There were *qutnts* of domestic production but otherwise most of the stuffs used for this piece of garment were imported from India⁵⁶. As dress conventions became gradually more sophisticated throughout the XVIIth century, overt social markers found their way into female dress, too. During the earlier part of the century, comparatively unadorned modesty had been privileged over the display of social status as the hallmark of women’s costume. Travellers were struck by the great similarities between the main features of male and female dress, with differentiation underscored not primarily by the cut of garments, but rather by distinctive headgear. We shall note that fabrics to be employed for turbans and veils were among the more voluminous imports from India. By the end of the century, however, female attire, too, had begun to convey coded information on social status. A wider array of fabrics, weaves and patterns was required, and we hear of what must have been an almost transparent light veil, worn especially by the spouses of the men of the sword⁵⁷. If Armenian and Syriac women in an urban environment wore veils just as their Muslim sisters, there was still plenty of scope for variations to mark the wearers’ identity. Thus clothing in a multiethnic and multireligious society such as Safavid Iran made a statement on religious and ethnic affiliation even where basic vestimentary codes of the dominant civilization were adopted⁵⁸. These variations of common themes must not be confused with the adherence

⁵⁴ Cfr. among many other examples L. WEATHERILL (1988), *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London, 17.

⁵⁵ On the social and political dangers facing merchants’ conspicuous consumption in the "Indian Ocean Trading World" see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1985), 212f.

⁵⁶ P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed. 148. For descriptions of Gujarati *qutnts* see G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier...*, BNP FF 14614, fl.127ff.

⁵⁷ See C. De BRUIN (1714), 165ff.

⁵⁸ Here, reference is not to *Tracht*. For the history of distinctive clothing of religious minorities in the Middle East see also I. LICHTENSTADTER (1943), The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims in Islamic Countries, *Histlud* V, 35-52. Y.K. STILLMAN (1976), The Importance of the Cairo Geniza Manuscripts for the History of Medieval Female Attire, *JMES* VII, 579-589 and EAD. (1979), New Data on Islamic Textiles from the Geniza, *TextH* X, 184-195, seems to argue that in Medieval Egypt no traces of distinctive dress can be found.

to "ethnic" costumes by trading minorities who preserved their distinctive clothing abroad⁵⁹. As cases in point we cite the sizeable minority of Banyans resident in the Persian Gulf Area. Their dress showed markedly different features from those of their host societies⁶⁰. In all likelihood, they had their garments imported from India, just as Arab "diaspora" merchants were known to order their clothes from Al-Bašra⁶¹.

In the higher echelons of Safavid society, the replacement rate of dress was another marker of one's social status. This social practice not only meant keeping up with fashion trends, but for the courtier also entailed the necessity of keeping an adequately stocked wardrobe. The still infant field of probate inventory studies in urban Middle Eastern contexts promises some detailed insights into the stock of possessions of durable consumer goods⁶², but these documents are less illuminating on perishable, periodically replaced and increasingly short-lived semi-durables such as textiles⁶³. As yet, no similar study for Safavid Iran or Ottoman 'Irāq has been possible. European travellers commented on the low cost of dress in Safavid Iran, but also stated that the convention of changing clothes every day or even more often more than levelled out the initial advantage⁶⁴.

Wealthier members of society, having worn their clothes a few times, passed them on to their servants⁶⁵, a practice which certainly contributed to the impression of general prosperity:

⁵⁹ For records documenting the dress of Armenian merchants in Europe see: S. van ROOY (1966), *Armenian Merchant Habits as Mirrored in the XVIIth-XVIIIth Century Amsterdam Documents*, *REArm* N.S. III, 347-358, where conforming to XVIIth century Dutch usage the terms "Persian" and "Armenian" are equated; cfr. the Ottoman use of 'acem. However, see also I. TURNAU (1987), *Zródła z lat 1572-1728 do ubioru polskich Ormian*, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* XXXV, 601-60. P. CURTIN (1984) by and large neglects the cultural dimension of the diasporas, but see now L. BLUSSÉ (1986), *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, Leiden, on the Chinese "diaspora" in Batavia.

⁶⁰ See also the early XVIIIth century portrait of a Banyan merchant in C. De BRUIN (1714), pl.109.

⁶¹ ARA VOC 1224, fl.349rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Colombo, dated 20/4/1657: "bassourase oft mochase cameels hacire cammellotten en werden alhier in geen quantiteitj aengebracht, 10 a 12 stuckjes sommige moorse coopluijden voor haer eijgen cleeedingh herwaerts brengende is veel, vermits dat geweeft hier gansch niet begeert zij".

⁶² See for some preliminary work J.P. PASCUAL (1990), *Meubles et objets domestiques quotidiens des intérieurs damascains du XVIIe siècle*, *RMMM* LV-LVI, 197-207 and G. VEINSTEIN / Y. TRIANTAFYLLOU-BALADIÉ (1980), *Les inventaires après décès Ottomans de Crète*, in: A.v.d. WOUDE / A. SCHUURMAN (eds.) (1980), *Probate Inventories. A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture and Agricultural Development* (=A.A.G. Bijdragen XXIII), Wageningen, 191-204. A pioneering study was L. FEKETE (1960), *Das Heim eines türkischen Herrn in der Provinz im XVI. Jahrhundert*, *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XXIX, Budapest.

⁶³ Epistemological problems in the use of inventories for an age of widening market-oriented, i.e. non-subsistence, consumption of more ephemeral semi-durables will be discussed in a study in preparation, R. KLEIN, *Some probate inventories from Safavid Iran*, which is based on the lists of possessions of deceased Company servants in Iran.

⁶⁴ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 158; J. THEVENOT (1674), vol.2, 175; A. OLEARIUS (1656), 589. See also R. Du MANS (1660), 101: "Pour leurs vestements pour estre honnestement habillé, il couste assez cher, et à moins que d'en changer souvent pour les faire passer pour neufs, cela sent le valet...".

⁶⁵ P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed. 147. For the same practice in Mughal India, see passages in the *Akbarnāme* q.i. H. NAQVI (1968), 145, N.96.

the richer fabrics were known to be extremely durable and could be worn for years⁶⁶. Similarly, there is evidence for the existence of a flourishing trade in discarded luxury garments (or parts thereof) through second-hand dealers (*simsārān*)⁶⁷. In addition, costume historians tell us that sumptuous robes were frequently recut⁶⁸, a practice which may well have contributed to the dissemination of certain fashionable elements of court dress. Even among the less wealthy, showing off a new shift of clothes at least every *nourūz* and on the occasion of the more important festivities in the extended family such as marriages was *de rigueur*⁶⁹. In rural areas, replacement rates for what was often the only garment owned were about one year. The fabrics used by the poor were said to have been of good quality and their colours resisted the strain of being washed once or twice a week, both in rural and urban areas⁷⁰.

Even basic data for a socially differentiated analysis of demand is lacking. Safavid society was of course socially highly heterogeneous and one can distinguish between a luxury trade in status-enhancing prestige goods and the mass provision of basic necessities. The provision of basic necessities was of course recognised as being crucial in securing the stability of the social order in capital-centred *ancien régimes* and became a prime example of a *dirigiste* policy⁷¹. Muslim society had created the institution of *hisba* along with the enforcing official, the *muhtasib* to rein back the forces of demand and supply for those classes of goods that pertain to daily necessities.

⁶⁶ Mīrzā Hosayn Hān (1342/1877), *Ġogrāfiyā-ye Eṣfahān*, Tehrān, No.65 states that the quality of locally produced cotton clothes worn by the urban poor made their gowns last for as long as two to three years and compares them favourably with European imports. See also W. FLOOR (1971), *The Guilds in Qājār Persia*, PhD Leiden, 94f.

⁶⁷ M. KEYVANI (1982), 54. The more familiar meaning of *simsār* is, of course, broker; here, however, they are listed alongside *horde-forūšān*, scrap-dealers or pedlars. This much neglected aspect of retail commerce has only recently begun to be appreciated even in European history, see e.g. B. LEMIRE (1988), *Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Second Hand Clothes*, *JBritSt* XXVII/1, 1-24.

⁶⁸ L.S. DIBA (1992), 787.

⁶⁹ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.2, 283 on *nourūz* ("fête des habits neufs, parce qu'il n'y a homme si pauvre & si miserable qui n'en mette un, et ceux qui en ont le moyen en mettent tous les jours de la Fête"), and *ibid.* vol.4, 158.

⁷⁰ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.1, 140; A. OLEARIUS (1656), 589.

⁷¹ When Šāh Soltān Hosayn left Eṣfahān for a prolonged pilgrimage in 1707 poor provisioning of the capital resulted in famine and caused a violent uprising, see J.T. KRUSIŃSKI (1728), *Histoire de la dernière révolution de Perse*, 2 vols., Den Haag, vol.1, 95. See also for the famine of 1661 Moḥammad Ṭāher Vahīd, *Abbāsname*, ed. I. Dehqān, Ārāk, 1950, 307, q.i. M. KEYVANI (1982), 118. For the Ottoman empire e.g. L. GÜÇER (1949-1950), *Le problème de l'approvisionnement d'Istanbul en céréales vers le milieu du XVIIe siècle*, *IkFM* XI, 153-162. For Europe see also C. TILLY (1975), *Reflections on the History of European State Making*, in: ID. (ed.) (1975), *The Formation of Nation States in Western Europe*, Princeton, 3-83.

Yet, the *muhtasib*'s control over textile prices was less than complete⁷². We would therefore expect the movement of retail prices to shadow wholesale prices.

At the same time, one must not underestimate the vast sectors of society that remained largely outside the market-oriented exchange systems. In the sphere of prestige goods the dominant principle would be that of restriction or withdrawal pertaining to the social rather than to the economic domain. But for the strata sandwiched between the apex and the vast base of society demand-supply mechanisms were more likely to obtain, especially in urban contexts. However, while one may further surmise a demographic recovery and possibly even some economic growth and urbanisation in XVIIth century Iran which may have increased receptivity in Middle Eastern societies for large amounts of foreign textiles, it must be borne in mind that in absolute and relative terms the degree of urbanisation in Safavid Iran was rather low⁷³. Therefore, demand was unlikely ever to exceed local production capacities except perhaps in very few large urban centres and ecologically unfavoured regions. But it would be misleading to regard "nomadization" as an impediment *per se* to the rise of a regional division of labour which must be supposed to lie at the roots of large scale textile imports. On the contrary one can conjecture that the multiple ways of co-ordinating the economic régimes of transhumant and sedentary life necessarily engendered exchange, although the specific requirements of the nomadic lifestyle offered only very limited outlets for the textile trade.

No sketch of consumption can do without at least cursory reference to prices. Yet, it is only when records of traders encompass both purchase and sale of textiles that we can catch some glimpse of the complex interplay between producers and consumers. We have to be aware, of course, that sales and purchasing prices in Company sources are but imperfect and often flawed indicators of effective prices even on the wholesale markets, especially for low cost textiles. Otherwise, figures for the costs of textile production in Safavid Iran are not available except for

⁷² See for Safavid Iran M. KEYVANI (1982), 115ff. and index *s.v.*; similarly, mid-XVIIth century court cases from Aleppo show the official unable to prevent a rise in the cost of "*irāqī*"-cloth, since, as a more senior authority decided, the increase could be passed on directly to the consumers and would not trigger a chain-reaction in other related crafts, see B. MASTERS (1988), 205.

⁷³ Figures for Iran are difficult to come by, see for the earlier XVIth century J. AUBIN (1986); for a study on the basis of early XVIIIth century Ottoman records see F. ZARINEBAF-SHAHR (1991), Tabriz under Ottoman Rule 1725-1730, PhD Chicago, 99, who gives 6.028 *hānes* for Tabriz in 1727. For the degree of urbanisation in selected regions of Mediterranean Europe see J. De VRIES (1984), *European Urbanisation 1500-1800*, London, 32 and table 3.3: 39.6-51.4% for the period 1600-1650; for Mughal India see H.K. NAQVI (1972), *Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals 1556-1707*, Simla.

luxury carpets⁷⁴. Surprisingly, there is only little anecdotal evidence for the comparative cost advantage of Indian textiles on Persian Gulf Area markets. This principle has, of course, been invoked to explain the rise of Indian cottons in Europe. In fact, the local textile industries in Iran do not seem to have suffered from foreign (i.e. Indian) competition, although prices for Indian manufactures appear to have undercut those of domestic products⁷⁵. Annual imports of tens of thousands of bales of Indian textiles into the Persian Gulf Area, which for many decades exceeded the volume of imports to Europe, were also facilitated by a number of other factors: Safavid markets served as distribution centres for the Ottoman Empire, Russia and Central Asia. Better and more frequent communication between India and the Persian Gulf Area increased market accessibility along transit routes in parts of the country and allowed for something approaching economies-of-scale.

Yet, outside the urban centres and their hinterland, the overwhelming majority of villagers and the sizeable nomadic population were unlikely to replace homespun cloth with imported textiles purchased in a nearby market. For them, invariably low disposable incomes meant that their links with the emerging integrated patterns of world trade were as tenuous as their integration into "the state". This picture changed significantly along major trade routes in the vicinity of larger cities and especially where participation in cottage industries such as the brocade and carpet weaving around Kāšān and Eṣfahān⁷⁶ allowed for advanced integration into exchange networks. Here, peasants appeared modestly but adequately dressed and plenty of pottery and (mostly textile-based) furnishings adorned their households⁷⁷, which outside observers compared favourably to their European counterparts.

⁷⁴ T. MANKOWSKI (1936), Note on the Cost of the Kashan Carpets at the Beginning of the XVIIth Century, *BAIPAA* IV/3, 152-153 and ID. (1951/53), *Wyprawa po kobierce do Persii w roku 1601*, *RoczOr* XVII, 184-211.

⁷⁵ Recent research into the Indo-European textile trade has stressed that the simple reasoning in cost factors needs to be supplemented by a study of the cultural underpinning which allowed for a sufficient acceptance of foreign textiles. For a scathing critique of such substitution processes in XIXth century Iran see Mīrzā Ḥosayn Ḥān (1342/1877), *Ġogrāfiyā-ye Eṣfahān*, Tehrān, No.65.

⁷⁶ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.3, 84 and vol.8, 40.

⁷⁷ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.6, 131. On an evaluation of similar developments in contemporaneous Europe see L. WEATHERILL (1988) and N. Mc KENDRICK / J. BREWER / J.H. PLUMB (1982), *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of XVIIIth Century England*, London.

At Eşfahān, daily and/or weekly markets catered for the particular needs of villagers coming into town from the surrounding countryside⁷⁸. On the other hand, many Eşfahān-based traders also sent their agents in the villages to sell their wares⁷⁹. Most Indian piece-goods were sold in the *bāzārs* of major cities, but minor settlements, too, could function as markets supplying surrounding villages with imported textiles, especially where they were located on major trade routes: in the South, for example, peasants flocked to Ġahrom, a minor centre on the road linking Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Šīrāz, where twice a week they could find "Indian and Persian craftsmen and fabrics"⁸⁰. However, import traders agreed that these markets in the hinterland of Persian Gulf ports, as indeed most of Fārs, with their low purchasing power only drew poorer fabrics, which local retailers would buy directly in the ports from importers⁸¹. Elsewhere, one would imagine that as in the case of the rural population of *ancien régime* Europe the follies of fashion reached them, at best, in the form of accessories, borne by itinerant pedlars and affordable only for those who produced some surplus and had access to markets in which to sell it⁸². In the true periphery, misery ruled material culture⁸³ and the costume of nomads and settled villagers bore hardly any distinguishing mark to the foreign observer's eye⁸⁴.

Even where means were not lacking, self-sufficiency was the hallmark of textile-production: in Ġilān, owing to its silk trade one of the more monetarised provinces of the Safavid

⁷⁸ M. KEYVANI (1982), 232.

⁷⁹ ARA VOC 1259, pp.3385ff.: "Memorie..." H. De Lairese, 1665.

⁸⁰ J. STRUYS (1676), *Drie aanmerkelijke en seer rampspoedige Reysen door... Persien, Oost-Indien, Japan en verscheyden andere gewesten*, Amsterdam, 356.

⁸¹ BGP 196ff.: H. Visnich, Eşfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 17/8/1626.

⁸² For an anthropological analysis see P. BENEDICT (1972), *Itinerant Marketing: an Alternative Strategy*, in: E.N. WILMSEN (ed.) (1972), *Social Evolution and Interaction*, Ann Arbor, 81-94. The importance of itinerant retailing for the spread of Indian cottons and ready-made garments in contemporaneous England is described in detail in M. SPUFFORD (1984), *The Great Reclothing of Rural England. Petty Chapmen and Their Wares in the XVIIIth Century*, London; see also C. SHAMMAS (1990), 225ff., on the rise of the country shop; for the earlier period cfr. J. THIRSK (1978), *Economic Policy and Projects. The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, Oxford. There is no comparable study on the retailing of textiles or accessories for the early modern Middle East countryside.

⁸³ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.1, 141, on the extreme Northwest (Mingrelia) and vol.9, 231, on the extreme Southeast (Gāzīn); see also A. OLEARIUS (1656), 449, on the villages of the Tālēš. To P. Simon the dress of the poor in the Mandālī area was described as "a pair of drawers of black drill torn in rags, and a shirt in a thousand pieces, a small cap, no shoes or stockings, but only a piece of leather to be tied to the soles of my feet with a string...", in: H. CHICK (1939), 136.

⁸⁴ C. De BRUIJN (1714), 203. Among many nomads a complete second shift of clothes was the exception until well into the 1970's, see e.g. L. BECK (1991), *Nomad. A Year in the Life of a Qashqa'i Tribesman in Iran*, London, *passim*.

empire, women spun and wove the regional costume at home⁸⁵. Although we hear of *Gilānī taḡšile*-cloth put up for sale at Eṣfahān to be employed for upper garments⁸⁶, most products of female labour were destined for domestic use. Probably women worked in the rural carpet-weaving industries of the Eṣfahān region, on which the royal *boyūtāt* came to rely heavily in the second half of the XVIIth century, and in the equally important cottage industry of the Kāšān area. Social norms precluded women from the often highly public weaving workshops in the Safavid urban centres that required skilled labour and were organised in guilds⁸⁷. But we have at least one reference to household industries in which husbands and wives collaborated in the manufacture of expensive gold and silver-rolled silk threads, one of the more specialist crafts in the early modern Middle Eastern textile industries⁸⁸. Reservations regarding the public occupation of women in the urban weaving workshops did not apply to spinning and winding, which both in iconography and observed practice were very much considered female occupations⁸⁹. In the XIXth century, this female workforce felt the full impact of imported European wares, if we are to believe the contemporaneous *Ġoġrāfiyā-ye Eṣfahān*: "About one-twentieth of the needy widows of Isfahan raised their children by spinning thread for the weavers: they all have perished"⁹⁰. However, given the differently structured Indian imports of the XVIIth century we cannot simply conjecture a similar process for the Safavid period. In the towns tailors would sew women's garments to order as well as produce ready-made clothes⁹¹. We also hear

⁸⁵ A. OLEARIUS (1656), 700.

⁸⁶ *Dar dānestan...*, *loc.cit.*, No.7.

⁸⁷ However, see the example of *Salīḥa* in P. ACKERMAN (1938/39), *Textiles of the Islamic Period*, in: A.U. POPE (ed.) (1938/39), vol.5, 1995-2162.

⁸⁸ See R. DU MANS (166), 195.

⁸⁹ But see also H. De FEYNES (1615), *An Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies, Even to Canton, the Chief Citie of China...*, London; ed. of the original French text: *Voyage fait par terre depuis Paris jusqu'à la Chine...*, Paris 1630, 45, who remarks on the textile industries at Eṣfahān during the first decade of the XVIIth century: "...les hommes les filent en lieu des femmes...". See also the miniature printed in R. NEUMANN (1988), Abb.18, showing a man at the spinning wheel wearing woman's clothes. C.A. BAYLY (1986), 293 mentions that, in India, "according to the Laws of Man, unmarried girls were the spinners ('spinsters'), whereas after marriage they graduated to weaving (becoming 'wives')." On a similar iconography of the exemplary female virtues of the "spinster" in the Dutch Golden Age see L. STONE-FERRIER (1989), *Spun Virtues, the Lacework of Folly and the World Turned Upside Down. XVIIth Century Dutch Depictions of Female Handwork*, in: A.B. WEINER / J. SCHEIDER (eds.) (1989), 215-242.

⁹⁰ *Mīrzā Ḥosayn Ḥān* (1342/1877), *Ġoġrāfiyā-ye Eṣfahān*, Tehrān, No.65, q.i. C. ISSAWI (1971), *The Economic History of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago/London, 281.

⁹¹ See for evidence from the XVIIIth century M. KEYVANI (1982), 48.

that women had fine fabrics bought on the market⁹² and, since cuts for most female attire were not particularly elaborated⁹³, tailored them either themselves or had them made by servants⁹⁴. Among nomadic pastoralists as well as among the sedentary rural population of the early modern period (and up to the very recent past) the weaving of carpets, blankets and bags was commonly a woman's work, but again most of these products were for domestic use⁹⁵.

On the whole, a nexus between innovation, changes in fashion and intensifying trade and foreign influences can possibly only be assumed for relatively affluent urban circles. In the capital in particular, one may speculate whether the ever growing number of people making a living in the orbit of court society represented an aggregate growth of disposable income. Consumption in Safavid court circles reached phenomenal dimensions and the effects of emulative spending may well have had a bearing on the flows of trade (especially where imitations of costly fabrics were concerned). Thus, the distinction between a non-market luxury trade and a mass market is not quite as neat as often suggested.

The Safavid treasury's frequent inclusion of European woollens (acquired through largely administered trade) in the pay of soldiers⁹⁶, who were then left to dispose of the unwanted fabrics in the *bāzārs* - often depressing market prices - , shows the existence of an open market

⁹² See for example on Kāšān P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed., 145.

⁹³ For a cut of a typical late XVIIth-early XVIIIth century woman's coat see J. SCARCE (1987a), 159.

⁹⁴ See J. TAVERNIER (1676), 607.

⁹⁵ For the rural population see E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, 91 (the description had been left out in the printed text). See also H. HUELS / H. HOPPE (eds.) (1982), *Engelbert Kaempfer zum 330. Geburtstag*, Lemgo, table 51. J. BUCKINGHAM (1829), *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia...*, 2 vols., London, vol.1, 194, reports that the superior Kermānī carpets were produced by women. For XXth century nomads see L. BECK (1978), Women Among the Qashqa'i Nomadic Pastoralists in Iran, in: L. BECK / N. KEDDIE (eds.) (1978), *Women in the Muslim World*, Cambridge/Mass., 351-373. Female wage labour rose to prominence in the Middle East with the rise of export-oriented carpet industries, see e.g. A.C. EDWARDS (1953), *The Persian Carpet: a Survey of the Carpet-Making Industry in Persia*, London, 28, 59f., 201 and D. QUATAERT (1991), Ottoman Women, Households, and Textile Manufacturing 1800-1914, in: B. BARON / N. KEDDIE (eds.) (1991), *Women in Middle Eastern History*, New Haven/London, 161-176.

⁹⁶ See e.g. for the XVIth century V.D' ALESSANDRI (1571), *Relazione di Persia*, in: RAV, vol.2, 103-127; for the XVIIth century see e.g. ARA VOC 1109, fl.66rff.: W. De Leeuw, aboard "*Utrecht*", to Batavia: prices for "*lakenen*" had fallen by up to 40% "ende sulcx comt alleenlijck om dat de Coninc[k] alle soldaten met laecken en andere waeren doet betaelen, die het dan weder om gelt hebben weder aen de winckeliers voorhalff gelt moeten vercoopen". A similar practice was known to exist in the Ottoman Empire, see B. BRAUDE (1979), International Competition and Domestic Cloth in the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1650: A Study in Underdevelopment, *Review* II/3, 437-451 and ID. (1991), The Rise and Fall of Salonica Woollens 1500-1650. Technological Transfer and Western Competition, *MedHR* VI/1, 216-23.

for goods otherwise often considered luxury wares⁹⁷. In the mid-1640's VOC servants resorted to selling their "*lakenen*" in a purpose-built shop opened next to their house in Eşfahān in an attempt to foil the *de facto* monopoly held by half a dozen local merchants, where they sold by the *gaz*⁹⁸. In the 1680's we hear of Armenian importers of broadcloth who were said not to trade in the commodity "*eñ gros*", nor in Eşfahān alone, but to distribute it all over the empire, where they would have it sold in small quantities, having everywhere shops and representatives who roam the countryside like pedlars with their wares. All they care about is to cover their bare sustenance, without much bothering about profits..."⁹⁹. Most of the demand for this class of goods in the area was invariably satisfied by imports from the Levant¹⁰⁰. But both EIC and

⁹⁷ Evliyâ Çelebi, in 1655/56, observed that the lower (*ednâ*) classes of Diyarbakır wore "various sorts of English woolen cloth" (*lôndôra çôqa-ı gûnâgûn*), see M.v. BRUINSEN / H. BOESCHOTEN (eds.) (1988), *Diyarbakır in the Mid-XVIIth Century. Evliyâ Çelebi's Description of Diyarbakır*, Leiden, 160. According to an "oral information" by S. Faruqi European broadcloth was out of reach for the common man in the Ottoman Empire, see *ibid.*, 221, N.126. Conversely, kerseys and serges, were soon discovered not to be vendible in Al-Basra as its people "are so affected to their peculiar habit", see *EFT* VI, 245ff., 250: W. Thurston, Al-Basra, to London, dated 22/6/1640.

⁹⁸ ARA VOC 1146, fl.902rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/2/1644. Setting up the shop cost the not unconsiderable sum of more than 50 *tûmân*, see *DR* VII, 197.

⁹⁹ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1925vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/3/1680.

¹⁰⁰ Consumption of European textiles in the Levant, especially Italian luxury woollens, had, of course, become a common phenomenon by the XVIIth century. For the Middle Ages see E. ASHTOR (1976), *Les lainages dans l'Orient médiéval: emploi, production, commerce*, in: M. SPALLANZANI (ed.) (1976), 657-686; ID. (1978), *L'exportation de textiles occidentaux dans le Proche Orient musulman au bas Moyen Âge 1370-1517*, in: *Studi in memoriam F. MELIS*, vol.3, 303-377, ID. (1984), *Die Verbreitung des englischen Wollhandels in den Mittelmeerländern im Spätmittelalter*, *VSWG* LXXI, 1-29, and H. HOSHINO / M.F. MAZZAOUI (1985/86), *Ottoman Markets for Florentine Woolen Cloth in the Late XVth Century*, *IJTS* III/2, 17-31. By the latter part of the XVIth century large sections of the Levantine poor were also clad in English cloth, albeit the thin worsted "kerseys" (see *SPHP*, vol.3, 86). Inexpensive, they had tapped a mass market which only in the aftermath of the convulsions of the early XVIIth century seem to have reverted to locally produced "padded cottons", G. BERTHET (ed.) (1866), *Relazioni dei consoli Veneti nella Siria*, Torino, 131; see also: D. SELLA (1968), *The Rise and Fall of the Venetian Woolen Industry*, in: B. PULLAN (ed.) (1968), *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries*, London, 108-126, 118 [orig.: *Les mouvements longs de l'industrie lainière à Venise aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, *AESC* XII, 29-45]. M. ÇIZAKÇA (1980), *Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650*, *JEC* XL, 533-550, 543, suggests the possibility of increased cotton production in the Ottoman Empire, see also: H. ISLAMOĞLU-İNAN / S. FARUQHI (1979), *Crop Patterns and Agricultural Production Trends in XVIth Century Anatolia*, *Review* II/3, 401-436, 413f.; S. FARUQHI (1979), *Notes on the Production of Cotton and Cotton Cloths in XVIth and XVIIth Century Anatolia*, *JEE* VIII/2, 405-417, does not cover the XVIIth century. Acceptance levels were never a serious obstacle to the introduction of foreign light-weight cloth. The "New Draperies", cheap imitations of Venetian woolen cloth which fully capitalized on lower factor-costs (mainly labour and raw materials), could have substituted the "kerseys", but in the marketing strategy of merchants they were the means to drive Italian producers out of markets for luxury weaves by undercutting their artificially high prices, rather than attempting to draw new groups of consumers, see also: R.T. RAPP (1975), *The Unmaking of the Mediterranean Trade Hegemony: International Trade Rivalry and the Commercial Revolution*, *JEC* XXXV/3, 499-525. In the event, and, it seems, as a result of effectively using economies-of-scale and successful product variation, their lower prices made the new range of cloth also accessible to the less affluent (however, M. ÇIZAKÇA (1980), *loc. cit.*, holds that no "New Draperies" were sold in the Levant, basing his claim on R. DAVIS (1961), *England and the Mediterranean 1570-1670*, in: F.J. FISHER (ed.) (1961), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor England*, Cambridge, 117-137; pending a reevaluation of the entrepôt trade of Italy, see now G. PAGANO DE DIVITIIS (1991), *Mercanti Inglesi nell'Italia del '600. Navi, traffici, egemonie*, Venezia, and the ongoing reexamination of the Dutch "*straatvaart*", see J.I. ISRAEL (1986), *The Phases of the Dutch Staatvaart 1590-1713*, *TG* XCIX, 1-30, his conclusion may have been premature. For we find in the middle range market of XVIIth century Diyarbakır varieties of

VOC consistently overestimated potential demand in Iran for imported woollens¹⁰¹. While Levantine and 'Irāqī consumers seem to have accepted European woollens - and later some "New Draperies" - for outer garments, European fabrics met with less success in Safavid Iran. Initial hopes to dispose of broadcloth which had proved a liability in India in the colder climes of Iran¹⁰² were dashed and throughout the period under examination maritime imports into the Persian Gulf Area remained disappointingly low. In Iran, use of English broadcloth was restricted to a kind of loose stockings which were adopted during the reign of Šāh 'Abbās I as part of the male costume. They somewhat resembled European style "stockings", but were "taillez comme un sac, & non selon la figure de la jambe. Ils ne vont que jusqu'aux genoux, au dessous des quels on les noue"¹⁰³. At the beginning of the century, light-weight European fabrics were used for "stockings" at Eṣfahān¹⁰⁴, but the royal manufactures continued using heavier broadcloth¹⁰⁵. In the second half of the century, the earlier, traditional costume - "wrapping a coarse linnen [*scil.*: cotton] cloth round their legs, about six fingers wide and three to four ells long" - was still in use among soldiers and servicemen as it was among the lower urban classes and villagers, but was no longer a dominant feature in fashionable urban environments¹⁰⁶. At the time of Šāh

"New Draperies" side by side with highly priced Venetian woolen cloth, see Evliyā Çelebî's *Seyâhatnâme* in M.v. BRUINESSEN / H. BOESCHOTEN (eds.) (1988), 160, speaking of the dress of men of middle status (*vasatū'l-ḥāl olanlar*); *piranqona* in the text is probably *paragon*, a kind of double camlet. Diyarbakır maintained a thriving textile production even for the lower end of the market, but European fabrics seem to have had a not insignificant impact. In the mid-XVIIIth century ever cheaper varieties of broadcloth, originally a name for a thick high-quality article, were produced, following the trend to manufacture lower grade fabrics with a higher replacement rate. The ensuing price differential helped the new low grade English broadcloths to tap mass markets that for different reasons had remained closed to the equally light "new draperies". During the third quarter of the century English exports to the Levant soared with the number of broadcloths trebling to 20.000 p.a., see and R. DAVIS (1961), *Influence de l'Angleterre sur le déclin de Venise au XVIIIe siècle*, in: *Aspetti e cause della decadenza Veneziana nel secolo XVII*, Venezia/Roma, 185-235 and ID. (1967), *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, London, 42 and 96ff.

¹⁰¹ As late as 1629, the *bewindhebberen* were told the Persian market could absorb via Bandar-e 'Abbās 28.-30.000 "ellen gemeene laecken", see BGP 303ff.: H. Visnich, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 26/9/1629.

¹⁰² W. FOSTER (1926), *The Commencement of the East India Company's Trade With Persia*, London, *passim*; ID. (1933), *England's Quest for Eastern Trade*, London, 295ff.

¹⁰³ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 150. See also R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, *loc.cit.*, 102: "Leurs chausses, chackhour [i.e.: čāqšūr] de drap d'Angleterre est d'une mesme largeur, car icy il n'y a point de nouvelle de se contrefaire une grosse et une petite jambe à l'espagnole". As in all societies haunted by scarcity similar ways to delicately conceal one's indigence were sought also for other garments: *alāḡas* of a third of the usual length of 10 covids were woven at Ahmādābād to be employed for the lower, visible part of breeches, while the rest, covered by the *qabā*, was pieced together from scraps of cloth, see G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier...*, BNP FF 14614, fl.121.

¹⁰⁴ P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, new ed. 149.: "il panno sottile di Parigi...".

¹⁰⁵ E. KAEMPFER (1712), *Amoenitatum...*, *loc.cit.*; Mīrzā Samī'ā, *Tazkirat ol-Molūk*, *loc.cit.*, 49a/66, keeps stocking-makers and sewers of *londra* separate.

¹⁰⁶ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.6, 150.

‘Abbās II, we hear of “draps d’Angleterre” being employed to sew *kordts*¹⁰⁷. By the mid-XVIIth century, stocking-makers bought English broadcloth for production for the open market¹⁰⁸. Buyers could find their stalls in the vicinity of the Armenian sellers of broadcloth¹⁰⁹, who also supplied members of the guilds of *londra-sewers* (*londra-dūzān*)¹¹⁰. Almost throughout the century, the preferred colours were crimson-red, citron-yellow, amber, and a light ashen-white, while black and, later in the century, green were shunned¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁷ See R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, *loc. cit.*, 102.

¹⁰⁸ *EFI* VIII, 135: J. Lewis and council, Eṣfahān, to Surat, dated 28/10/1652. Stocking knitters (*ḡūrāb-dūz*) were well established in the *bāzār*-economy to warrant their being mentioned in the guild literature, e.g. Mīrzā Tāher Vahūd’s *Dīvān-e Rezvān*, q.i. M. KEYVANI (1982), 287f.

¹⁰⁹ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.8, 67. Most of Iran’s broadcloth trade was carried by Armenians, whose prime objectives with their sales in Eṣfahān or elsewhere was to raise additional ready money as quickly as possible for investment in lucrative Persian raw silk exports to Levantine destinations. In order to speed up turn-over they were often willing to accept some losses, see e.g. sales at 15-20% loss in 1644, ARA VOC 1146 fl.973rff.: C. Constant, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 13/7/1644 and ARA VOC 1152, fl.78r, C. Constant, Bandar-e Abbās, to Batavia, dated 11/3/1645, especially: “In April ofte Mayo vertrecken de s’Jolphalijne Negotianten die Jn zijde handel. gemenelijcke naer d’proventie van Gilan, alwaer zij luijden haer voor een tijt daer neder setten, tot de zijde gesponen ofte gedobleert wert, wesende jnde maenden van Junio oft Julio als wanneer d’selve door rijke ende arme luijden bij kleene partijckens te coop gebracht wort, daer gemelte s’Jolphalijnen snedich bij zijn, copende ditto voor 26 a 28 Thoman de carga van 36 manchia waerbij noch compt 2 a 3 Thoman pr carga voor diversche cleene gerechticheden &a. den Incoop gedaen wesende voeren s’selve naer Aleppo, Smirna, Constantinopel &a. voor welckers / (83r) vracht, Radarijen, ende onkosten tot voorstaende plaetsen betaelt wordt omtrent 10 a 12 thoman pr carga soo dat genoemde zijde de Negotianten met alle onkosten tot die plaetsen compt te costen ongevaer 38 a 43 thoman welcke zij aldaer vercoopen 900 a 920 realen ofte 58 a 60 thoman de carga, dat noch geproffiteert soude wesen op d’carga 17 a 20 thoman sijnde omtrent 46 pr cento, dat goede proffijten zijn, sommige voeren veeltijts haer zijde van Smirna naer Livorno & Genua, alwaer somtijts beter marckt als in Smirna aentreffen, t’gebeurt oock menichmael dat de coopluijden hare zijde In Aleppo voor comptant naer contento niet cunnen quijt werden als wanneer d’selve in Trocque van laeckenen tot goede prijs debeteeren, op hoope dittos wederom in Persia met winst om te setten, dat veeltijts contra de meninge uijvalt, ende om ij lens conttant jn Handen te becomen moeten de de (*sic*) laeckenen dan vercoopen voo’t gunt gelden connen, off anders zijn onvermogen de novo haer zijde procure te beginnen, en ~ blijvende jaer van andermael hare voiagie naer die geweste t’ondernemen gefrusteert. van Moscovia over t’Caspische Maer wort Persia mede van laeckenen versien Edoch d’quantiteit is op verde naer soo groot niet als van Aleppo wort aengebracht...”. Even this reasoning does not explain the paradox in J. FRYER (1698), *loc. cit.*, who found English cloth on Eṣfahān’s *bāzār* at a quarter of its London retail price.

¹¹⁰ See *Dar dānestan...*, *loc. cit.*, No.21. In the XVIIth century, much of the *londra* cloth imported through Aleppo seems to have been a sort of Gloucestershire broadcloth, see G. AMBROSE (1931-1932), English Traders at Aleppo 1658-1756, *EcHR* III, 246-267; only later the cheaper Yorkshire varieties dominated, see R. DAVIS (1967), 100ff.; in the course of the XVIIth century Dutch and later French *londrine* captured some of the English market.

¹¹¹ For the early century e.g.: IOR E/3/6/700; see also R. FERRIER (1976), 211: “blush coullours gallants, pyncks Coullours horssflesh skye Coullours pearle coullours ashe coullour brimstone coullour popiniaye vyoletts in grayne watchetts stamells reds and sadd primrose Coullours... [and in lesser quantities] deweye coullour servyce coullour hayre coullour grasse green sea greene saidge coullour leam coullour strawe coullour and yellowes”; for the later XVIIth century: ARA VOC 1329, fl.1534vff: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/4/1677, and ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/7/1683.

Wholesaling and Retailing in the Textile Trade

We had seen that data is very scanty on how the wholesale textile trade was connected to retail outlets. It is difficult to tell whether the sale of Indian cottons was limited to the central *bāzār* or whether it also reached the neighbourhood shops¹¹². Where Company records disclose information on local traders, they tend to concentrate on agents of their main competitors, large merchant houses based in New-Ğolfā, Surat or elsewhere. Many of the shopkeepers in Eşfahān were said to be "servants and slaves of the empire's nobles as well as eunuchs of the King"¹¹³. Occasionally we find references to individual itinerant traders, who often spent years abroad selling their wares. With a differential of wholesale prices for Indian cottons between Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Eşfahān of 20-40%, travelling upcountry was a tempting prospect for petty traders. Considering this mark-up in Iran alone, cheap cotton cloth could easily double in price between the moment it was purchased by the wholesale dealer in the port city and, possibly after finishing processes, its sale in a retail shop. Petty traders would work under a régime of self-exploitation without overhead costs for administration and their sustenance weighing on the expense side of the business as was the case for major houses. They would settle down in one of the boxes of a *kārwānsarāi* suitable for their trade and deal in small quantities selling directly to the public, to fellow itinerant traders travelling further afield or local shopkeepers. Retailers in the capital rarely bought more than two to three bales of even the more popular weaves¹¹⁴. There were clear advantages in the system of direct sales to the public: Muslim traders importing Coromandel textiles were known to be better able to tailor their purchases in India to the wishes of their customers in Iran, even though they would deal only in small quantities¹¹⁵. In the early XVIIth century, E. Pettus remarks on cotton cloth traders that "they bringe to Spahan after the most bese pedling and unmercheantlike manner retaleinge them [*scil.* their wares] by the whole, halfe and

¹¹² Neighbourhood retailing in early modern Middle Eastern centres is an underresearched field. For glimpses on XVIth century Anatolian towns see miscellaneous information in S. FAROQHI (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia*, Cambridge; for XVIIIth century Aleppo: A. MARCUS (1989), *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, Chicago, 285f.; on XVIth century Jerusalem: A. COHEN (1984), *Jewish Life under Islam: Jerusalem in the XVIIth Century*, Cambridge(Mass.); on Cairo A. RAYMOND (1973/74), *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols., Damas, vol.1, 317ff.

¹¹³ ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: A. Del Court, Eşfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 18/12/1631.

¹¹⁴ On the price differential Bandar-e ʿAbbās vs. Eşfahān: ARA VOC 1132, non-fol.: B. Pietersz.(?), Surat, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 30/10/1639; on the volume of purchases: ARA VOC 1360, fl.1900vff.: "Memorie..." R. Casembroot, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, April 1679.

¹¹⁵ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1019rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 21/6/1672.

quarter coved, carringe it upon their shoulders up and downe the Bazar"¹¹⁶. This information would suggest that at that time only the tenderest link existed between the use made of the cloth imported and the size this cloth was woven to. Information regarding yardage for single garments recorded in written sources only refers to court dress¹¹⁷. In the mid-XVIIth century, 9-10 yards of precious fabric were needed to sew a hip-length coat as it was worn by the fashionable courtiers¹¹⁸. Local producers had become accustomed to weave pieces of the size needed to tailor the respective garments¹¹⁹, and soon foreign imports had to conform to the standards set; whenever importers attempted to dispose of pieces woven to unusual sizes, they met with almost insurmountable difficulties and were often forced to accept significant losses even with more common weaves.

Details on shop- and retail prices are as rare as information on wages in money-terms. The Companies paid their local employees in Eṣfahān - servants, porters, cooks, gardeners - 20-30 *mahmūdts* per month¹²⁰, but given the need of the Europeans to create loyalty there can be little doubt that many non-monetary benefits accrued to those employed. A shift of new clothing was often part of wages, a fact which makes it even more difficult to put wages into context. Chardin reckons that, for the affluent, expenditure for a proper *kordī* could amount to 300-600 *écus* (a rather astonishing 20-40 *tūmān*). If he still maintains that "on peut s'habiller à fort bien marché à la Persanne", he clearly refers to the well-to-do, for according to the same author

¹¹⁶ IOR E/3/6/700, fl.106rff.: E. Pettus, Eṣfahān, to London, dated 27/9/1618. For some notes on late XIXth century urban hawking in Eṣfahān see W. FLOOR (1971), 146f., largely based on 'A. Mostoufi (1343/1964), *Šarḥ-e zendegānī-ye man*, 3 vols., Tehrān, vol.1, 159ff.

¹¹⁷ For a cut-pattern true to scale of a female coat see J.M. SCARCE (1987a), 159.

¹¹⁸ See BNP FF 14614, fl.262: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier...*, who speaks of "des Etoffes de soy, et avec or et argent, fort riches et qui ont du corps bien ouragees et bien tissues, qui se consomment dans leur Royaume bien cheres, et qui n'ont pas tout affet 9 aulnes longe et 2/3 de largeur, qui leur suffisent a faire vne veste plissée qui ne couure le genouil, et ne peuuent servir aux Jndiens qui les portent logues jusqu'aux Talons...". For an example of the garment these authors probably referred to see L.S. DIBA (1992), 794. H. NAQVI (1968), 197ff., reckons that in late XVIth century Mughal North India 6 yards of cloth was the average needed for one change of sewn clothing for the labouring classes.

¹¹⁹ A. OLEARIUS (1656), 601, where he says that rich Yazdī and Kāšī stuffs were woven to a length of ca.10yds., "as required for Persian coats".

¹²⁰ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2787vff.: "Memorie..." J.v. Heuvel, dated Eṣfahān 28/3/1682; also ARA VOC 1439, fl.1702vff.: "Instructie..." J.v. Heuvel, dated Eṣfahān 14/11/1686.

brocade-weavers earned a daily wage of 15-16 *sous* (just under 1 ‘*abbāst*’)¹²¹. In the late 1620’s the EIC spent 16 *šāht* (or 8 *maḥmūdī*) per person for overcoats for their servants¹²².

In Eṣfahān, the necessity of striking a balance between public morality and the display of the realm’s riches, the conciliation of piety and profit, was achieved in the time-honoured institution of market *ouqāf*. The allocation of business space in the *qaiṣertye*, the prime commercial site next to the newly erected Safavid palatial precinct which was at least partly managed as a pious foundation established by Šāh ‘Abbās I¹²³, may well be read as a conscious creation of a showcase for the country’s prosperity, outcome of the blessed Šāh’s reign. By the same token for the merchants, vicinity to the country’s largest single group of consumers of high quality textiles, the Safavid court, was paramount among the locational advantages of the *qaiṣertye* / Great Maidān area. A late XVIIth century Persian guidebook to the *bāzār*, *Dar dānestan-e kārwānsarāi-ye Eṣfahān*, reveals how *kārwānsarāis* in which the finest fabrics were sold gravitated around the *qaiṣertye*¹²⁴. The principle of spatially uniting certain trades which generally underlay *bāzār* organisation was partly superseded by an arrangement allowing for greater proximity of merchants of luxury wares. Only those merchants engaged in the long-distance and transit trade of precious Indian stuffs would settle down in a *kārwānsarāi* outside the main market areas (No.30). Rather than primarily distinguishing between foreign - Indian and European - and domestic products in the allocation of retail and wholesale units the logic behind the spatial organisation of the capital’s *bāzār* neatly discerns luxury items and less exclusive manufactures and shows the dependence of the luxury trades on court circles. Thus, the spatial organisation of shows shops selling assortments of domestic and foreign weaves was determined by the purchasing power of their patrons. There seems to have been no strict dividing line between Muslim and non-Muslim traders, but *khatṭris* and Hindu traders had the ‘Alī-Qolī-Hān-

¹²¹ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 158f. and 262.

¹²² IOR G/29/1 fl.165vff. On another occasion prices for *qabās* range from 14 to 20 *šāht*, *ibid.*, fl.180r.

¹²³ Cfr. the document given in the XVIIth century chronicle by Valī-Qolī Šāmlū, *Qeṣaṣ ol-Ḥāqānī* and printed in A. SEPANTA (1346/1968), *Tārīḫ-e ouqāf-e Eṣfahān*, Eṣfahān, 64-72. See also R. MC CHESNEY (1981), *Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqfs of Šāh ‘Abbās 1011-1023/1602-1614*, *AAS* XV, 165-190.

¹²⁴ The scroll, preserved as BM Sloane 4.094, attributed to the later XVIIIth century, is probably based on a Safavid original from ca. 1670, see H. GAUBE / E. WIRTH (1979), 22f.; F. Richard (of the BNP) has suggested in an oral communication that it may have been among E.Kaempfer’s papers, which would point to a *taq* 1685. For the location of the *kārwānsarāis* see also R. KLEIN / H. GAUBE (1989). It is not inconceivable that the term *qaiṣertye* besides denoting the "prachtvollste Teil des Bazars", as in H. GAUBE / E. WIRTH (1979), 174, also refers to the prevalence of the textile trade within its bounds (thus following Syro-Arabic usage). Mīrzā Beḡ b. Ḥasan Ġunābādī’s *Rawzat ol-Ṣafawīye* speaks, more specifically, of the *bazzāz-hān*, or cloth-house, when referring to the *qaiṣertye*-complex, cfr. R. MC CHESNEY (1988), *Four Sources on Šāh ‘Abbās’s Building of Isfahān*, *Muqarnas* V, 103-134.

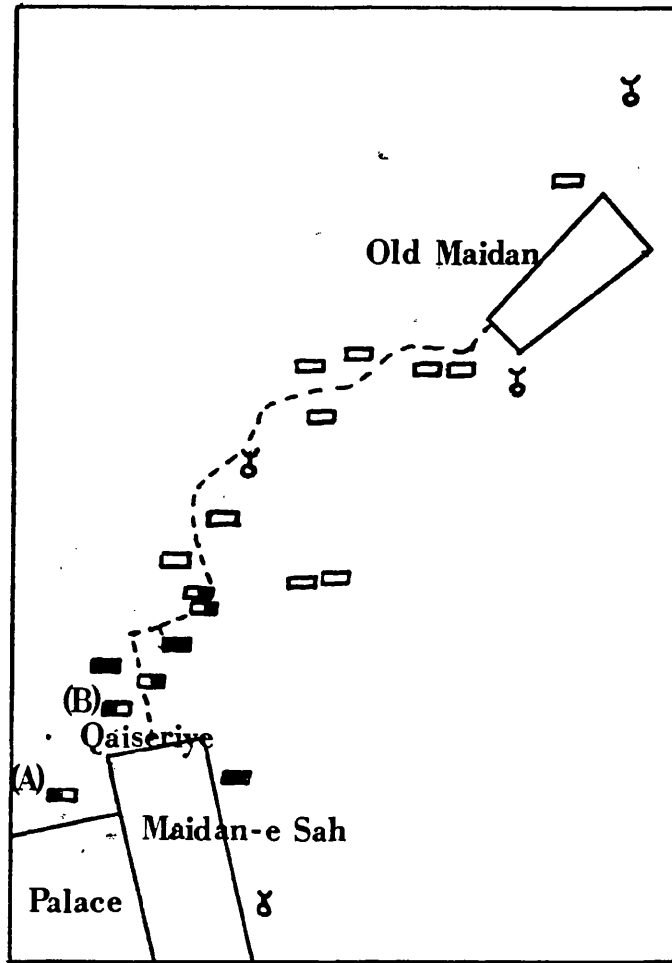
complex next to the Maidān-e Šāh to themselves (No.27). Coarse *kerbāz* cottons and other utilitarian fabrics - mostly woven in secondary centres in the neighbourhood of Eṣfahān, such as Māhābād, Maḥallāt, Naṭanz and Ardestān - were relegated to less fortunate locations around the old Maidan (Nos. 10,11,12,16), the former centre of Eṣfahān's commercial life, now distant more than a mile's walk from the new *bāzār*'s hub. Here, the urban poor of the surrounding quarters and rural folk patronised retail outlets, which sometimes shared the space of a *kārwānsarāi* with sellers of agricultural produce while elsewhere production and sale of cotton goods were found associated. Sellers of other types of textiles, *tafstiles* for the sewing of *qabās* from Gīlān or muslins and stuffs used for women's undergarments from Qazvīn, were to be found at the fringes of the *qaiṣerīye* area (Nos.7,8)¹²⁵. Yazdī weaves used for linings, were offered in more peripheral locations of the Great Maidān and had to share *kārwānsarāis* with sellers of agricultural produce, while somewhat closer to the heart of the *qaiṣerīye* lesser qualities of otherwise prestigious Yazdī fabrics, both *alāḡas* and *tafstiles*, were put up for sale (Nos.28,38). The more costly varieties were on sale in *kārwānsarāis* in the immediate vicinity of the Great Maidān (Nos.34,35). Nearby, *ṣeddīqtis*, Sunni merchants from Gujarat¹²⁶, offered superior silks and cotton piece goods, plain white, striped and painted, in the extended Ġedde-complex, located between the Qaiṣerīye and the palace gardens, where one could also find Armenian importers of English broadcloth (No.21)¹²⁷. In the immediate proximity and lined up between the Qaiṣerīye and the *bāzār-e čīt-forūṣān*, where locally produced cotton goods were sold, one could find traders in all kinds of imported Indian fabrics (No.2). Given the vast range of different Indian fabrics imported it comes as something of a surprise to find only rather general references to the textiles put up for sale by the Indian merchants in the guidebook. The relatively low number of *kārwānsarāis* in which Indian weaves were offered is unexpected, too (Nos.2,3,21,27,29,30).

¹²⁵ Whether in fact *naqš-kār* refers to embroidery, as suggested in H. GAUBE / M.H. MADANĪ (1979), 268, or more generally to patterned stuffs is not entirely certain.




¹²⁶ Identification on the basis of J.M. CAMPBELL (ed.) (1899), *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency IX/2: Gujarāt Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 8 and, quoting 'Alī Moḥammad Ḥān Bahādūr's *Mera't-e Aḥmadī*, *ibid.* No.3.

¹²⁷ See also J. CHARDIN (1811), vol.8, q.i. H. GAUBE / E. WIRTH (1979), 140f.; see also: E. GALDIERI (1976), *Relecture d'une gravure allemande du XVIIIe siècle comme introduction à une recherche archéologique*, in: *ICIAA*, 560-570, 570, N.10. Later it became known as *kārwānsarāi* of the Armenians, see J.B. TAVERNIER (1679), 58; for a contemporaneous illustration see C. De BRUIN (1714).

Map
Main textile selling *kārwānsarāis* of Eṣfahān bāzār (ca.1680)¹²⁸

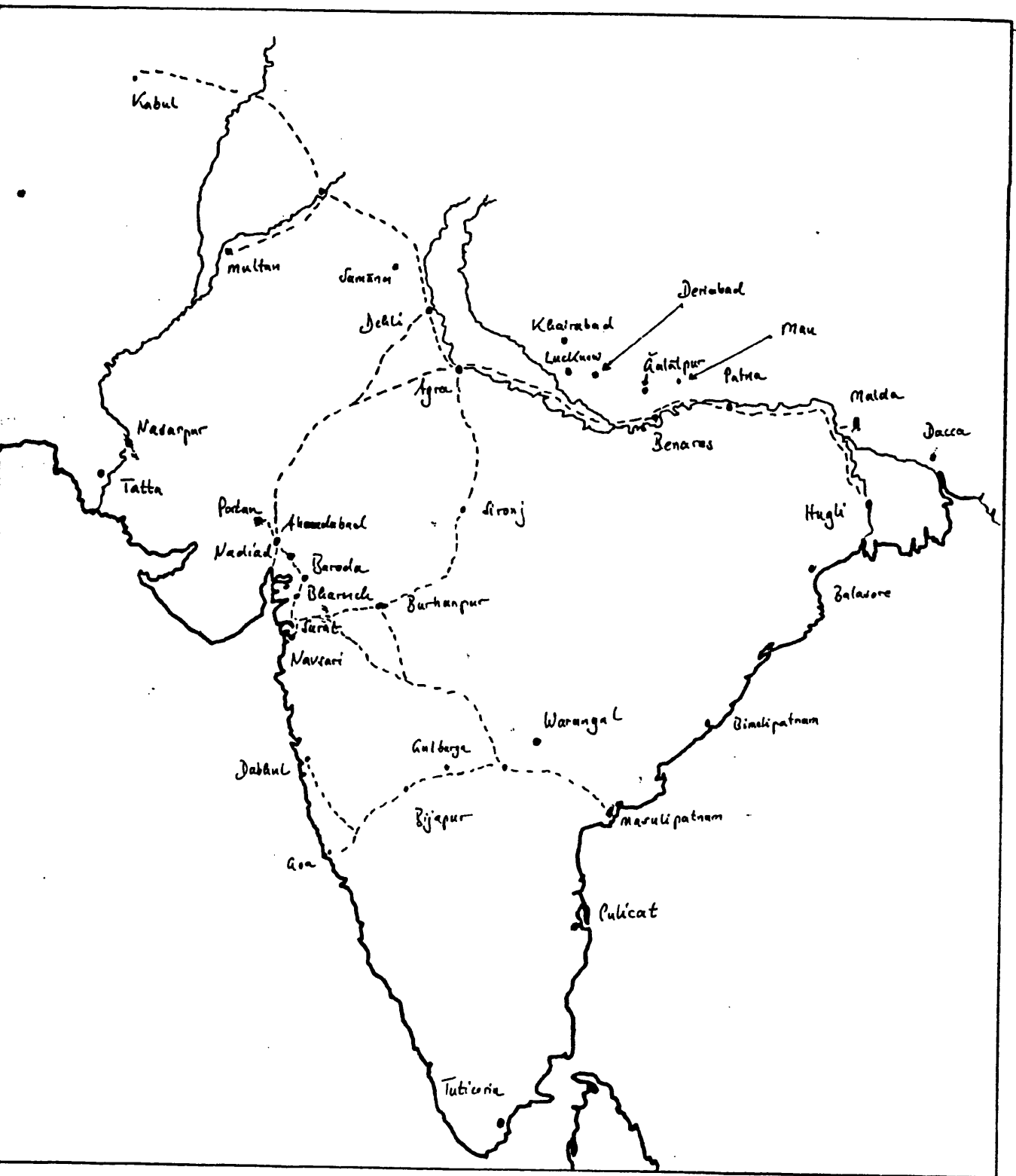


Legend:

-  = *kārwānsarāis* selling domestic textiles
-  = *kārwānsarāis* selling luxury Yazdī and Kāšī textiles
-  = *kārwānsarāis* selling Indian textiles
- (A) = Kārwānsarāi-ye Ğedde
- (B) = Kārwānsarāi-ye Šāh
- = Main axis Old Maidān to Maidān-e Šāh

¹²⁸ Based on R. KLEIN / H. GAUBE (1989).

Map 13
Centres of Indian Textile Production for the Persian Gulf Area



Chapter 5

INDIAN TEXTILES IN THE PERSIAN GULF AREA

The degree to which the variegated demand in Iranian urban centres was satisfied by Indian imports is hard to estimate. Studies of Middle Eastern material culture tend to focus on either imitation of luxury goods or competition from Europe¹, but seldom raise the question of Indian imports². Ottoman looms, for example, imitated not only Italian luxury weaves, but also fashionable Persian and Indian weaves³. The entire range of fabrics, plain cotton, pure silk and mixed stuffs, dyed and bleached, block-printed and painted, from the finest weaves to coarse stuffs can be found among the imports to Iran. G. Roques speaking of Armenian exports from Gujarat to Iran names "toques, ceintures, allegeas, cottonnis, toilles deriabadis, et queriabadis, mamedis d'agra, baffetas fins, betilles bibipites, algaris, et amanies, patequas creux, ...des chittes seronge, calmis, pancheranguis, et jafraçanis en grand nombre..."⁴, and cargo papers give even longer lists. There was hardly a textile-exporting region of India which did not also export to the Persian Gulf area. It is difficult to assess the degree of integration of the urban lower classes into circuits of exchange, but was designated expressly to gain access to consumers outside the narrow circle of courtiers, much as, in Europe, Indian chintzes initially spread among the lower classes, before finding their way into the wardrobes (and parlours) to the fashionable gentlewomen. Certain varieties of Indian cotton cloth were specifically woven and dyed with an eye to lower income Persian consumers. As a result of the availability of these cheaper varieties one can conjecture that if fashions in non-court society changed slowly at best, stocks of changes and of shifts or items of textile furnishings actually may have risen. This reasoning would allow for a maintenance of the tenor of life even where and when fiscal and other pressures mounted, as Safavid historians agree was the case in the later XVIIth century. However, almost without

¹ Thus, Šāh 'Abbās I was said to have asked Venetian weavers of luxury fabrics to pass on their skills to Iranian craftsmen, see H. MO'TAZED (1988), *Hāğg Amīn al-Zarb: tāriḥ-e teğārat va sarmāyahgozārī-ye san'at dar Irān*, Tehrān, 111, q.i. F. ZARINEBAF-SHAHR (1991), 153.

² N.R. KEDDIE (1984), *Material Culture and Geography: Towards a Holistic Comparative History of the Middle East*, *CSSH XXVI/4*, 709-735, for example, does not even mention India in the part that deals with textile manufacture.

³ I. BINIOK (1985), *Osmanische Stoffe und Kostüme*, in: *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 2 vols., Recklinghausen, vol.2, 240-273, 243, who mentions how vegetal motifs changed in the 1680's when Indian and Persian designs were replaced by patterns using "Ottoman" flowers and *ibid.*, 241, on the imitation of Italian lampas and velvets; on the imitations of Indian fabrics (albeit in the XVIIIth century) see S. YILMAZ (1992), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun doğu ile ekonomik ilişkileri: XVIII yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı-Hint ticaret ile ilgili bir araştırma*, *Bell LVI/215*, 31-68, 62.

⁴ G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier...*, BNP FF 14614, fl.274. For a discussion of some of these fabrics see below.

exception unequivocal figures are not available once products left the ports of transshipment and we still know very little about consumption patterns in Safavid Iran⁵.

Travellers' information on the use of Indian weaves for specific garments in Iran are rare. Early in the XVIIth century P. Della Valle speaks of fine Indian cottons used for male undergarments and A. Olearius tells us for the 1630's that for both *mandils* and sashes Indian products were preferred over domestic weaves, as they were considered "besser und an Farben daurhafter"⁶. J. Chardin introduces some economic considerations into the description of Safavid costume when he claimed that while Iran produced plentiful cheap coarse *kerbāz*-cottons finer fabrics were imported from India, which held a cost advantage over Safavid manufactures. Similarly, "ils [*scil.*: the Iranians] savent aussi peindre la toile, mais non pas si bien qu'aux Indes, parce qu'ils tirent de ce pais-la les plus belles toiles peintes à si bon marché, qu'ils ne gageroient rien à se perfectionner dans cette Manufacture". On the other hand, the same author asserts that *taffetas* and *atlasses* with stamped on patterns of gold or silver leaf were among the unrivalled specialties of Persian craftsmen⁷. We had already seen how the technically most advanced and sophisticated production was driven by a constant home demand and - to judge by the surviving specimens - by a desire to promote high artistic standards. If anything, commercial export of luxury fabrics declined from the XVIth to the XVIIth century. This could have been due either to greater control wielded by the court over silk stuff production and raw materials, or alternatively to the use of a more competitive textile industry catering for luxury uses in Iran's main export market, India. Persian carpets, on the other hand, continued to be sought after in India, long after the establishment of carpet weaving after Persian models in the subcontinent⁸.

The impact of Indian cloth production on Safavid Iran is less than clear. In what follows we shall come across processes of product imitation both in Safavid Iran and in various Indian regions which worked for export markets in the Persian Gulf Area. We shall note that these

⁵ For models of "traditional" consumption in the XVIIth century see C. SHAMMAS (1990), 101f. who introduces "new home economics" in order to give a social dimension (indeed, engender) the notion of "income elasticity of demand".

⁶ A. OLEARIUS (1656), 587; the author says the latter accessory went under the name of *schal*. J. IRWIN (1955), *Shawls. A Study in Indo-European Influences*, London, argues that the association of the term with a particular pieces of attire only dates from the XVIIIth century, whereas before it denoted a particular fabric.

⁷ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 264; see also J.B. TAVERNIER (1676), 607.

⁸ Rugs and carpets were produced in Iran both for the market and to order, with the latter being the more costly alternative, see ARA VOC 1135, fl.802rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1651.

processes more often than not involved medium and low range manufactures. While the dictates of fashion might well have generated genuinely new products for the upper end of the luxury market, in this class of goods cost-related regional substitution rather than substitutions based on technological innovation were more likely to occur. Assuming that prime cost differentials influenced demand patterns implies, of course, that there was a market for Indian textiles in which costs mattered.

Among the factors counting towards the composition of imports were travel patterns between India and Iran and within the subcontinent. Availability of raw materials for textile fibres may have laid the groundwork for regional specialisation, but even in Iran with her notoriously unfavourable transport conditions large amounts of cotton, cotton yarn, raw silk, wool and other fibres were carried over long distances⁹. Nor did technological factors play a prominent role in the regional specialisation of textile production, except perhaps for dyed cloth¹⁰, where the strongly localised dyeing industry of Gujarat helped the region to defend its paramountcy as exporting market to the Persian Gulf Area. But more importantly, the attractiveness of Indian weaves and the attempts at regional and product substitution both inside the subcontinent and in the regions it traditionally supplied, must be linked to arbitrage gains reaped from precious metals accepted by sellers in payment and exported to India.

Sind and Panjāb

Throughout the XVIth century a voluminous and flourishing trade had developed out of neighbouring Sind under the protection and with active participation of the Portuguese. There was a large-scale textile industry in lower Sind¹¹. In the earlier decades of the XVIIth century Sind held an advantage over other textile-producing areas supplying Persian Gulf markets in that its weavers were more readily accommodating regarding width and length of the stuffs ordered¹². For

⁹ For the distribution of raw silk harvests within Safavid Iran see ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: N. Overschie, *Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1637* (the published extracts in *BGP* 610ff. are unreliable): of a total of 2.800 bales produced, only 1.000 were not exported; of these, 150 were in Gilān, 600 in Kāshān and Yazd [misread as Rešt], 250 in Esfahān and "weynich in Lār" [misread as "vooral in Lar"].

¹⁰ For the transport of cloth woven East of Agra to the dyeing centres in Gujarat after 1630, see below.

¹¹ In Tatta alone, in the 1740's, 40.000 weavers were reported to have been working, see S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1991), *The Portuguese, Thatta and the External Trade of Sind 1515-1635*, *RCu* XIII/XIV, 48-58, 57, which otherwise, and despite the title, is rather unspecific about Portuguese trade out of Tatta.

¹² ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: "*Journal*" of G. Cornelisz., begun November 1631, who writes: "Men heeft de commoditeijt in Sinde de wever deselwe aen te connen besteden van langte, breedte, qualiteijt ende quantiteijt, ende is veel profitabelder voor de Comp.^e als die men voorde handt ende soo aende marcqt comen soude mogen opcoopen. Dit

once, this textile trade was not a one-way business: we had seen that Persian raw silk was exported to Sind well into the XVIIth century¹³ and it seems that even in the 1630's cotton was sent from Iran to supply the Sindi looms¹⁴. In turn, Iran imported mixed cotton-and-silk weaves from Sind such as "*meyāne*" and "*adputtaes*" and red (?) "*lackees*"¹⁵.

Such was the importance of the Sind trade for Hormūz that the *Estado da India* surrendered the virtual Portuguese freight monopoly and allowed merchants from Lahore and Sind, who had deserted the sealanes, to apply for *licenças* to travel to Hormūz which they had always been denied¹⁶. The measures taken were not entirely unrewarded, and in the event Sindi trade did revert to Hormūz: just before the fall of Hormūz in 1622, Sind was second only to Goa in the number of vessels officially registered at the Hormuz customs¹⁷. Far from declining, the textile trade out of Sind continued to flourish after the loss of Hormūz as many merchants formerly based on the island had moved their houses to Sind¹⁸. Portuguese and allied traders imported spices to Sind in exchange for cheap foodstuffs and low-cost textiles which were then carried to the Persian Gulf Area, where they bypassed Bandar-e 'Abbās via Guadel and Masqat to Bandar-e Kong, Al-Başra and minor Persian ports¹⁹. Such was the magnitude of this trade that

hebben de Portugesen van langen Jaeren herwaerts gedaen, ende hebben veele daerbij geprofiteert. Van gelijken hebben het linnen soo't van de wever quam selfs laten bleken, ende veel schoonder int ooge ende stercker als dat gebleecgt dat te coop gebracht werdt...".

¹³ See above Pt.I. Introduction. See also BGP 17f.: H. Visnich, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 20/7/1623. W. FLOOR (1986), The Dutch EIC's Trade with Sind in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries, *MOOI* III, 111-144, 112 and 138, N.6, seems to misinterpret the document. For raw silk exports to feed the Multani textile industry see also H. DASTI (1990), 251. For Persian silk cloth exports to other parts of India (Diu, Chaul, Dabhol, Balaghat) see AHU C.I. 6/32, "*Devassa...*" dated 14/2/1619. See also Muḥammad b. Amīr Walī's comments in his *Baḥr al-Aṣṣār fī maṇāqib al-aḥyār*, q.i. R. ISLAM (1978), 145: "Textiles/merchandise of Hindustan as well as Iran are available here".

¹⁴ ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: "*Journal*" of G. Cornelisz., begun November 1631.

¹⁵ EFF' VIII, 28ff.: J. Spiller et al., Tatta, to Surat, dated 21/2/1646.

¹⁶ DOR III/185ff.: King Philipp II to Viceroy D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, 31/01/1615; for the earlier policy see: King Philipp II to Viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, 08/03/1609, in: BFUP III, 1955. Luso-Hormuzī officials were given a stern warning not to tamper with existing taxes, so that "se não incitar aos mercadores a continuarem mais os caminhos de Candar e Carmane", DOR V, 262ff.: Viceroy D. João Coutinho to King Philipp II, dated 6/2/1620.

¹⁷ H. Visnich, "Extract uijt het journael van mijn", in: H. TERPSTRA (1918), *De opkomst der westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 's-Gravenhage, App.XXI, 285f.

¹⁸ P. Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, loc.cit.; see also ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: "*Journal*" of G. Cornelisz., begun November 1631, who speaks of a "Hormosi benjaen" plying the textile trade between Sind and Persian Gulf ports.

¹⁹ A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, in: APO² IV-II-1/2, 98. See also ARA VOC 1084, fl.107rff.: A. Becker, "*Corte remonstratie...*", ca.1624 and ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: "*Journal*" of G. Cornelisz., begun November 1631.

local traders marvelled at the hesitations of the North Europeans to secure for themselves the domination over this commerce²⁰. In the mid-1630's the country trade between Sindi and Persian Gulf ports was reckoned to include ca.1.100.000 yards of cloth and in the mid-1640's fleets of five and more vessels under Portuguese protection plyed the textile trade between Sind and Al-Başra²¹. In August 1654 alone seven crafts reached the latter port from Bandar-e Kong, carrying chiefly Sindi and Gujarati cloth²². The Portuguese had come to mutually profitable arrangements with the governors of Sind, who participated with their own vessels in the textile trade to Masqat and Bandar-e Kong²³. The demise of Portuguese power in 'Umān only temporarily diminished the attraction of the Masqat entrepôt and by 1673 no less than 14 Sindi vessels carrying 770 bales of cloth were counted as having called at Masqat²⁴.

Sindi ports, Tatta in particular, also served as outlets for goods shipped down the river Indus from Lahore and elsewhere, especially the Panğāb²⁵. In the 1610's Portuguese vessels would carry freight to a value of ca.1.300.000 rupees *p.a.* to Persian Gulf destinations²⁶. "Diulsinde" acted as emporium for Hindostani and Bengali textiles of coarse and fine qualities alike. Varieties exported included: "*joories, cudds*, whether silk or thread, *taffseeles, jamawars, cudburgees, alaboolaes*, coarse *dutties*, black *baftias, Fettipoores, lungees hommomy, cambolees, dustar Armeniaes, dustar Gullamies, cannkeens, burtungeers* or red *jorries*, woolen cloth of

²⁰ ARA VOC 1084, fl.107rff.: A. Becker, "*Corte remonstratie...*", ca.1624.

²¹ *EFF* VII, 273ff.: R. Cranmer and council, Al-Başra, to London, dated 31/7/1645; for the country trade see *BGP* 482ff., 491: N. Overschie, "*Prijberekeninge...*", ca.1634.

²² ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: *Copie daghregister*.

²³ ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: "*Journal*" of G. Cornelisz., begun November 1631.

²⁴ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 20/2/1674.

²⁵ Cfr. R. Steele's report, see below; *BGP* 5: P.v.d. Broecke, Surat, to Amsterdam, ca.1619; a far less positive view of the Sindi trade to Iran can be found in Th. ROE (1615-19), *The Journal of ~*, see: W. FOSTER (ed.) (1926), *loc.cit.*; for further details see R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier...*, *SlIr*.

²⁶ For an estimate of Portuguese freight trade see R. Steele's report in *FLB* 457ff. where he speaks of £60.000 earnings *p.a.* on the basis of a 14% rate *ad valorem*; however, see also *CSP*, 1622-24, 183f.: Court Minutes of the EIC, dated 26/11/1623, where a mere £20.000 *p.a.* is given.

Mirtes (?), Lahore etc."²⁷. A detailed Dutch report on textile imports from Sind from ca. 1634 yields the following information²⁸:

Table 25
Importation of Sindi textile to Bandar-e 'Abbās (ca.1634)

Fabric	Variety	Characteristic	Measures (Amst.el)	Quant.	Sales in Ma.	Profit in %
Alāḡa	Ked (?)	cotton; chequered	18x1.25	10.000	200	32
	'alābola	do.	do.	6.000	200	32
	meyāne	silk	do.	10.000	300	3.75
	tāḡganḡī	silk	do.	6.000	400	--
	balādest	do.	18x1.5	4.000	600	3.75
	bengalī	cotton	20x1	4.000	120	17.5
Tafṣīle		cotton; striped	20x1	10.000	120	12.5
Nerma [khassa?]		cotton; white	20x1	8.000	140	16.5
		cotton; red	do.	4.000	200	40.5
		black	20x1.25	4.000	200	25
Doty		black	20x1.25	4.000	200	25
Mandīl	"Armenī"	striped; turban	18x1.25	4.000	400	20
"Manganou"		chequered	20x1.25	4.000	200	36
Lungi "shtay"		(six in a piece)	18x2	2.000	360	15.75
Galberga		silk stripes	18x1.25	4.000	240	22.75

The relatively modest profit margins here recorded for sales in Bandar-e 'Abbās differ markedly from the information collected by agents in Sind itself, who claim that returns of 50% and more were expected from textile exports to ports such as Masqat, Bandar-e Kong and Al-Baṣra²⁹. It would seem that most of Sind's textile exports to the Persian Gulf Area were destined for Al-Baṣra, where a large demand was guaranteed for coarser varieties. In the 1670's Sindi

²⁷ *EFF* V, 126ff.: W. Fremlen et al., Tatta, to Surat, dated 18/12/1635; ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: "Journal" of G. Cornelisz., begun November 1631 gives a similar list [length in *ells* and prices at Tatta]: "Calbergijs" (14 1/9?; ro.1:46), red *lackees* (14 1/9?; ro.4:14), *tocas* or *tulbanden* [i.e. *mandils*] (14 1/9?; ro.4); "*cadās*" with silken stripes (14 1/9?; ro.2:50), cotton "*cadās*" (19 1/9?; ro.1:20), *tafṣīles* (14 1/9?; ro.1:42), *bairamis* (16 1/9?; ro.2:37), "*Mangonijs*" (16; ro.1:30), "*huris*" (16 1/9?; ro.2:23), *kamarbands* (ro.-:39), *bethilles* (14 1/2?; ro.1:33), blue *baṣṭas* (ro.1:14), *malmals* from Agra (20; ro.7:22), *khassas* (21; ro.8:23), coarse *dotys* (16; ro.1:07), "*tabreios*" (16 3/9?; ro.5:39), silk *tafṣīles* (13?; ro.12:14), '*alābolas*' (14 1/9?; ro.1:29), *sannas* (ro.1:09), *chintzes* (ro.1:13).

²⁸ *BGP* 482ff.: N. Overschie, "*Prijsberekening...*", probably 1634.

²⁹ ARA VOC 1103, non-fol.: "Journal" of G. Cornelisz., begun November 1631; ARA VOC 1135, fl.647rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/3/1641 says Sindi brokers have confirmed this information.

joories counted among the most important re-exports from Masqaṭ into the Persian Gulf Area³⁰. In 1654, the arrival of 1.200 bales of Sindi cloth in Bandar-e Kong dashed the hopes of traders at Bandar-e ‘Abbās of pushing profits beyond 25%³¹.

This incidence goes to show that both Bandar-e ‘Abbās and Bandar-e Kong served as intermediary markets for textiles destined for the Ottoman empire. Many of the vast quantities of Sindi *alāḡas* sent to Al-Baṣra were forwarded to markets in Aleppo and Baḡdād³², whereas for Safavid Iran an *alāḡa*-type striped cloth - *sābūnī* - yielded the highest profits³³. But the bulk of Sind’s exports to the Persian Gulf Area catered for a mass market and the secret of Sind’s success as an exporting region lay in its cheap dark cotton fabrics. Many of these were transported to Al-Baṣra and thence to the Ġazīre, Turkey or Syria. When caravan routes were blocked, as during the conflict between the Afrasiyāb and the *bāṣā* of Baḡdād³⁴ in the mid-1640’s, many a Tatta merchant at Al-Baṣra was ruined³⁵. On Persian Gulf markets, dyed (blue) cotton cloth from Sindi looms successfully fought off possible competitors such as blue *chelas* from Coromandel during the 1640’s and early 1650’s³⁶.

In 1650’s the VOC attempted to break into the sizeable Mesopotamian market for Sindi textiles. Lack of available shipping made it necessary - against VOC policy - to embark their cloth on local vessels. In 1654, some 28.000 pieces to the value of ca.fl.70.000 were sent from Bandar-e ‘Abbās in a Muslim-owned vessel³⁷ and in the trading season 1655/56 some 18.000 pieces of cloth (151 bales) worth ca.fl.40.000 were embarked from Sind on two local vessels of Banyan

³⁰ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās 20/2/1674.

³¹ See ARA VOC 1208, fl.529r-v: "*Notitie van vercoop...*", 1654; ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, dated 12/4/1654 (for textile exports from Sind, one bale could contain anything between 80 and 160 pieces, see ARA VOC 1215, fl.635rff.: "*Factura*", dated 30/3/1656) A similar case is recorded for 1655, ARA VOC 1210, fl.756rff.: *Copie daghregister* Surat (up to April 1656), fl.782r.

³² ARA VOC 1152, fl.266rff.: D. Sarcerius, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, mentions in particular "*Alegia meana*", "*Alegia lackij*" and "*Alegia mierseij*".

³³ ARA VOC 1203, fl.764rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, dated 12/4/1654.

³⁴ For this struggle see above and S.H. LONGRIGG (1925), 108f.

³⁵ *EF*¹ VIII, 44ff.: R. Cranmer et al, Al-Baṣra, to London, dated 3/8/1646.

³⁶ ARA VOC 1185, fl.541rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/5/1651.

³⁷ ARA VOC 1208, fl.188r.: "*Corte factura*", dated 9/6/1654.

merchants resident in Bandar-e Kong, whence the wares were to be transshipped to Al-Bašra³⁸. The experiment ended in disaster: inadequate defenses made the ships easy prey for corsairs cruising the Arabian Seas, half the goods were lost³⁹, only one vessel managed to escape to Masqat. Worse was to come: the connecting caravans to Aleppo and Anatolia had failed to reach Al-Bašra and the merchants had to sell to agents of minor houses from Baḡdād, Mossul and Damascus⁴⁰. At the same time, 700 more bales of Sindi cloth had been imported by local traders alongside 12 shiploads from Surat⁴¹. Competition was direct and fierce as there was virtually no specialisation in the composition of Sindi textile imports by the various trading communities⁴². Most textiles imported to Al-Bašra aimed at a middle range and low end of the market, while in Iran a variety of factors - the adaptability of Sind's weaving industry, the relative vicinity of the region, and, at times, a price advantage - allowed Sind to defend a niche market. In fact, it seems that a revival for Sindi cloth occurred in cash-strapped Iran around 1680, at a time when plain Coromandel calicoes and mixed silk-cotton fabrics from Bengal had begun to be imitated on a large scale on Iranian looms⁴³. One must always bear in mind, however, that because of its comparative closeness to the Persian Gulf markets and the continuing overland (and riverine) trade across Northern India the provenance of textiles transshipped in Sindi ports is not always easy to establish⁴⁴.

³⁸ ARA VOC 1215, fl.635rff.: "*Factura*", dated 30/3/1656 ("geconsigneert aen seeckere banjaensz. coopluijden genaemt Keesousie Moerarsie ofte Sourawatsie").

³⁹ ARA VOC 1210, fl.906rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 3/6/1656.

⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1210, fl.937rff.: J. Barra, Al-Bašra, to Amsterdam, dated 20/10/1656.

⁴¹ ARA VOC 1210, fl.929rff.: J. Barra, Al-Bašra, to Surat, dated 11/9/1656; ARA VOC 1210, fl.926r-v: "*Notitie...*", dated 11/9/1656, gives more than 750 bales.

⁴² ARA VOC 1215, fl.635rff.: "*Factura*", dated 30/3/1656 has: 3.000 ps. "*Cadmierseijs*" (25 bales à 120 ps.; fl.5.795:10:4), 2.080 ps. *lackees* (13 à 160; fl.8.350:1:12), 1.000 ps. white *baftas* from "Reserpour" (10 à 100; fl.1.896:3:12), 1.000 ps. coarse *baftas* do. (10 à 100; fl.1.716:3:12), 640 ps. *tāḡganḡt* (4 à 160; fl.1.680:3:12), 2.040 ps. "*Kanaardaar*" (17 à 120; fl.5.902:1:6), 1.120 ps. *Bengali* (7 à 160; fl.3.645:2:4), 485 ps. "*Miqua kanaerdaer*" (3 à 160; fl.1.286:14:6), 960 ps. "*Longh palla*" (12 à 80; fl.3.539:18:14), 800 ps. *Galberga* (5 à 160; fl.2.116:1:-), 360 ps. "*Cadrawagie*" (3 à 120; fl.703:17:8), 280 ps. *dustar armeni* (2 à 140, fl.751:7:-), 4.000 ps. black *baftas* (40 à 100): fl.8.549:8:12. ARA VOC 1210, fl.926r-v: "*Notitie...*", dated 11/9/1656, has three vessels from Sind carry 150 bales black *baftas*, 50 white "*nermia*", 75 "*nermia coora*", 20 black *bairamis*, 20 "*kadrawasij*", 20 "*rafta gambielij*", 40 "*longh palla*", 10 *mollā ebrāhīmī*, 75 *lackees*, 40 *tāḡganḡt*, 25 *meḡāne* "*kanaerdaer*", 30 *Bengali*, 25 *galberga*, 60 "*kad kanaerdaer*", 60 "*kad miersij*", 20 *alāḡa* "*kassarij*".

⁴³ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1866vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 4/3/1680.

⁴⁴ See e.g. the regular occurrence of "*Bengali*" varieties in the cargo lists above.

Panğāb, too, was an important textile exporting area. Besides being well placed for the overland trade to Central Asia and Iran, the riverine trade to Sind also opened up to outlets of the Arabian Seas⁴⁵. While European traders were chiefly interested in the regions cheaper plain calicoes such as the "*semianoes*" (after Samāna), Armenian and Persian merchants cherished the (possibly hand-printed) chintzes of Lahore and Dehli, which they considered hardly inferior to Coromandel wares and which had the advantage of being available much closer to home. These were used for linings and waistcoats for male and female attire in Iran⁴⁶. However, as early as 1616, much of the textile trade had shifted eastwards to Agra⁴⁷.

Gujarat and Neighbouring Provinces

It is exceptionally difficult to trace the origin of North Indian fabrics: names can refer to ports of embarkation, types of cloth initially associated with one weaving centre etc. To some extent, the structure of the pre-European Indian country-trade dictated the marketing of these textiles: throughout the XVIIth century bales were carried overland into Iran from Northern India and even from as far as Bengal, while Gujarati cloth travelled along the sealanes. This created central forwarding markets in the Persian Gulf Area such as Eṣfahān which continued to operate even when war closed the passage overland: the Agra assortment would be carried from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to the Safavid capital where merchants from the Fertile Crescent, Turkey and Arabia waited to carry the textiles to the Fertile Crescent who sometimes left with the *haḡḡ* caravans in October. On the other hand, the Gujarati *roupas pretas* (black stuffs) destined for ʿIrāq-e ʿArab and the coastal lands of the Gulf were transshipped at Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Masqaṭ, as they had been at Hormūz before the eviction of the Portuguese⁴⁸.

Textile markets of the Western Indian Ocean were closely connected and fluctuations in prices, supply and demand quickly reverberated throughout the system. The resulting interplay

⁴⁵ Discussions of the Panğāb riverine trade are generally based on H. Bornford, *Account of His Journey from Agra to Tatta* (1639), *EFI* VI, 134ff.; see e.g. W.H. MORELAND (1920) and now C. SINGH (1981), *Riverine Transport in Punjab and the Decline of Trade in Multan During the 2nd Half of the XVIIth Century*, *PHC* (SD) and ID. (1991), *Region and Empire. Panjab in the XVIIth Century*, New Dehli etc. For the interplay of riverine trade and overland trade between Iran and the subcontinent see R. KLEIN (in prep.), *Le commerce caravanier...*, *Silr*.

⁴⁶ IOR 3/6/699 and 792; *EFI* VI, 134ff., see also *EFI* VIII, 335f. Later in the XVIIth century Lahori chintzes were used in Iran as bed- and table-covers, see J.B. TAVERNIER (1676), vol.2, 4f.

⁴⁷ *LR* IV, 307ff., 315: EIC factory, Surat, to Th. Roe, Ajmer, dated 26/5/1616; however, as late as 1639 we hear that "Lahoare [is] the prime city of traffick in India", see *EFI* VI, 134ff.

⁴⁸ ARA VOC 1130, fl.1228rf.: J. Leendersz. Grijf et al., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 20/4/1639.

of prices applied both to raw materials and finished products. Price fluctuations of raw cotton in Northern India (almost always due to poor cotton harvests) would inevitably translate into higher prime costs of cotton cloth⁴⁹. More dangerous was another consequence of diminishing supply of raw materials: the various stages from the raw material to the finished product were separately financed and one missing link could easily break the production circle.

The textile industry of Gujarat worked to a large extent for markets *oltremare* and prices and conditions on the receiving markets were important factors in determining purchasing decisions in India. With the contraction of direct Gujarati shipping to South-East Asia, Red Sea destinations rose to greater prominence in the Gujarati trading network during the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries⁵⁰. The importance of export markets in the Middle East (and elsewhere) for the Gujarat textile industry was reflected in seasonal fluctuations of market prices for cotton goods. The links between Persian Gulf ports, Gujarati wholesale markets and the production area in Northern India are as yet underresearched. It can be shown prices for raw cotton in India declined when sharply reduced demand was anticipated for cotton cloth in Bandar-e 'Abbās⁵¹. In normal years prices rose at the onset of the sailing season in October, and fell by 10-20% when, in April/May, the last opportunity to catch a ships had passed. Whether the departure of traders to the Persian Gulf as early as November left them with a disadvantage compared to other destinations (as the completion of their cargo coincided with the first *hausse* in prices) cannot be decided on the basis of the evidence here examined⁵². Prices for raw cotton and cotton yarn in Surat and Bandar-e 'Abbās showed some parallel developments despite the low degree of integration of the two markets for this commodity (see table and graph below). On occasions, one hears of prices rising up to 80% at Ahmadabad, but buyers could predict that prices were bound

⁴⁹ The direct relationship between foodcrop prices and the costs of textile manufactures is not clearly established, see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 265ff.; for a critique see H. van SANTEN (1982), 186f. Company records expect such a direct linkage, see e.g. *EFF* IX, 9f.: R. Davidge, Dehli, to Surat, dated 4/1/1650, on a ca.30% rise of the price for *mehrkuls* due to "the dearth of corne, dearenesse of cotten and scarcytie of pice [i.e. *paisa* or *dām*, the current copper coin]".

⁵⁰ See e.g. *EFF* IX, 27ff., 30: Pres.Merry et al., Suhali, to London, dated 31/1/1651, on price rises in Ahmadabad due to large demand for Middle Eastern markets.

⁵¹ E.g. *GM* II, 273ff., 274: C.v.d. Lijn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 17/12/1645: "...den cattoen was vrij wat gedaelt, doordien de Moren weynich incoop van cleeden voor Parsia ondernamen ende dat uyt vrese van onse uytgesette macht tegen dat rijck, daervan kennisse hadden, twelck die van Suratte almede omsichtiger maecte ende is seker, soo de sake in Parsia naer wensch uytvalt, dat allerwegen beter deegh van de Moren sullen hebben."

⁵² For cotton prices in Gujarat see H. van SANTEN (1982), 183ff.; cottonwool imports to Bandar-e 'Abbās were used for packaging purposes, but also found an open market, see *EFF* II, 22ff.: W. Bell, Kuhestak, to Surat, dated 24/1/1622.

Table 26
Wholesale Prices for Cotton (Wool/Yarn) at Bandar-e 'Abbās 1628-1673

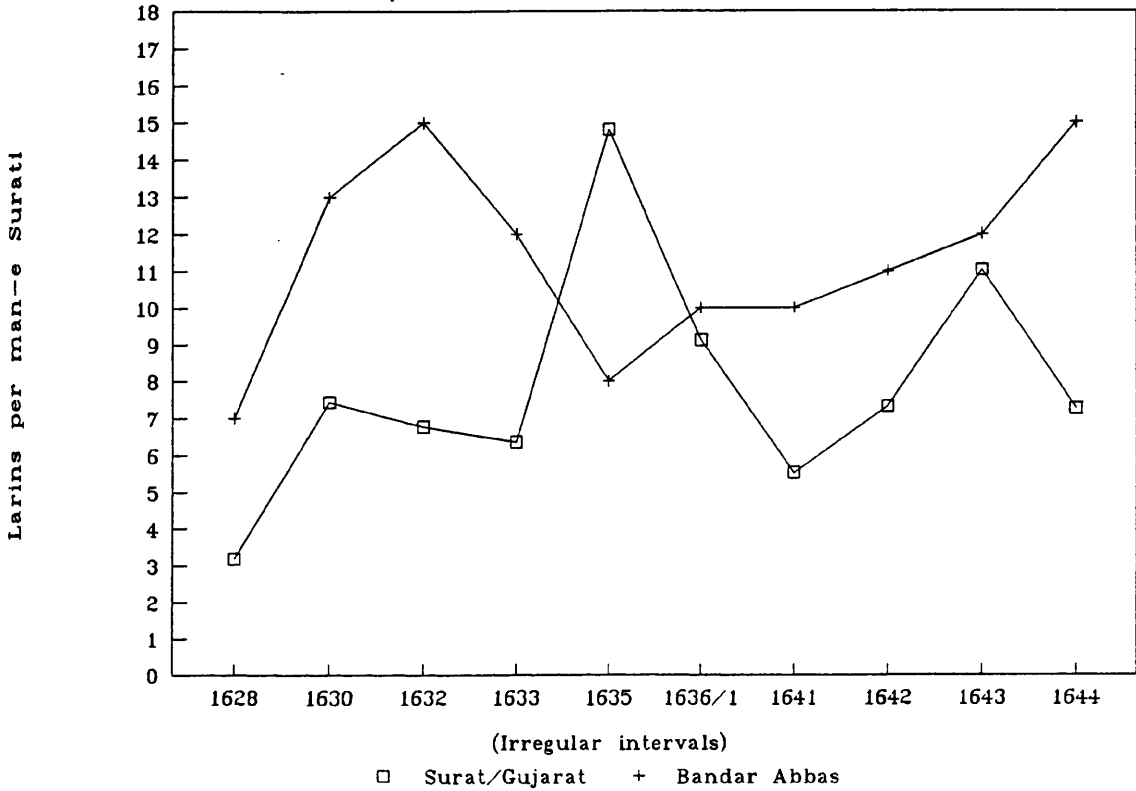
Year/ quarter	Prices	Comments
1628	7	
1630	12-13	
1632	15	at Eṣfahān
1633	12	
1634	15	
1635	8	
1636/1	10	from Surat
	8	"Nauderbaer"
1636/4	8	"Nauderbaer"
1637	9	from Surat
	7	"Nauderbaer"
	8	1/2 "netdabaris", 1/2 "talebdu"
1638	27	(?)
1641	9-10	
1642	11	
1643	12	
1644	14-15	
1673	10.25	

Sources:

1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1630: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Eṣfahān, 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-?)1633; 1634: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1634, *BGP*; 474f.; 1635: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1636/1: ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr. 1636; ARA VOC 1117, fl.774rff.: Sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/3/1636; 1636/4: ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; 1637: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/3/1637, *BGP* 617; 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.136rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1641: ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642: ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; 1644: ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1673: ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673.

Graph 16

**Wholesale Prices for Raw Cotton / Cotton Yarn
Gujarat/Surat and Bandar-e 'Abbas (1628-1644)**



Sources:

1628: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1628, *BGP* 278ff.; 1630: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbas, 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist, Esfahān 22/10/1632; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186rf.: Pricecalculation (mid-7)1633; 1635: Pricelist, Bandar-e 'Abbas, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1636(1): ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbas, Febr. 1636; ARA VOC 1117, fl.774rf.: Sales Bandar-e 'Abbas; N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbas, 25/3/1636; 1641: ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbas, 31/12/1641; 1642: ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbas, March 1642; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbas, 30/4/1643; 1644: ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbas, 8/10/1644; prices for Gujarat and Surat on the basis of H. van SANTEN (1982), 184.

to come down since the mark-up could not be passed on to purchasers at Bandar-e 'Abbās⁵³. Price increases of 16% observed in the Surat wholesale market captured the realities of the

⁵³ *DR* V, 375ff. under 31/7/1641: *ibid.*, 380, abstract letter Agra to Surat, dated 18/3/1641. However, see also H. van SANTEN (1982), 185. Similarly, price rises on Coromandel cloth were observed in the Persian Gulf Area following the famine in the area, which had raw cotton prices double, see *GM* III, 314ff., 339: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 16/12/1660.

Persian Gulf trade more accurately⁵⁴, as it was reckoned that raw material made up some 6-15% of the price of the finished product⁵⁵. Describing the late 1670's Gujarati weaving centre of Nadiad G. Roques even commented: "le prix est suiuant les annés; tantot plus tantot moins suiuant qu'il y a des achepteurs car le cotton n'ausse ny ne diminue la marchandise..."⁵⁶.

Production of textiles was dependent on the supply of working capital by merchants (or middlemen), timely arrival of information was essential to avoid costly misinvestments. The Red Sea market⁵⁷ was well placed in this respect: the wind systems of the Western Indian Ocean made it possible for news on conditions there to reach Gujarat in the same season. In fact, the more cautious merchants withheld their purchases until information reached Surat of sales in Mohā. Repercussions could be massive: when Yemen enjoyed a promising trading season, purchasing prices could soar up to a third, while when the Red Sea markets were disrupted by warfare in the late 1630's, prices in Surat declined by 20-25%⁵⁸. Slackening demand during the monsoon rains meant that weavers showed a greater willingness to accomodate more unusual requests for patterns or measurements, as they were short of orders (and hence cash)⁵⁹. This opportunity could only be exploited by larger trading houses and the European Companies, who had a sufficient number of agents to be sent into the weaving districts. However, even before the arrival of the Companies, commissioning textiles for the export markets was a common practice among Indian traders⁶⁰. In 1643, English agents reported that Gujarati "...weavers fit their loomes and labours to the seasons and markets, and so make ...divers sortes of alejaes, shashes,

⁵⁴ DR VI, 181ff., 195: "*Verbael vant gepasseerde...*". Similar figures are available for conditions in the wake of the late 1640's famine in Coromandel, see *EFI* VIII, 163ff.: T. Ivy, Ft.St. George, to London, dated 9/10/1647.

⁵⁵ See H. van SANTEN (1982), 186.

⁵⁶ BNP FF 14614, fl.86: G. ROQUES, La manière de negocier.

⁵⁷ For a later period see A. DAS GUPTA (1979), Gujarati Merchants and the Red Sea Trade, 1700-1725, in: B.B. KLING / M. PEARSON (eds.) (1979), *The Age of Partnership. Europeans in Asia Before Dominion*, Honolulu, 123-158.

⁵⁸ On the Gujarati-Red Sea trade see H. van SANTEN (1982), 171; for the late 1630's see ARA VOC 1132, non-fol.: B. Pietersz. (?), Surat, to A. Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 30/10/1639; see also C.G. BROUWER (1988), *Cauwa en contanten. De VOC in Yemen 1614-1655*, Amsterdam, 52ff.

⁵⁹ W. GELEYNSZ. De Jongh, *De remonstratie...*, loc.cit., 27f. The seasonal fluctuation is confirmed in *EFI* IX, 58: Pres.Merry et al., Suhali, to London, dated 8/4/1651.

⁶⁰ DRI II, No.170: "*Alvará regio*", dated Lisboa 12/2/1611.

and other kind of stuffes most vendible in Persia"⁶¹. Yet this was only one of the possible links between craftsmen and merchants and by no means a teleological stage in the developing relationship between industry and trade. Other weavers specialised in fabrics for which there was a constant demand, domestic or foreign, and sold their products on the open market⁶².

Baroda and Bharuch⁶³ and minor centres such as Jambusar produced many of the staple dark calicoes suitable for the Mesopotamian trade, but Malabari traders, too, bought cotton yarn to supply weavers of coarse cloth, part of which eventually ended up on Persian Gulf markets⁶⁴. Links to markets of Iran proper are less clear; when the Gujarati textile industry recovered from the 1630's famine production of many of the fabrics destined for the Iranian market which had shifted to Northern India remained did not revert to the area⁶⁵. In the 1670's Parsis resident in Bharuch produced mixed silk-cotton *alāḡas* for use as turbans in the Middle East⁶⁶. Baftas and plain white calicoes (*sovaguzzees*) of Bharuch were sought after by merchants trading to the Persian Gulf Area and the East India Companies alike⁶⁷. In Baroda, a medium quality cotton yarn was used to weave coarse *baftas* for Red Sea markets and Al-Baṣra: "cella tient toujours les Tisserans occupés parce-qu'il s'en consomme grande quantité en blanç et bleus"⁶⁸. In the 1670's

⁶¹ *EFF* VII, 82ff.: President and council, Surat, to London, dated 17/1/1643. The Middle East - just as the Malay Archipelago - imported Gujarati pure silk double-ikats woven in the Patan area (*BGP* 485 erroneously takes "Phatan" for a locality near Madras). In the early XVIIth century, similar techniques were employed by Kāṣī silk-weavers for the domestic market. Striped *taṣṭiles*, a mixed cotton-and-silk fabric, which was patterned in the loom, also reached the Middle East from Gujarat and Coromandel; emulations of tie-and-dye patterns on printed cheap cotton cloth, "*kalgars*", were also popular, see J. IRWIN/P. SCHWARTZ (1966), 23f.

⁶² See BNP FF 14614: G. ROQUES, *La manière de négocier...*; examples from Northern India abound, too; in the early 1620's, all the information necessary to assemble a cargo of *baftas* suitable for the Iranian market was available in Surat, see *EFF* II, 22ff.: W. Bell, Kuhestak, to Surat, dated 24/1/1622.

⁶³ For some general comments on the two cities chiefly gleaned from EIC documents see B.G. GOKHALE (1968/69), Broach and Baroda. Notes on the Economic History of Two Gujarat Cities in the XVIIth Century, *JBBRAS* XLIII / XLIV, 142-154. For an early Dutch report W.P. COOLHAAS (ed.) (1962/63), *Pieter van den Broecke in Azië*, 2 vols. (=WLXV LXIII/LXIV), s' Gravenhage, 378ff.

⁶⁴ W. GELEYNSZ. De Jongh, *De remonstratie...*, *loc.cit.*, 11f. and 28ff.; see also ARA VOC 1135, fl.669rf.: "Notitie...", dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 18/3/1641, which has 2 frigates of the Bijapuri *vazīr* Moṣṭafā Ḥān, arriving from Vengurla and carrying chiefly cotton.

⁶⁵ See H. van SANTEN (1982), 181.

⁶⁶ BNP FF 14614, fl.80f.: G. ROQUES, *La manière de négocier*.

⁶⁷ See K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 259.

⁶⁸ BNP FF 14614, fl.84: G. ROQUES, *La manière de négocier*; whether the "*assumanis*" (*ʿuṣṣmānīs*) mentioned in W. GELEYNSZ. De Jongh, *De remonstratie...*, *loc.cit.*, 11, were primarily sent to Al-Baṣra is unclear. They were also found in South East Asia, see St.v.d. WIELE (1603), *Informatie van Diverse landen en Eylanden gelegen naer Oostindien*

the textile industry of Nadiad, a locality halfway between Baroda and Ahmadabad, was buoyant: "le nombre des fileuses augmente plutot que diminuer car les plus petit enfans s'occupent a cet exerçice". Armenian and Muslim merchants bought up coarse cotton weaves to be dyed blue or for chintz-making⁶⁹.

Further to the North, Ahmadabad⁷⁰ was the most important centre of Gujarat's textile industry. In the earlier XVIIth century, trade through Cambaya fed the city's manufactures into the exchange systems of the Western Indian Ocean. The Portuguese featured prominently in Ahmadabad's textile export⁷¹, but their share especially in the trade of the finer fabrics declined sharply with the arrival of the European Companies⁷². At Ahmadabad, blue *bairamis* were produced for Ottoman markets, while various types of *alāḡas* counted as the most popular export weaves for Iran: "il n'y en a pas qui égalent ceux d'amedabat; aussi cette ville en débite plus que toutes les autres ensemble". Ahmadabadi *quñts* were sent both to Iran and Al-Baṣra. *Taffetas* "de toute couleurs à la reserve ...aussy de soye fine à fleurs, or et argent qui seruent à des cabajes pour les maures" were sent from Ahmadabad to the Persian Gulf Area. Similarly, Ahmadabadi *susis*, a mixed cotton-silk weave was held in high esteem in Iran, where it would be used for *qabās*⁷³. G. Roques reports that of a piece of *bethilles* woven in "Chemely", long ca.12.25m and wide some 80cm, "la reyne de toutes les toilles", three *qabās* could be sewn for male attire⁷⁴.

om aldaer bequamelijk te handelen..., in: G.R. ROUFFAERT / H.H. JUYNBOLL (1899-1914), *De Batikkunst in Nederlandsch-Indie en haar geschiedenis*, 2 vols., Utrecht, vol.1, XI-XXV.

⁶⁹ BNP FF 14614, fl.86ff.: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier*.

⁷⁰ B.G. GOKHALE (1969), Ahmadabad in the XVIIth Century, *JESHO* XII, 187-197.

⁷¹ W. GELEYNSZ. De Jongh, *De remonstratie...*, *loc.cit.*, 42f.; for Portuguese exports of Indian textiles see also A. AHMAD (1989), Indian Textiles and the Portuguese Trade in the XVIIth Century, *Studia* XLVIII, 213-236 and L. VARADARAJAN (1981), XVIIth Century Textile Trade in Portuguese Sources, *Indica* XVIII, 51-56. The *livros de roupas e sedas* still await a detailed examination; in the meantime see N. STEENSGAARD (1985), The Return Cargoes of the Carreira in the XVIth and Early XVIIth Century, in: T.R.De SOUZA (ed.) (1985), *Indo-Portuguese History. Old Issues, New Questions*, New Dehli, 13-31. For Portuguese exports in the 1670'/80's see also BNP FF 14614.

⁷² ANTT DRI XXII, fl.63v: letter to King Philipp III, dated Goa 22/2/1625.

⁷³ BNP FF 14614, fl.121ff., 142: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier*; on Gujarati "soussis sur soye" see *ibid.* fl.143f. Similar to *betilles*, but, apparently, with the cotton bleached before being woven and, unlike the former, not in need to undergo finishing processes, they later became extremely popular in Europe, too, where they acquired a reputation for unusually good resistance to wear and tear J.F. (1696), *The Merchant's Ware House Laid Open or The Plain Dealing Linen Draper*, s.l., 36; exports to Europe of this weave also originated from the Malda-Kasimbazar area, see J. IRWIN / P.R. SCHWARTZ (1966), 71.

⁷⁴ BNP FF 14614, fl.194: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier*. I have not been able to identify the location.

Burhanpur with its fertile and cotton-producing Malwa hinterland is often mentioned in English records⁷⁵. J.B. Tavernier, too, praised the city's cotton weaves which were exported to Iran for women's veils and scarfs, but more than anything else Burhanpur was a market and distribution centre⁷⁶, especially for the overland textile trade between the Indian East and West coasts. Its merchants played a crucial role in the trade from Coromandel and Golkondā to Surat as long as the routes were safe⁷⁷.

Painted cottons from Sironj were among the most important Gujarat exports to the Middle East. This minor centre, halfway between Burhanpur and Agra was home to some 400 houses of "peintres", whose chintzes (*sic*) were worn by "tout le menu peuple de Perse et de Turquie"⁷⁸. Armenians were at the heart of this export trade to Iran - alongside with their involvement in carrying Sironj textiles to Bantam and as far as Manilla⁷⁹ - , and some New-Ġolfā firms had long-standing relations with resident brokers in Sironj, trustworthy enough to depend on them for their complex financial arrangements in the subcontinent⁸⁰. G. Roques tells us that "chittes jafracanis à deux et trois couleurs" in particular found their way to Iran, whence not an

⁷⁵ B.G. GOKHALE (1972), Burhanpur: Notes on the History of an Indian City in the XVIIth Century, *JESHO* XV, 316-323 and S. GORDON (1988), Burhanpur: entrepôt and hinterland 1650-1750, *IESHR* XXV, 425-442. For references from IOR E 3/6/699 and IOR E 3/6/700 see R. FERRIER (1976), 204ff., who accepts Burhanpur as a production centre.

⁷⁶ BNP FF 14614, fl.184: G. ROQUES, La manière de negocier: "jl ne s'y fabrique point des toilles...".

⁷⁷ DR II, 144ff.: Abstracts of letters sent by A. Gardenijs from Coromandel, received at Batavia 31/1/1633; the overland link between the Coromandel coast and Lahore seems to have remained operative long after that, see for 1663 DR XIV, 446ff.

⁷⁸ J.B. TAVERNIER (1676), *loc.cit.* Similarly, Indian chintzes were not considered fashionable in Europe until the 1680's, their use being restricted mainly to the menial classes, see C. MUKHERJI (1983), 190ff. J.F. (1696), *The Merchant's Ware House...*, 7, recommends the "*chints seronge*" as a coarse, flower-patterned weave, suitable for gowns, pettycoats and especially quilts. G. Roques speaks of craftsmen working at Sironj for the Mughal's wardrobe, *loc.cit.*, fl.194ff. P. MUNDY, *The Travels of ~ in Europe and Asia 1608-1677*, ed. R.C. TEMPLE, 5 vols., Cambridge 1907-36, 56, compares the quality of Sironj painted cottons favourably to products available at Masulipatnam.

⁷⁹ BNP FF 14614, fl.185f.: G. ROQUES, La manière de negocier. On Bantam's trade with Gujarat see M.A.P. MEILINK-ROELOFSZ (1962), 239ff.; for Armenian trade in Bantam see also J.C. van LEUR (1955), 3 and 162 (his XVIth century Dutch source only has "Persians"; on the equation Persian=Armenian in contemporaneous Dutch documents see S.v. ROOY (1966). For Armenian trade in the Philippines see M. AGHASSIAN / K. KEVONIAN (1988), 158, who only mention "les étoffes de Madras"; E. HERZIG (1991), 149, too, speaks primarily of "Armenians based in Coromandel".

⁸⁰ For the most accessible account of the operations of Hovhannes Ter Davut'yan in Sironj and elsewhere in Northern India now see E. HERZIG (1991), 263ff.

insignificant number were traded to Aleppo⁸¹. Textile historians have long wondered whether these stuffs can be identified with painted or printed cottons⁸². Indeed, the very meaning of the terms *chintz* and *pintado* are far from clear for XVIIth century West Asian trade⁸³, possibly because they both tentatively translate Persian *naqš*, which in turn can rather generally refer to items with a figural or vegetal pattern, painted, block-printed and even embroidered. Economic historians have unfortunately tended to be less sensitive to this issue, although it has important implications both on the production and consumption side: printed cottons were more likely to satisfy a mass market, while the production of painted cottons required more skilled (especially artistically capable) labour. Here, the process of applying the patterns was not limited by initial investment in printing blocks, which could have a very long life indeed thereby contributing to the longevity of certain designs. Technical factors would thus contribute to restricting frequent changes in the patterning of dress to the products for the more affluent customers.

G. Roques, dispatched by the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales (CIO) in 1678 to explore the Gujarat textile industry⁸⁴, believed that those who had access to the fine weaves of the Coromandel Coast and Bengal preferred them over similar Gujarati products, chiefly because of the price advantage, but also because most of the weavers in Gujarati centres working for export markets had been induced by Persian and Armenian agents to produce cheaper stuffs⁸⁵.

⁸¹ BNP FF 14614, fl.185f., 191: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier*. J. SAVARY *Des Bruslons* (1723-30), *Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce*, 3 vols., Paris, s.v., whose information on trade of Levantine *écales* chiefly relates to Izmir, has "*indiennes Chaferquanis*" imported to Marseille from Aleppo, where they were put up for sale by Armenians who had brought them from Iran. These *jafracanis* would appear to have been of one or two colours (red, violet or white), see K. FUKUSAWA (1987), *Toilerie et Commerce du Levant d'Alep à Marseille*, Marseille, 46, unlike those mentioned by Roques. See also H. CHOBAUT (1939), *L'industrie des indiennes à Marseille avant 1680*, *MIHR* XVI, 81-95. It has been suggested that the name of these fabrics may refer to Ġāfar Hān, Grand Vizir of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, who reputedly showed an interest in textile production, see P.R. SCHWARTZ (1969), *Printing on Cotton at Ahmedabad, India 1678*, *Ahmadabad*, 20, N.17, quoting J. IRWIN's opinion on the matter.

⁸² P.R. SCHWARTZ (1962), *Les toiles peintes indiennes*, *BSIM* DCCVI, 3-18 (SD) and ID. (1967), *L'impression sur coton à Ahmedabad (Inde) en 1678*, *BSIM* DCCXXVI, 9-25 (SD 3-18) and ID. (1969). On block-printing (as well as resist- and mordant-dyeing) in Iran see H.E. WULFF (1966), 224ff. and H. and A. LANDOLT-TÜLLER (1976), *Qalamkār-Druck in Isfahan. Beiträge zur Kenntnis traditioneller Textilfärbentechniken in Persien*, Basel.

⁸³ For possible etymologies for *chintz* see H. YULE / A.C. BURNELL (1903), *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words...*, London, s.v.; for *pintado* S.R. DALGADO (1919), *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 2 vols., Lisboa, vol.2, s.v.. Cfr. also the cross-fertilization of patterns (and resulting confusion in terminology) with embroideries, e.g. the "painted quilts", see J. IRWIN (1949), *The Commercial Embroidery of Gujarat in the XVIIth Century*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* XVII (issued in 1952) [repr. in *Marg* XVII/2, 1964, 71-72].

⁸⁴ F. KAEPPÉLIN (1908), *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et François Martin*, Paris, 172ff.; see also F. MARTIN (1665-94), *Mémoires...*, a heavily modernised version of ANP T 1169.

⁸⁵ BNP FF 14614, fl.86: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier...*, and *passim*.

But when he learnt that for several years around 1680 the Mughal court ordered high quality textiles from Sironj and "de chemely ...des betilles extraordinaires" he wondered whether it was worth the Europeans' while to venture all the way to Bengal for fine muslins, if these craftsmen were capable of working to these high standards. He commissioned imitations of Bengali *malmals* and *khassas* from local weavers, but the cotton used proved too coarse to achieve the fineness required for the fabrics to substitute the originals⁸⁶.

Northern India

In the history of textile trade to the Persian Gulf Area the devastating famine of the early 1630's marks a watershed⁸⁷, although details of how this natural calamity affected trade to Iran are not easily discernable. Even earlier there were signs for an Eastwards shift of the main supply markets feeding overland caravans. During and immediately after the famine, Gujarat's industrial centres witnessed emigration on a large scale: some weavers joined the Mughal armies in the hope of being fed, others, among them many of the specialised craftsmen, relocated their workshops to the lands East of Agra⁸⁸. Because of the drought and the death of pack animals, communication between the interior of the province, the coastline and the rest of the empire was severely disrupted for some time, so that wholesale prices rose for both locally produced and transshipped cloth. Textile merchants began to look for alternative supply centres in the Doab, Awadh and Bihar, but also on the Coromandel Coast.

The seasonal price structure for textiles in Gujarati ports was temporarily altered: perhaps local weavers devoted more time to the cultivation of food-crops which reduced the volume of textiles available on the markets during the monsoon. For some years, the lowest purchasing prices for Gujarati cloth were captured between January and March, when the woven cloth was

⁸⁶ BNP FF 14614, fl.194ff. and fl.119: G. ROQUES, *La manière de negocier*.

⁸⁷ For the importance of the early 1630's famine see e.g. W. MORELAND (1923), 205ff.; for Gujarat: B. GOKHALE (1978), *Surat in the XVIIth Century. A Study in Urban History of Pre-Modern India*, London, 22f.; for the West Coast: A.R. DISNEY (1989), *Famine and Famine Relief in Portuguese India in the XVIth Century*, *Studia* XLIX, 255-281; for some evidence on South India S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990), 333f. and 359. It may be noted that there is some evidence that the Persian Gulf Area, too, experienced an unusual drought in the early 1630's, albeit on a minor scale.

⁸⁸ See LR IV, 307ff., 315: EIC factory, Surat, to Th. Roe, Ajmer, dated 26/5/1616. For the pre-1630's textile industry East of Agra see F. PELSART (1627), 251ff. Quantitative data on population losses is lacking, but reports from the mid-1630's speak of the return of 5.000 families, who were rewarded by the Mughal administration by being granted newly distributed land, see H. van SANTEN (1982), 174ff. For comparative data see also A. LOVEDAY (1914), *The History and Economic of Indian famines*, London, 9ff.

filling the markets⁸⁹. We can speculate that because of the constrictions of sailing schedules this temporary change reduced opportunities for Persian Gulf traders to strike bargains in Gujarat. However, all markets for Gujarati textiles - the Middle East, the Malayan Archipelago, East Africa and Europe alike - were affected in one way or another by the dislocations ensuing from this catastrophe. By 1636/37 the region between Ahmadabad and Navsari still was reported to produce less than 2/3 of what used to be exported prior to the famine⁹⁰.

There were indications that the importation of Coromandel and Bengali textiles was to become the most profitable branch of the Indo-Persian trade. Even earlier, certainly in the 1620's, Mughal, Persian and Armenian merchants bought striped sashes from Malda which were carried to Agra to be forwarded to Iran⁹¹ and by the mid-1630's many of what used to be Gujarati varieties of cotton cloths of the *baftas* and *chela* types, particularly successful on Middle Eastern markets, were produced by rural industries in Awadh. The cheaper varieties were bought by the *gaz* (hence: *gessies*) and carried to Gujarat, where they underwent finishing processes, mainly dyeing⁹². The fact that a different kind of cotton was used, does not seem to have compromised sales of these textiles. Persian and Armenian merchants procured these textiles in the producing area East of Agra and European merchants found that in Bengal imitations of Gujarati (especially Ahmadabadi) "*ardias*", "*bairāmts*", "*baftas*", "*canekins*" and *lungis* were being woven, precisely of the kind suitable for the Persian market. So far they were carried by land to Surat, but considering the lower prime costs and the elimination of overland transport costs, embarking the textiles directly for the Persian Gulf suggested itself⁹³.

By the 1620's much of the East-West overland textile trade had centred on the Agra suburb of Sikandra where a transit duty was levied "by the people of Nūr Ġāhān Begum, who had

⁸⁹ See for this development H. van SANTEN (1982), 175.

⁹⁰ ARA VOC 1122, fl.600ff.: W. Geleynsz., Surat, to Batavia, dated 16/12/1636.

⁹¹ *EFF* I, 195ff.: R. Hughes, Patna, to Agra, dated 20/7/1620 and *ibid.*, 269f.: J. Parker, Patna, to Agra, dated 17/9/1621; see also R. FERRIER (1976), 205; for more details on the range of Malda fabrics later in the century see W.K. FIRMINGER (1918), *The Malda Diary and Consulations 1680-1682*, *JAsSBeng (Proceedings)* N.S. XIV, 1-241. For the volume of textile exports from Malda see also O. PRAKASH (1985), 99.

⁹² See H. van SANTEN (1982), 177.

⁹³ ARA VOC 1130, fl.1110ff.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Batavia, dated 20/4/1639.

her sarai built in this location"⁹⁴. The spatially divided production processes may have increased transportation costs to the points of embarkation. The concentration by royal decree of the marketing of textiles woven to the East of Agra in Tāḡganḡ, a market founded by Šāh Ġahān in the vicinity of the Tāḡ Maḥall, seems to have boosted overland trade of these fabrics to Iran⁹⁵. In some years Armenian and Persian merchants dispatched some 20.-30.000 camelloads overland via Qandahar to Eṣfahān⁹⁶. Contrary to the much voiced belief that long-distance caravan trade could only be viable as a luxury trade, and although transport costs for textiles from Agra to Iran on the overland route were reckoned to exceed those via Surat by 25%⁹⁷, we hear of large caravans arriving at Eṣfahān and carrying an "all-coarse assortment such as *Jalalsais*, *seph tangas*, *chautars*, *ketsiaes*, *duppetas* and others"⁹⁸. Profits realised by overland traders on textiles imported to Iran ranged from 20 to 140% averaging 60% with no apparent link between profits and distance of the producing area: transport costs overland added ca. 20% to prime costs, whereas this percentage rose to 27% for seaborne goods⁹⁹. It seems that price trends reports on stocks were reacted upon differently: when in the mid-1630's large quantities of all varieties of Indian textiles had accumulated in Iran's storehouses because of the difficulties of re-exports to the Ottoman Empire, exports of textiles to Iran continued regardless. Average profit expectations for Indian textiles at Bandar 'Abbās had already dwindled to 15-25% when news reached the port

⁹⁴ F. PELSART (1627), 249: "Tsekandra, ...daer eerst alle coopmanschappen die van Porop en Bengalen, Purpose ende Boutense gebergte gebracht werden, passeren moeten". Pelsaert generally speaks with great hostility about the empress's intervention in commercial affairs. On other *kārwānsarāis* erected by Nūr Ġahān see W.E. BEGLEY (1983), Four Mughal Caravanserais Built During the Reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, *Muqarnas* 1, 167-179 and I. ALAM KHAN (1987-88), The Karwansarays of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures, *IndHR* XIV/1-2, 111-137.

⁹⁵ ARA VOC 1151, fl.801r: Extract from N. Verburgh et al., Agra, to Surat, dated 14/11/1644: "veel mogols. & armensz. coopl. hebben eenige tijt harwaerts buijten Expectatie nochwel voor de waerde van 3 a 400000 ro. aen diversche persiaense zortteeringe doecken in taegent genegotieert..."; see also ARA VOC 1146, fl.928rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1644.

⁹⁶ *GM* II, 7ff., 31: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 18/12/1639 has 25.-30.000; the original letter on which the annual report is based gives 20.-25.000 camelloads. W.H. MORELAND (1925), Indian Exports of Cotton in the XVIIth Century, *Indian Journal of Economics*, V/3, 225-245, estimates overland exports to have been 1.5-3.000.000 square yards *p.a.*

⁹⁷ See e.g. ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636.

⁹⁸ ARA VOC 1135, fl.672rff.: A. van Oostende, Eṣfahān, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 12/2/1641: 800 camels.

⁹⁹ *BGP* 482ff.: N. Overschie, "*Prijsberekening...*", ca.1634. Most of this difference may stem from lower import duties levied on the Qandahār route. Overschie does not state this explicitly, but the seven percentage points corresponds to the information in *ibid.* 475ff., 480: M. van der Trille, "*Rapport...*", dated June 1634: "Over land invoerende, betalen zij minder invoerrechten dan via de havens, waar zij 10% betalen tegen 2 à 3% via Candahar".

city of the arrival at Isfahan of a 5.000 camel strong caravan¹⁰⁰. This time-lag in decision-making on the part of overland traders can be explained with long journey times, but also with a peculiar approach to turn-over: in situations such the one described above, the many small-scale traders among them were prepared to "sit out" the *baisse* in prices for two or three seasons, for it might take just as long to collect in the production areas the wares which were reckoned most suitable for the final market¹⁰¹. Eventually, they knew, their persistence would pay dividends. In fact, such was the dominance of overland and local country traders that Company profits were permanently held below the critical 40% mark¹⁰².

In the mid-1650's the Eṣfahān-*bāzār* was copiously supplied with the "new" popular *deriabadis* overland, to the detriment especially of the VOC¹⁰³. Only when transport costs, duties and risks rose dramatically from the 1650's onwards - not least because of the wars of succession after the death of Šāh Ġahān¹⁰⁴ - and with fierce competition on the part of the expanding Gujarati merchant fleet, the sizeable overland trade temporarily contracted. In Eṣfahān, and consequently in Bandar-e ʿAbbās, the downward pressure on prices for textiles usually procured at Agra or in the Pūrāb lessened¹⁰⁵. But at the same time the long journey to the ports had become perilous. The large scale export of North Indian textiles, deemed increasingly unprofitable by the Companies, fell almost entirely to Muslim and Banyan traders.

As weavers in villages of North India began to switch to fabrics more suitable for South-East Asia (undoubtedly instigated by middlemen or agents, who probably spotted an opportunity of concentrating their textile purchases in the Bay of Bengal), demand outstripped production

¹⁰⁰ See *BGP* 503ff.: N. Overschie, Eṣfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 27/10/1634; see also A.v. Oostende to W. Geleynsz.De Jongh, dated 6/12/1636, q.i. *DR* IV, 268, and *BGP* 523ff., 529: N. Overschie, Bandar ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 15/3/1635 (extracts).

¹⁰¹ See *BGP* 565f.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636.

¹⁰² These figures may be deceptive, however, as the mid-1630's saw a particularly inept factor gravely mishandling Dutch textile imports, see *BGP* 633f.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 28/11/1637, and below. Earlier, VOC servants had believed that profits of between 60 and 100% could be realised in the Gujarat trade, see *BGP* 230ff., 235: D.van der Lee, "*Journal...*", 1627/28. More generally accepted estimates held that gains of 40-45% would result in a profitable balancesheet, see *GM* III, 85ff., 105: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, 4/12/1656.

¹⁰³ *ARA* VOC 1215, fl.849rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 28/12/1656: caravan of 500 camels; *ARA* VOC 1224, fl.308rff.: *id.*, to Batavia, dated 3/9/1657: caravan of 600 camels.

¹⁰⁴ *GM* III, 247ff., 275: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 16/12/1659.

¹⁰⁵ *ARA* VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 1/3/1658.

capacity for these imitations. Soon a new range of plain white calicoes appeared in Persian Gulf markets - *khairabadis*, *deriabadis*, but also "*akbaris*" (*yek-baris*?) and "*merculus*" (*mehrkulis*?), which all enjoyed great popularity in Iran, some under the name of their production centres. Indian merchants had discovered the potential of weaves from Deriabad and European Companies followed suit¹⁰⁶. For expanding textile industries to tap mass markets, their product needed to be cheaper: such seems to have been the pressure exerted on the producer in Gujarat and Hindostan, that purchasers periodically experienced a decline in the quality of export weaves whenever demand rose¹⁰⁷. Since the Iranian market was best served with textiles procured in Deriabad and Jalalpur, European Companies returned to the newly revived Gujarati markets for their exports elsewhere. Conversely, the superior balance of colours achieved by the dyeing industries of Gujarat accounted for a large volume of semi-finished manufactures carried across North India for finishing in the province and helped to safeguard its paramountcy in the trade of dark piece-goods to Ottoman markets.

Cloth production in Gujarat was characteristically urban-centred. From the journal of W. Geleynsz. De Jongh¹⁰⁸ who travelled through Awadh in 1637 one gathers a different situation: here, a majority of part-time weavers lived in myriads of dispersed hamlets and minor centres. In the Pūrab (or "East"), Persian and Armenian overland traders regularly outperformed their European competitors. Among the reasons given by the Company agents eager to justify their poor results we regularly find claims that indigenous traders were content with lower profit margins and that they had a superior knowledge both of the purchasing and the selling markets¹⁰⁹: nor did they disdain to travel from village to village. From their successful sales in Iran we may further surmise that direct contact with the weaving communities and the employment of an advance financing system allowed for greater control over quality standards

¹⁰⁶ On imports of *deriabadis* into Al-Basra from Surat on the ship of Surat's governor see ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to Batavia, dated 23/4/1636; on European imports, see ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: "*Notitie...*", ca. 1638. In the Indo-European trade these plain white calicoes were regarded as "new products", see H. NAQVI (1968), 187.

¹⁰⁷ ARA VOC 1150, fl.169ff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 12/2/1644, on want of quality cloth as a result of massive demand by overland and maritime traders, see also ARA VOC 1146, fl.928ff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1644. See also specifically for *deriabadis* *EFI* VIII, 78: Pres.Merry et al., Suhali, to London, dated 25/1/1647.

¹⁰⁸ ARA CWG No.75: *Daghregister*.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. *GM* II, 7ff., 31f.: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 18/12/1639; Dutch agents wondered "off nu dese luyden, die doorgaens over ende weder reysen, die coopmanschappen met beter kennisse in ende weder uyt weten te vercoopen als onse coopluyden off wel hun met cleener winst genoegen laeten... spenderen niet meer, alsoff thuyt bleven, haer met 10, 12 ende 15 per cento advance contenderende".

and measurements required for distinct markets, thereby reducing considerably the commercial risk.

Alongside the flourishing overland trade, much of North India's textile exports to the Persian Gulf Area was transshipped in Gujarati ports, chiefly Surat. Here, the most notable development was the seemingly unstoppable ascendancy of the Gujarati merchants in this trade, mirrored in a first expansion of Gujarati shipping in the Arabian Seas from the 1640's onwards¹¹⁰. Competition may have helped to bring down freight rates between Gujarati ports and the Persian Gulf Area, thereby making textiles marginally cheaper. Yet, this development ultimately led to squeezed profit margins and made markets liable to more violent reactions to oversupply: in the early 1660's the Bandar-e 'Abbās market for textiles from North Indian collapsed when oversupply caused Muslim and Banyan merchants to part with their wares at losses of up to 25%¹¹¹. By the 1670's, the textile trade in the Western Indian Ocean had almost completely fallen to the Muslim merchants¹¹², although even their profits were curtailed by ever rising prime and transport costs¹¹³. But the volume of North Indian imports to Iran was boosted and they soon dominated important sectors of the Persian Gulf markets for textile imports and influenced the price structure for comparable cloth procured elsewhere in the subcontinent¹¹⁴.

Bengal and Neighbouring Provinces

There may have been some direct shipping between Bengal and the Persian Gulf Area as early as the XVIth century¹¹⁵. But it is more likely that in the XVIth century Bengali textiles

¹¹⁰ As for reports on overland traders we can not exclude that information by Company servants was deliberately exaggerated in order to conceal their own illicit private trade ventures at the expense of their masters. We had seen above that the Mughals' attempt to monopolise freight trade in the Arabian Seas in the early 1650's caused a temporary setback but did not prevent further expansion of private shipping in the second half of the century; on the significant growth of the Gujarati owned merchant fleet between the 1640's and 1660 see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 195; by 1654, Surat's fleet alone numbered 54 vessels, see *GM* II, 770ff.: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, 26/1/1655.

¹¹¹ ARA VOC 1232, fl.665rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 14/5/1661, and *ibid.*, fl.631rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 4/7/1661.

¹¹² *GM* III, 835ff., 867: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 31/1/1673.

¹¹³ ARA VOC 1279, fl.954rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/5/1672.

¹¹⁴ *DR* XIII, 335ff., 338: entry under 26/1/1661: "...zetten de Agrase doecken de markt voor de cust lywaeten, want het een is aen het ander vast".

¹¹⁵ S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1987), repr. in: ID. (1990), 96-127, 115f., has two references.

found their way to the Middle East via the entrepôt of Cochim¹¹⁶. However, up to the mid-XVIIth century the more frequently travelled routes linked the two regions through combined inland riverine navigation and caravan traffic, either via Qandahar, or via ports in Sind or Gujarat. Armenian and other merchants also carried fabrics from the region between Dacca and Patna overland overland all the way to Iran. The majority of North-East Indian textiles in demand in Iran - and later embarked in ports such as Hugli and Balasore - stemmed from weaving centres in Eastern Awadh and Bihar, rather than Bengal proper¹¹⁷. The establishment of central inland markets such as Tāḡganḡ or Benares may have helped to expand the overland commerce. But it seems that from 1654/55 profitability of the journey across Northern India was severely reduced by a new 25% surtax levied on transit trade¹¹⁸, although even by the late 1660's overland trade had not ceased¹¹⁹. This development coincided with the entry of the European Companies into the direct maritime textile trade between Bengal and Bandar-e 'Abbās.

The expansion of European textile country trade in the Bay of Bengal to Bengal proper has been said to have originated with disruptions of supplies from Coromandel in the wake of the 1630's famine¹²⁰. The potential of Persian Gulf markets for Bengal textiles was soon realised by European observers¹²¹, but it took several decades before direct seabound trade commenced on an appreciable scale. Muslim maritime traders who had begun to flood the Persian Gulf Area

¹¹⁶ See BNL FG Cod. 2702, fl.3v: "*Regimento d'alfandega ...de Goa*" and J. BOYAJIAN (1993), 66f.

¹¹⁷ See on the earlier period among others R.C. TEMPLE (ed.) (1914), Documents Relating to the First English Commercial Mission to Patna 1620-1621, *IndAnt* X, 69-83, 97-111; J.N. SARKAR (1948), Patna and its Environments in the XVIIth Century: A Study in Economic History, *JBORS* XXXIV, 126-153 and ID., The Cotton Trade of Patna in the early XVIIth Century, and ID., The Silk Trade of Patna in the early XVIIth Century, in: ID. (1975), *Studies in the Economic Life in Mughal India*, Delhi, 2ff. and 24ff.; H. RAY (1991), Bengal's Textile Products Involved in Ming Trade During Cheng Ho's Voyages to the Indian Ocean and Identification of the Hitherto Undeciphered Textiles, in: R. PTAK / D. ROTHERMUND (eds.) (1991), 81-93.

¹¹⁸ ARA VOC 1208, fl.517rff.: J. Verpoorten, Pipeli, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 10/1/1655: "...d'armenische en andere coopluijden veel duijsenden ...soo stuck goederen als cleeden overlant met groote ongelden soo van decca cassarij cassasjurij ende pattena naer persia vervoeren gelijcker mede diversche genegentheijt hebben gethoont met comps. scheepen op vracht overvaaren die 't onser leet hebben moeten ontseggen so gaen oocq eenige monsters van cleeden omtrent pattena tot vrij civiler prijsen als voor desen bij die van agara ingecocht hoe wel d'selve nu door seecker schrapenden dewan des Coninx die d'thollen op de coopmansz. excessief heeft verswaert 25ten hondert meer gelden als in voorigen tyden..."

¹¹⁹ ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669. On transshipping their goods at Surat overland traders saw their profits reduced to a mere 10-12%.

¹²⁰ J. IRWIN / P.R. SCHWARTZ (1966), 44.

¹²¹ W. BRUTON (1638), *News from the East Indies or Voyage to Bengalla*, London, 3ff.; see also *EFf* V, 40ff.: T. Joyce et al., Masulipatnam, to London, 25/10/1634.

with Coromandel textiles were disinclined to compete with overland carriers in the field of Bengali imports. Even when the overland routes were closed in 1639/40, only some 35 bales of Bengali fabrics reached Bandar-e ‘Abbās in Muslim-owned vessels compared to more than 700 bales embarked in Masulipatnam alone. The following monsoon, when overland trade had resumed, of 29 non-Dutch ships officially registered as arriving at Bandar-e ‘Abbās only one Portuguese private trader gave as his point of departure a Bengali port, but no textiles were among his cargo. In 1642 the ship of a Bengali merchant arrived after having called at Surat, and the following year a frigate from Bengal imported 20 bales of textiles¹²². In 1644 Malik Beg and a private English trader each sent a costly cargo of textiles from Balasore and another Bengal port respectively to Bandar-e ‘Abbās¹²³. Two years later, a small assortment of "Bengali" textiles transshipped by the Dutch at Pulicat yielded an average profit of in excess of 65%¹²⁴.

From the mid-XVIIth century first Bihari and somewhat later Bengali weaves became increasingly popular in the Persian Gulf Area¹²⁵. The EIC had begun from 1652/53 at the latest to send Bengali textiles to Iran; their freight services for Bengali traders got off to a bad start as one ship full of goods laden for the Persian Gulf Area ran aground in 1656 off Balasore¹²⁶. However, as from 1657, the EIC considered (but never quite succeeded in implementing) regular voyages between Bengal and Bandar-e ‘Abbās¹²⁷. The VOC, too, began to send more regular

¹²² For 1639/40: ARA VOC 1134, fl.231rff.: "Notitie...", dated Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 5/5/1640; for 1641: ARA VOC 1134, fl.231rff.: *do.*, 18/3/1641; for 1642/43: ARA VOC 1146, fl.961rff.: *do.* (1643); ARA VOC 1144, fl.505rff.: *do.*, 14/5/1643.

¹²³ It cannot be excluded that the ships' cargo had been taken in while moored at Pulicat, see *DR* VII, 244ff., 287: "Verbael...", Batavia, last entry 1/9/1644; for the journey of the English "Hopewell", which carried 95 bales of cloth, see also: *EFT* VII, 77ff.: Factors Ft.St. George, to Bantam, 4/1/1643; the "Hopewell" had carried out earlier voyages to the Persian Gulf, see S. CHAUDHURI (1975), *Trade and Commercial Organization in Bengal With Special Reference to the English East India Company 1650-1720*, Calcutta, 219; for Balasore see J.N. SARKAR (1950), *Medieval Orissa's Seaports: Balasore*, *JBORS* XXXVI, 148-174.

¹²⁴ See ARA VOC 1162, fl.313rff.: "Factura...", Bandar-e ‘Abbās first entry 30/4/1646, but see also ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff.: VOC sales at Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1646/47. However, the list of "Bengali" textiles also includes fabrics from Malda. O. PRAKASH (1985), 177 has the first direct VOC-shipment of Bengali textiles in 1655/56, when some 2.500 pieces were sent.

¹²⁵ For Iran: ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1651; for Al-Basra: ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: "Schriftelijck relaes...", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

¹²⁶ See *EFT* IX, 188f.: J. Spiller et al., Šīrāz, to Surat, dated 11/7/1653. See also ARA VOC 1201, 806rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 30/4/1653; for the freight trade see *GM* III, 147-191, 166: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 17/12/1657.

¹²⁷ See S. CHAUDHURI (1975), 123f. See also ID. (1974), *Textile Trade and Industry in Bengal Suba 1650-1720*, *IndHR* 1/2, 262-278.

consignments of Bengali cloth from the mid-1650's¹²⁸. One of the VOC's chief Indian trading partners, Mohan Das Nan, quickly followed suit and outperformed the Dutch, carrying in his "*Masulipatnam*" a large amount of textiles and besides 3.000 bags of Bengali sugar, which had been assembled in record time. He had the ship travel under an English flag, thus also saving customs duties in Iran¹²⁹. Alongside the Companies and their protégés private traders featured prominently such as one Englishman Henry Paul, whose 400t vessel, about to set out from Balasore bound for Bandar-e 'Abbās, was said to carry for the owner "120 pieces *cassary* stuffs, 100 pieces stuffs for *qabās*, and as freight 6.000 pieces Benares cloth, 1.000 pieces Benares turbans, 1.200 pieces *cassary* stuffs, 500 pieces *lungis*, 200 pieces *rumals*, and 100 pieces stuffs for *qabās*" besides 700 bags of sugar¹³⁰. Whether it was due to competition or other reasons, it seems that the freight rates for goods and passengers between Bengal and Bandar-e 'Abbās showed a tendency to fall between the mid-1640's and the end of our period¹³¹. The Bengal trade did not differ from commerce in other maritime provinces in that ever since the commencement of voyages to the Persian Gulf Area Mughal officials participated in this trade. With the rise of the Orissa port of Balasore as point of departure for Bandar-e 'Abbās during the 1660's and 1670's it is thus not surprising to find a ship of the port *nawāb* Muḥammad Amīn Hān, carrying besides his own cargo of textiles some freight for the governor of Hugli, Malik Aẓam¹³². Again and again, Company servants in Iran found themselves in a position where they were pressed into helping agents of Bengal officials to dispose of their masters' textiles¹³³.

¹²⁸ O. PRAKASH (1985), 177ff., gives a broad sketch of the Dutch commerce between the two regions. His Tb.6.7. is not (nor does it claim to be) complete. See e.g. 3.800 pieces of "*saanen*" (i.e. "*sannoos*", plain calicoes) in the "*Angelier*", see ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 5/6/1657.

¹²⁹ ARA VOC 1226, fl.817rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/5/1658. His house continued voyages to Bandar-e 'Abbās, e.g. with the "*Masulipatnam*" in 1671/72 which carried 120 bales of Bengali cloth, ARA VOC 1279, fl.954rff.: F.De Haze, *do.*, dated 16/5/1672.

¹³⁰ DR XIV, 140ff., 143f. entry 8/4/1663. "*Cassarys*" were probably a variety of striped "*čārḥāna*"; we also find "*Allegia Cassari Chianchanna*", see ARA VOC 1251, 1345ff.: "*Specificatie...*", *taq* 6/4/1666.

¹³¹ S. CHAUDHURI (1975), 219, gives the following figures: on EIC vessels the rates fell from between 15 and 20 rupees per *man* to 10 and less, while, early in the XVIIIth century, "indigenous ships" charged 6-7 rupees.

¹³² ARA VOC 1268, fl.1373rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/6/1668.

¹³³ See *EFF* IX, 255ff.: Agent Young et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 31/3/1654, on the arrival of a Bengal ship whose *nāhoda* (*sic*) was the ex-governor of Balasore, among many examples in English records; see also ARA VOC 1240, pp.686ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 13/5/1662, where he has 9 bales of cloth "*voor de ougelijsen gouvernr.*" (Mīr Nezām Šarīf: ARA VOC 1234, fl.204rff.: *do.*, to Amsterdam, dated 5/5/1662).

For 1663/64, we hear for the first time all-round positive reports on sales of Bengal textiles in Iran, both by Muslim and European traders¹³⁴. Dutch factors tried to reassure their masters in Batavia that the poor market for Bengali textiles in the mid-1660's was due to the convulsive state of Iranian trade in those years, not because the goods were inherently unsuitable¹³⁵. However, their own financial position being too weak they ceded these opportunities to private traders, who managed to oversupply the market with Bengali textiles by 1668/69¹³⁶. Some fabrics, such as silk *chaklas*, were soon found to be very profitable indeed¹³⁷, although uncertainty about worthwhile imports prevailed until the early 1670's. The VOC felt they still lacked sufficient knowledge of market conditions at both ends. In 1670/71, a muster sale in Bandar-e 'Abbās yielded unsatisfactory results: *alāḡas* and *khassas*, which used to be popular, hardly found any buyers, "the silk *mandtIs*, which cost fl.12:1:2 per piece, solicited as highest offers 49-50 *mahmūdts*; in addition it was demanded that they show more silver thread and floral ornaments, which would increase prime costs significantly; no more than 800-1.000 piece *p.a.* could be sold. I can testify to the fact that the merchants were quite fond of the *alāḡa* silk stuffs in bales No.6 only six or seven years ago; but now there hardly any demand for them...; it seems there is very little scope for Bengali wares; cottons and cloth which grate one's back, so to speak, are those most in demand"¹³⁸. In fact, countless weaving

¹³⁴ ARA VOC 1248, pp.1920ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/5/1664.

¹³⁵ ARA VOC 1259, pp.3343ff.: W. Borem, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 14/6/1666.

¹³⁶ This may explain the voids in O. PRAKASH (1985), 178, table 6.7.; however, his table also lacks 6.100 pieces of "ambertijns ofte lakhourijs", plain calicoes, for 1665/66; see also ARA VOC 1273, fl.1924rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 28/2/1669.

¹³⁷ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2271r-v: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 22/5/1670. O. PRAKASH (1985), 139, table 5.3., only knows cotton *chaklas* and hence lists them under what for the Iranian trade would seem to be the mistaken category of "fine cotton calicoes".

¹³⁸ ARA VOC 1274, fl.735rf.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 22/4/1671. The first large-scale consignment of Bengali textiles in the 1670's appears unclassified as 8.524 pieces in O. PRAKASH (1985), 178. It consisted of 1.393 ps. *chaklas* (14 bales; fl.17.246:15:13,5), 500 ps. whole *rumals* (5 bales; fl.4.018:18:2,5), 300 pieces "sjammawaers" (1 bale; fl.1.026:4:3,5), 3.316 ps. *khassa* from Malda (28 bales; fl.11.221:18:3), 1.843 ps. *malmals* (16 bales; fl.7.170:14:4), 570 ps. *lungi* (1 bale; fl.416:11:13,5), 300 ps. silk *sjoukorias* (1 bale; fl.181:13:11,5), 103 ps. silk *mandtIs* (1 bale; fl.917:14:2,5), see ARA VOC 1291, fl.596r-v: F.De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 27/4/1674; perhaps not surprisingly, the VOC found it difficult to sell the cargo in the port city and had to send almost half to be sold in Esfahān, see ARA VOC 1304, fl.508rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 4/9/1674, see also below. The large cargo of some 8.500 pieces in 1675/76 showed a similar composition, but comprised a larger proportion of *sjoukorias*, which were now seemingly bought in a cotton variety, ARA VOC 1307, fl.633rff.: *id.*, to Amsterdam, dated 28/3/1676.

households produced coarse Malda cloth for markets where merchants trading to Iran were known to buy them on inventory¹³⁹.

O. Prakash has argued that the Bengali textile trade to the Persian Gulf Area hinged on finer varieties with only a limited market. He believes that the VOC had entered this commerce not because of the profits expected but because of the profitable return cargo, raw silk and silver *‘abbāsīs*¹⁴⁰. It is true that initial attempts failed to place on the Iranian market *garras*, coarse plain cottons weaves which in the XIXth century served as poor man's clothing. Purchasers judged them too expensive for potential customers¹⁴¹. However, within ten seasons they were considered a worthwhile investment alongside *salampores* and *dungarees*. These varieties competed directly and it was essential for the Bengali textiles not to arrive later than merchants carrying other regional varieties of coarse cloth¹⁴². It may have been because of navigational difficulties of this kind, that the importation of *garras* never quite attained the dimensions of Gujarati or Coromandel coarse cloth.

Fine cotton muslins were certainly among the successful Bengali exports to the region, but they, too, were far from constituting a homogeneous class of goods. *Malmals* and Malda-style *khassas* came in a wide range of qualities and measurements, the former selling at Bandar-e ‘Abbās in 1674/75 in three different qualities between 10 and 27, the latter between 9 and 17 *mahmūdīs*. The following season, four qualities of *malmals* fetched prices between 11 and 28 *mahmūdīs*, three qualities of *khassas* sold at 6-18 *mahmūdīs*¹⁴³. In the 1670's *sjoukorias*, first sent as a silk variety, later on as fine cotton weaves, were particularly successful in Iran¹⁴⁴, as were *chaklas*, probably a striped or chequered mixed silk-and-cotton fabric, which was requested

¹³⁹ See O. PRAKASH (1985), 98.

¹⁴⁰ O. PRAKASH (1985), 177ff.

¹⁴¹ On the "*garras*" J. IRWIN / P.R. SCHWARTZ (1966), 65; see also ARA VOC 1240, fl.1424rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 6/3/1662.

¹⁴² ARA VOC 1279, fl.954rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 16/5/1672.

¹⁴³ For 1674/75: ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 20/6/1675; for 1675/76: ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: *Id.*, to Amsterdam, dated 1/8/1676. Sales prices reflect, by and large, purchasing prices in Bengal, ranging, in 1675/76 for *malmals* from 30 to 80 rupees, for *khassas* from 34 to 65 rupees (for measures from 24x1.375 to 35x1.875 covids à 27 inch), see ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: *Id.*, to Batavia, dated 20/1/1677.

¹⁴⁴ See ARA VOC 1291, fl.596r-v: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 27/4/1674; ARA VOC 1307, fl.633rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 28/3/1676.

in lively colours, as were *rumals*, "handkerchiefs", woven of silk, cotton or a mixed fabric. *Sjoukoria*s were in fact among the very rare textiles which promised profits in excess of 100% in Iran¹⁴⁵. Unlike Coromandel or Gujarati textiles, which were traded in the port city, usually half the textile cargo from Bengal was sent to the capital¹⁴⁶, perhaps an indication of the larger than average share of costly fabrics. Bengali fine cotton *rumals*, for example, were known to be sold on regional markets all the way to Tabriz, and *sjoukoria*s, too, if of the required quality and measurements, would sell all over the country, not just in Eṣfahān¹⁴⁷. Outside the main port cities and the capital the Companies felt unable to compete with local trading houses who had their agents posted in all major urban centres and the provinces¹⁴⁸. Yet, even for these experienced merchants the large profit margins turned the the importation of Bengali textiles into a business exposed to all the risks of speculative investment throughout the 1670's: growing sales of one class of goods worked as a catalyst on further imports and subsequent private trading ventures could easily cause a glut on the market.

Difficulties for seaborne imports were compounded by the competition of domestic products which successfully imitated Bengali manufactures and by the revival of overland trade between Bengal and Iran. Caravans arriving in the Safavid capital via Qandahār filled the *bazārs* with large quantities of the much requested *sjoukoria*s (and popular cheaper imitations) to the extent that for this and other classes of textiles overland imports determined price formation in Safavid Iran¹⁴⁹. The ensuing uncertainties about profit margins prompted the VOC to stop carrying their imports to the capital¹⁵⁰, but they continued to bring to Bandar-e ʿAbbās fairly

¹⁴⁵ Cfr. VOC sales of *sjoukoria*s in Eṣfahān 1676/77-1678/79 (from letters of VOC servants in Bandar-e ʿAbbās): 3.165 pieces at 5-6 *mahmūdts* (132.875%); 5.170 pieces at Ma.4 (120%); 10.950 pieces [price not given] (106.75%).

¹⁴⁶ ARA VOC 1340, fl.1552vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 26/2/1678; *ibid.*, fl.1559rff.: *do.*, dated 16/4/1678, has a caravan carrying ca.12.500 pieces (out of a total of some 29.000).

¹⁴⁷ On *rumals* ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F.De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/10/1673; on *sjoukoria*s ARA VOC 1349, fl.1656rff.: *do.*, dated 25/2/1679.

¹⁴⁸ ARA VOC 1349, fl.1688vff.: "Memorie..." F.L. Bent, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 1/6/1679.

¹⁴⁹ After a temporary decline overland imports of the popular *sjoukoria*s picked up again and from 1682 imports via Qandahār determined again prices in Eṣfahān, see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 6/3/1682, and especially *ibid.*, fl.2670vff.: *do.*, dated 14/6/1682. Prices recorded include for 1681 (at Eṣfahān) Ma.4-4.5 (for some 10.000 pieces), for 1682 and 1683 Ma.2.75 (for some 12.000 pieces).

¹⁵⁰ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 6/3/1682 and *ibid.*, fl.2670vff., *do.*, dated 14/6/1682. In Bandar-e ʿAbbās, however, prices remained well below expectations, e.g. for *chaklas* Ma.38 (expected Ma.45-47), *rumals* Ma.10 (expected Ma.12), *khassa Nadua* Ma.10 (expected Ma.13), see *ibid.*, fl.2696rff.: *Id.*, "Memorie...", dated 14/6/1682.

large cargos of silk weaves such as *sjoukoria*s and *mandt*ls with gold and silver threads and floral ornaments¹⁵¹. Yet, overland traders who spent much time in Bengal collecting bales suitable for Iran carried the same varieties, *sjoukoria*s in particular, and were able constantly to undercut Company imports¹⁵². Attempts to dispose of Bengali textiles in Al-Basra initially proved difficult, "as the Turks are more drawn towards Surati cloth"¹⁵³, but sales there soon increased albeit without rivalling volumes at Bandar-e 'Abbās¹⁵⁴ and by the late 1680's imports into the Persian Gulf Area was fully restored¹⁵⁵.

Coromandel Coast and South India

Coromandel and Deccani cloth had been exported to the Persian Gulf Area long before direct shipping links had been established in the 1630's¹⁵⁶. Trade followed a complex pattern, partly overland via Qandahar¹⁵⁷, partly across the subcontinent to ports on the West Coast¹⁵⁸,

¹⁵¹ ARA VOC 1388, fl.2178rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 19/4/1683. Figures of the composition of Bengali textile cargos in O. PRAKASH (1985), table 6.7. are not unequivocal: *sjoukoria*s of which some 10.000 pieces *p.a.* were imported in the 1680's were sometimes described as silk weaves, not calicoes.

¹⁵² ARA VOC 138, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/7/1683; "...gaan sij selfs, ofte wel hare volmachten 'tganse lant door rysen, en hier en daar de beste soorte by ettelyke weynich corssjes teffens, niet alleen van vry eguaalder of fijnder stoffe, mar ook tot merkelyck minder prijs dan comp.s supposten incoopen..."

¹⁵³ ARA VOC 1416, fl.1666vff.: R. Casembroot, off Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/4/1685.

¹⁵⁴ VOC sales at Al-Basra in 1686 included 2.087 pieces of *chaklas*, 956 pieces of *rumals*, and 419 pieces of *malmals* (ARA VOC 1439, fl.1565vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/1/1687), in 1687 they sold 12.700 silk *chaklas* (ARA VOC 1455, fl.1387vff.: *do.*, dated 25/11/1687).

¹⁵⁵ The assertion in O. PRAKASH (1985), 181, that "domestic troubles in Persia between 1686 and 1689 led to a virtual stoppage of sales, and therefore, of exports" [*scil.*: by the VOC from Bengal] is not borne out by the documents here examined. Sales for 1687/88 reported below do, however, show diminished returns. For the seasons 1686/87 and 1687/88 we have found the following data on VOC imports. 1686/87: 14.900 silk *chaklas*, 3.700 *čārḥānas*, 6.877 mixed silk-cotton *rumals*, 940 various *alāḡas*, 17.419 *khassas* from Malda, 900 *malmals*, 18.695 silk *sjoukoria*s, 450 *khassas* from Patna, 2.300 *garras*. Sales for the season 1687/88 feature: 5.870 *rumals* (Ma.9 per piece; 20.33% profits), 2.900 *čārḥānas* (Ma.12; 30.5%), 1.300 *garras*, 18.960 silk *sjoukoria*s (Ma.2.8; 64.8%). As the Persian Gulf Area was a minor trading partner of Bengal it is unlikely that the latter region felt in any way possible effects of the expanding raw silk exports from the Persian Gulf Area.

¹⁵⁶ V. RAMASWAMY (1985), *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, Delhi etc., 71f. J.J. BRENNIG (1975), *The Textiles Trade of XVIIth Century Northern Coromandel. A Study of a Pre-Modern Asian Export Industry*, PhD Univ. of Wisconsin (unpublished), has not been available to me.

¹⁵⁷ ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: "*Schriftelijke relatie...*", probably January 1633: "...die welke met de Caffilas over landt haer reyse maecken, comende meest uijt Maselepatan, Goulconda, Decan, etc*. welke over Agra door Chandahar in Persia haeren handel doen, bestaende dese coop[uyden] haere principaale Capitaelen uijt fijne lijnwaeten, geschilderde doecken, costelijcke witte (als met goudt doortrocken) tulbanden eenige cleenodies, waer van gedeelte in Suratte, de rest in Persia, Arabia, Turckia etc*. benificeeren ende onaengesien dese gemelte Cooplieden van muselepat[am] tot haer arrive in Persia veel tijts 8:10:12 ende meer maen[den] jnden weec, de perijckelen, van rooveren thollen, ende gerechtigheeden In alle provincien daer passeeren alle ongelden van vrachten ende montcosten subject sijn, wij en roeren met den Interest van 2 ende meer jaeren de welke opde reijse wesende haere capitaelen vruchteloos sijn dese lasten alle boven comen ende

which were also fed by coastal shipping. The textile trade out of Dabhul was among the major contributors to the customs house of Hormūz in the XVIth century¹⁵⁹. In the early XVIIth century, all commerce in luxury textiles was conducted in the storehouse of Dabhuli merchants¹⁶⁰. For some time after the fall of Hormūz, control of the Dabhul textile trade was regarded as the key to the Iranian market¹⁶¹. Despite repeated reports on the collapse of the Dabhul trade, a ship owned by one of the courtiers of the Bijapur court was sighted off in 1634 carrying among others thirteen Persian merchants¹⁶². A Bandar-e ʿAbbās shipping list which covers parts of the season 1640/41 has four Dabhuli frigates owned by the local *nawāb* carrying 200 bales of cloth and, in a curious *renversement* of routes, a *pataxo* of the governor of Dabhul travelled to Masulipatnam to embark 250 bales of Coromandel cloth for Iran¹⁶³. Spring 1643 saw the arrival at Bandar-e ʿAbbās of six crafts from Dabhul and neighbouring ports with more than 1.000 bales of cloth¹⁶⁴. Other overland carriers embarked their Coromandel cloth in the Konkani port of Vengurla¹⁶⁵. In addition, the XVIth century knew a rather more complex route

daerenboven merkel[ijck] proffijteeren In vongen wij anders niet oordeelen connen, ofte desen handel sij extraordinaire Importandt de voorgeroerde goe[deren] plegen voor desen van Maselapatan, Goalconda, etc^a. over d'Abul ter zee naer Ormus ende van daer int Persiaensche rijk getransporteert te worden, doch hee[...] t'sedert t' verlies van Ormus voordien Persiaen ende dat wij benevens d'Engelsen het vaerwater lange de cust van India gefrequenteer[en...] oock eenige (als onvrige goeders der Portugeesen) voor goede prijse aengehaelt sijn, hebben den Grooten risico geeviteert, ende als vooren handel over landt gedreven, t'welck ongetwijffelt (vermits voor gemoveerde lasten) oock minder advance rendeert."

¹⁵⁸ For references to Bijapuri and Burhanpur merchants in Coromandel see *DR* II, 144ff., entry 31/1/1633. A.F. MONIZ (1920), *Antigos tecidos no mercado de Damão. Séculos XVI a XVII, OPt XVII*, 85-91, does not yield any valuable information for our purposes.

¹⁵⁹ ANTT COC p.26: Vazir of Hormūz to Viceroy D. João de Castro, dated 11/11/1545; see also *OJC* III, No.97.

¹⁶⁰ AHU C.I. 6/31: "*Devassa...*", dated 14/2/1619; the document mentions "roupas d'ouro he prata de grande preço, he mandis de duzentos pardãos ...com muitos camarabandos d'ouro de grande preço he algandis he alyjas tostas d'ouro, prata he são de muito rendimento para a alfandiga...".

¹⁶¹ *EFt* III, 150ff.: President Kerridge et al., Surat, to London, dated 29/11/1626. See also ARA VOC 1108, fl.879rff.: "*Somme deductie...*", dated 20/6/1634.

¹⁶² ARA VOC 1117, fl.579vff.: Anonymous letter, probably after September 1634.

¹⁶³ ARA VOC 1135, fl.669rff.: "*Notitie...*"; last entry 18/3/1641; among several Rajapur-based vessels listed in the document as carrying cloth one belongs to the son of "Hartogh Nistafkan (i.e. Muṣṭafā Ḥān) regeerder des rijcx van Visiapour (i.e. Bijapur)".

¹⁶⁴ ARA VOC 1144, fl.505rff.: "*Notitie...*", first entry 25/2/1643.

¹⁶⁵ *DR* V, 183ff., 192: report C. Blocq on his mission to Vengurla, which refers to the "blauwe lijwaeten ...(en) cadems, die alleen inde quartieren van Mangelegiri, Santanawoer ende de vordere plaetsen ontrent Petapulij gemaect werden".

via carried Coromandel cloth to Red Sea ports¹⁶⁶ and thence to the Persian Gulf Area. The Europeans recognised early the potential of the Coromandel textile trade in the Persian Gulf Area: "painted cloth..., piskier or tapeceraffen, as well as other varieties which are sent thence to Mocha, promise handsome gains, as do coarse cotton cloth and taffecillen from Golconda, ...some poorer turban stuffs with coloured stripes..., morij from Paliacatten..., percallen...; all these should earn in excess of 50% profits"¹⁶⁷.

Whether the inauguration of direct shipping between Coromandel and the Persian Gulf Area had been influenced by the severing of overland communications due to warfare in the Deccan¹⁶⁸ or interference of the Mughal administration in the procurement of cotton cloth in Gujarat still remains to be explored. Ultimately, the prime reason for opening the maritime route which had been planned ever since 1630 were the vast profits reportedly reaped by Armenian and Muslim merchants¹⁶⁹. From the late 1630's, seaborne importation of Coromandel cloth was considered as one of the more profitable branches of the textile country trade¹⁷⁰. The pioneering role of the likes of Mīr Kamāl od-Dīn in the Coromandel trade has been retold of late¹⁷¹. In 1645, the *sar-e hayl* ordered some 11.-12.000 pieces of *alāğa bethilles* which he intended to send to Bandar-e ʿAbbās in one of his vessels the following season¹⁷². Mīr Moḥammad Sayyed, the *nawāb* of the Golkondā rulers in Masulipatnam despatched no less than four ships laden with textiles, one of which bound for Bandar-e ʿAbbās, in 1655, the year he left the Qoṭb Šāhī service to join the forces of the advancing Mughal emperor Aurangzeb¹⁷³.

¹⁶⁶ APO' III, No.59: King Philip I to the Viceroy, dated 6/2/1589. On the ships plying this trade see S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1988), A Note on Nasapur Peta. A Syneretic Shipbuilding Centre in South India 1570-1700, *JESHO XXXI*, 305-311.

¹⁶⁷ ARA VOC 1084, fl.76r: H. Visnicht, Eṣfahān, to Coromandel, dated 27/4/1624.

¹⁶⁸ See ARA VOC 1108, fl.879rff.: "*Sommige deductie...*", dated 20/6/1634; S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1988f) does not address the problem.

¹⁶⁹ EFF' IV, 156f.: President Rastel et al., Surat, to Factory Persia, dated 10/6/1631.

¹⁷⁰ ARA VOC 1130, fl.1110ff.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Batavia, dated 20/4/1639.

¹⁷¹ See S. SUBRAHMANYAM-C.A. BAYLY (1988), and S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1988f).

¹⁷² DR VIII, 319ff., 346: "*Verbael ...affairen op de Custe Coromandel*", entry 19/8/1645.

¹⁷³ GM III, 4ff., 26f.: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 24/12/1655.

It has been argued that up to 90% of the Coromandel textile manufactures were destined for a domestic market¹⁷⁴. Here standardised measures and qualities were not necessary, whereas in Bandar-e ʿAbbās, *alāḡa bethilles* meeting certain quality standards sold at a premium¹⁷⁵. It is possible that Golkondā "portfolio capitalists", thanks to their control over both shipping and weaving centres, played an important part in gearing up local calico production to the requirements of Persian Gulf markets. This also applied to plain calicoes¹⁷⁶: here middlemen controlled the fineness of the weave itself, whereas finishing processes such as bleaching were contracted out separately by the buyers on the Coromandel Coast¹⁷⁷. Although the consigner could set standards, in effect the quality of the finished product often failed to meet the expectations of purchasers in Iran¹⁷⁸: tentative standardisation at best occurred in the context of Persian Gulf trade, certainly nothing comparable to the mass re-setting of looms for *salampores*, woven to new measures or finenesses for Company exports to Europe¹⁷⁹.

Prior to the commissioning of large quantities of Coromandel calicoes by the East India Companies for their home markets in the later XVIIth century, there seems to have existed a difference in the degree to which those advancing money to the textile sector on behalf of exporting merchants could influence production. Fine calicoes were supplied by middlemen who had means of their own, while EIC factors in Masulipatnam found that those engaged in the procurement of coarser and cheaper mass-production were to a greater extent reliant on outside

¹⁷⁴ There is no need to insist on the fact that internal consumption and intraregional trade by far exceeded manufacture for export. For the earlier period see B. STEIN (1965), *Coromandel Trade in Medieval India*, in: J. PARKER (ed.) (1965), *Merchants and Scholars*, Minneapolis, 47-62; for the late XVIIth / early XVIIIth century S. ARASARATNAM (1986), 96, gives the figure of 90%.

¹⁷⁵ ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1660.

¹⁷⁶ J.J. BRENNIG (1986), *Textile Producers and Production in Late XVIIth Century Coromandel*, *IESHR* XXIII, 333-355, 342f., reviews the question of standardisation only in the context of Indo-European trade. He defines standardisation as being "based on the division of the warp (or more accurately the loom's reed) into equal linear measures", *ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ ARA VOC 1307, fl.676r-v: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 6/6/1676; on bleaching techniques and castes (in Northern India) see H. NAQVI (1968), 156ff.; entire "washing" villages existed in the vicinity of suitable water resources in South-Eastern India, see S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990c), *Rural Industry and Commercial Agriculture in Late XVIIth Century South-Eastern India*, *PP* CXXVI, 76-114, 103.

¹⁷⁸ ARA VOC 1340, fl.1586rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 27/8/1678, on separate "bleeckloonen"; ARA VOC 1278, fl.1809rff.: L.v.d. Duse, *do.*, dated 16/5/1670, on poorly "bij naer niet gebleect" almost grey consignments.

¹⁷⁹ For examples see V. RAMASWAMY (1985), 127.

financing¹⁸⁰. D. Havart describes in detail how the European Companies supplied musters to chintz painters in the Godavari delta¹⁸¹. On the basis of his account it has been argued that chintzes painted to order according to given samples made up most of the exports¹⁸². It need not concern us here whether or not this earlier system bears any resemblance to European-style putting-out or *Verlag*-systems¹⁸³. There is evidence that Muslim and Hindu traders, too, placed orders for the finishing of stuffs for specific markets¹⁸⁴. But it is impossible to tell to what degree this apparent bipartition of the supplying market accounted for the competitiveness of Coromandel cloth in Iran.

Otherwise, and just as in other Indian regions, purchasers bought on inventory. In 1641, for example, musters for the following varieties were sent back from Bandar-e 'Abbās to Coromandel:

¹⁸⁰ For reference to J.B. Tavernier and documents from IOR, Factory Records Masulipatnam (August 1678) see J. IRWIN/P.R. SCHWARTZ (1966), 32. S. ARASARATNAM (1986), 265ff. is based on XVIIIth and XIXth century accounts. For a more detailed analysis of XVIIIth century conditions cfr. the soon-to-be-published Harvard doctoral thesis of P. PARTHASARATHI on weavers and merchants in South India. See also A.J. ČIČEROV (1958), Nekotorye annye o remeslennom proizvodstve i torgovykh svyazakh v rayonakh vostočnoj i južnoj Indii v XVII v Indija, in: *Očerki ekonomičeskoj istorii*, Moskva, 3-25 [German ed.: Einige Angaben über die Handwerksproduktion und die Handelsbeziehungen in Ost- und Südindien im XVII. Jh., in: W. RUBEN (ed.) (1959-1961), *Die ökonomische und soziale Entwicklung Indiens*, 2 vols., Berlin, 3-19] and S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990c).

¹⁸¹ D. HAVART (1693), *Op- ende ondergang van Coromandel, in zijn binnenste geheel open en ten toon gesteld*, Amsterdam, vol.3, 13f.

¹⁸² Chintz production for a luxury market seems to have been very small indeed, if we are to believe J.B. Tavernier, who claims that in the 1660's Northern Coromandel produced no more than three bales *p.a.*

¹⁸³ For interpretations see T. RAYCHAUDHURI (1962), *Jan Compagnie in Coromandel, 1605-1690: A Study in the Interrelations of European Commercial and Trading Economies* (=VKITLV XXXIII), s' Gravenhage, 11; I. HABIB (1969), Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India, *JEcH* XXIX, 32-78, 66ff. For a negative view see S. ARASARATNAM (1986), 268ff.

¹⁸⁴ See *EFF* V, 160ff.: Pres. Willoughby, Bantam, to London, dated 31/1/1636, on the trade in painted cloth from Masulipatnam, dominated by Mughal and Persian merchants, "who took so great affection unto fine paintings, with command from the King of Golconda (whose country it is) that the painters should only work for them"; see also J. IRWIN (1966), 29; see also *EFF* VII, 87: Pres. Fremlen et al., Suhali, to London, 17/1/1643.

Table 27
Musters Sent from Iran to Masulipatnam in 1641¹⁸⁵

Fabric	length	width	price	comments
Mandīl	18	1.125	17	
Alāḡa Bandarī	21	1.25	18	
Alāḡa sabūnī	10	1.25	9.5	
Alāḡa "paet"	10	1.375	15	
Lungi Canara Qalamkār	3.25	1.256	8	(red and white)
Lungi Masulipatnam	3	1.256	5.5	
Chintz Qalamkār	8	1.125	17	divv. colours, floral ornaments and fineness

In the most renowned product of the Coromandel textile industry, painted and printed cottons, we can recognize traces of stylistic and cross-fertilization between Iran and South Asia¹⁸⁶. The migration of artists and styles from Iran to India in the XVIth century had created a Perso-Deccani style, which in turn influenced the design of printed and painted textiles in Golkondā and parts of Coromandel¹⁸⁷. Production for the Iranian market may have played a role in this convergence of styles. The first exports to Iran were probably the more costly painted cottons (possibly forerunners of the *palampores*), which were used as floorspreads and coverlets, but Golkondā painted cottons were used in Iran also for coat linings¹⁸⁸. Whether pieces of apparel were also exported to the Middle East, as was the case, later in the century with Europe¹⁸⁹, is as yet difficult to determine.

¹⁸⁵ ARA VOC 1135, fl.720r-v: "Factura...", dated 9/5/1641: measures in "Hollants ell", prices in *lārtn*.

¹⁸⁶ One of the better documented examples of Persian immigrants operating in the South Indian textile industry regards the carpet manufactory in the Ellore area, "where are made the best Carpetts after the manner if those in Persia, by a race of Persians which they told us came over above 100 years ago", see *Records of Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book, 1679-1680*, Madras 1912, 100.

¹⁸⁷ J. IRWIN / K. BRETT (1970), *Origins of Chintz*, London, 7ff. See also K. BRETT (1957), The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz, *JIndTH* III [SD]. The "outlining the design in gold and silver leafs" has been named as a technique imported from Iran in J. IRWIN / K. BRETT (1970), *loc.cit.*, 11.

¹⁸⁸ IOR E 3/6/792, see also J. IRWIN (1966), 29. However, this reference to the use of Indian painted cottons for garments regards goods imported from Burhanpur (which may well be Golkondā or indeed Coromandel wares) and Agra. IOR E 3/6/699, specifies that most of the chintzes employed in Iran for this use were imported from Lahore and Agra.

¹⁸⁹ J. Child ordered 200.000 shifts of calicoes of different qualities from Coromandel: J. Child to W. Gifford, Ft.St. George, dated 9/10/1682, in: *Despatches from England to Fort St. George 1681-1686*, 15; see also K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 287 and B. LEMIRE (1991), 180f.

Chintzes were not, however, the mainstay of the textile trade to the Persian Gulf Area. Instead, rather coarse cottons were the staple export to Iran. *Salampores*, a plain cotton cloth woven to different measures and exported both white and dyed in different colours, when not finished in India, were dyed in Iran¹⁹⁰. In 1665, *salampores* of five different price categories were ordered by VOC factors¹⁹¹. These were imported in increasing numbers from the mid-1650's onwards¹⁹². In 1662/63, the VOC alone imported 33.600 pieces (corresponding to more than 1/2 million square yards) to Bandar-e 'Abbās, on which they were able to realise a staggering 86.3% profit¹⁹³. Dutch factors noticed oscillations in the quality standard of *salampores*¹⁹⁴, but on the whole the operating principle behind the marketing of these mass market textiles was the pre-standardised version of economies-of-scale: if on the one hand rapidly growing demand led to a declining quality of the product (either because less cotton yarn was used or because the weaving process itself was more hurried), sales prices continued to rise¹⁹⁵. Contrary to the practice observed for other weaves, wholesale merchants in Iran were wont to buy *salampores* on the basis of inspections of one or two bales only and irrespective of predictable quality variations among and within bales¹⁹⁶. This was very unusual indeed, as all treatises and memoranda on the Indian textile trade are replete with elucidations on tips and tricks of weavers attempting to have sub-standard fabrics accepted, and warranted repeated comments by European observers. In fact, these coarse calicoes were featured prominently in the unprecedented advance sales scheme agreed upon between a consortium of Persian merchants and the VOC in 1670¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁰ ARA VOC 1307, fl.676r-v: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 6/6/1676.

¹⁹¹ ARA VOC 1245, fl.506rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/4/1665. S. ARASARATNAM (1986), 98, speaks of lengths varying from 16 to 22 yards per piece.

¹⁹² However, for importation of 5.300 pieces of bleached *salampores* from Masulipatnam and 800 from Pulicat in 1645/46 see ARA VOC 1162, fl.313rff.: "Factura...", Bandar-e 'Abbās, first entry 30/4/1646; the latter the VOC found difficult to sell and together with losses of ca. 20% due to the unfavourable exchange rate of Iranian silver in Coromandel, profits hardly exceeded 5%, see ARA VOC 1165, fl.206vff: VOC sales in Bandar-e 'Abbās 1646/47. See also ARA VOC 1188, fl.564r: "Factura...", dated Masulipatnam 13/11/1651, for "*Leeuwaarden*", which had aboard 12.300 pieces.

¹⁹³ ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: "Rendement...", after 7/5/1663.

¹⁹⁴ DR XIII, 335ff., 338: entry under 26/10/1661; "de gebleekte salempourys zyn bevonden zeer licht, los en ydel te zyn."

¹⁹⁵ DR XV, 309ff.: entry under 13/8/1664.

¹⁹⁶ ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669; see also ARA VOC 1349, fl.1688vff.: "Memorie" F.L. Bent to R. Casembroot, dated 1/6/1679.

¹⁹⁷ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van der Dusse, Tadvān, to Batavia, 15/8/1670.

Table 28
VOC Sales of Coromandel-*salampores* in Bandar-e ‘Abbās (1657-1680)¹⁹⁸

Year	Number (ca.)	Price p.ps.	Profit
1656/57	6.500	fl.6:13	15.625%
1657/58	N.A.		ca. 60%
1659/60	N.A.	Ma.11.25	46.06%
1660	3.000+	Ma.11.5	53.17%
1660/61	8.000	Ma. 9.6	23%
1661/62	2.000	Ma.14	69.875%
1662/63	33.600	Ma.13	86.3%
1663/64	26.300	Ma.12.55	ca. 60%
1664/65	16.300	Ma.12.55	50.875%
1665/66	8.000	Ma.12.5	37.5%
1667/68	15.000	Ma.11.5	81%
1668/69	14.275	Ma.12.1	73.6%
1669/70	15.600	Ma.11.3	81.6%
1670/71	15.000	Ma.12.1	103.75%
1671/72	20.000	Ma. 7	N.A.
1672	3.200	Ma.11	96.5%
1673/74	14.480	Ma. 8.75	55.625%
1674/75	6.000	Ma.10-10.75	69%
1675/76	18.320	Ma. 7.75-8	31.3%
1676/77	4.640	Ma. 8.75-10.75	44.94-59.56%
1677/78	N.A.		89%
1678/79	1.500	Ma.12	N.A.
1679/80	640	Ma.11	93.33%
1680	2.960	Ma.11-11.5	18.05%

In response to difficulties encountered in the procurement and transport of Hindustani wares¹⁹⁹, demand for Coromandel textiles for markets in the Persian Gulf Area rose steadily. Thus the phenomenon of regional substitution seemed to repeat itself, now at the expense of Northern India. In 1662/63, more Persian merchants requested freight space from Coromandel

¹⁹⁸ Data compiled from correspondence of the VOC factory Bandar-e ‘Abbās. Figures for 1672 and 1674/75 refer to sales at Eṣfahān; figures for 1677/78-1679/80 refer to "*Bimelipatnamse salempoerissen*". On the latter see also *GM* IV, 318ff., 368: R. van Goens, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 11/12/1679. In 1683/84 the VOC sold 4.880 pieces of "nagelwanse en bimelipatnamse salempoerissen" in Bandar-e ‘Abbās: 1.500 ps. at Ma.12.25, 3.305 ps. at Ma.12.75, 75 stained and damaged pieces at Ma.6-8, see ARA VOC 1406, fl.1205vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 28/2/1684.

¹⁹⁹ *GM* III, 210ff.: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 14/12/1658; *ibid.* 247ff., 275, *do.* dated 16/12/1659, speaks of an increase of 80% of expenses over prime costs.

to the Persian Gulf Area than could be accommodated on the shipping available²⁰⁰. When the presence of numerous merchants in the train of a Russian embassy to Eşfahān had stoked up hopes for a vast demand in plain cotton cloth, Surati traders did their utmost to supply what was expected to be required. On the arrival of plentiful Coromandel cloth, the market collapsed²⁰¹. In Bandar-e ʿAbbās agents of the European Companies had to realise yet again that their Muslim and Banyan competitors had an edge in the marketing of their wares: their *alāḡa bethilles* were "all of equally fine colour and good quality" and although they had been bought at exactly the same purchasing price as the VOC goods, they were able to conclude their sales 20% higher²⁰². Similarly, the Dutch found it difficult, in 1676, to dispose of 2.500 pieces of *alāḡa bethilles* otherwise well in demand, because the consignment was not of the required measurements nor was the quality of the pieces sufficiently homogeneous²⁰³. In fact, Armenian and Muslim traders were believed to have come to dominate the market by the 1670's²⁰⁴. The reasons given are not new: purchase in the weaving and dyeing villages and lower profit margins²⁰⁵. For Company operations their competition meant falling profit rates and VOC factors grew increasingly reluctant towards the end of the century to commit large sums to textile exports for the Persian Gulf Area²⁰⁶. It might well be, however, that the position of the Companies in Coromandel's West Asian country trade was affected by the poor credit they enjoyed on the Coast²⁰⁷. In addition, a 12% duty was levied on the popular *salampores* in the 1670's "during the war"²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁰ DR XIV, 104ff., 112. In January 1663 the VOC ship *Pegu* left with 330 bales of textiles as freight.

²⁰¹ ARA VOC 1245, fl.506rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/4/1665; Surati traders had freighted vast amounts of cloth on the Dutch vessels "*Wassende Maan*", "*Leerdam*", "*Naerder*" and "*Vlissingen*", the Armenian owned "*Hormūz Merchant*", the "*St. Michael*" (which completed two voyages), the Surat-based "*Aḡmadi*" and several minor crafts.

²⁰² ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1660.

²⁰³ ARA VOC 1307, fl.674rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1676.

²⁰⁴ ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 20/1/1677.

²⁰⁵ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1889vff.: "*Deductie...*", dated 13/2/1680.

²⁰⁶ GM V, 296ff., 330: J. Camphuys, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 30/12/1689, and *ibid.*, 746ff., 763 and 772: W. van Outhoorn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 8/2/1696.

²⁰⁷ Credit relations in later XVIIth century Coromandel have been explored in J.J. BRENNIG (1979), *Joint-Stock Companies of Coromandel*, in: B.B. KLING / M. PEARSON (eds.) (1979), 71-96, but effects on the West Asian trade have not been commented upon.

²⁰⁸ ARA VOC 1340, fl.1586rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 27/8/1678.

From the mid-1670's onwards, Coromandel *salampores* were increasingly replaced by homonymous weaves from the Orissa port of Balasore²⁰⁹. Unlike failed attempts at regional substitution promoted by European Companies on a cost factor basis - such as to transfer production of Gujarati and Coromandel textiles to Bengal in the later XVIIth century²¹⁰ - this shift of a branch of maritime trade away from Coromandel to Bengal seemed to prefigure a phenomenon more visible in the 1680's, when the European Companies temporarily turned away from war-torn Coromandel²¹¹.

Table 29
VOC Sales of *salampore*-varieties in Bandar-e 'Abbās (1677/78-1687/88)²¹²

Year	Bimelipatnam variety				Coromandel variety	
	Number	Price p.ps.	Profit	Number	Price p.ps.	Profit
1677/78	N.A.		89%	--		
1678/79	1.500	Ma.12		--		
1679/80	640	Ma.11	93.33%	2.960	Ma.11-11.5	18%
1682/83	--			320	(from Tuticorin)	
1683/84	4.880	Ma.12.25-12.75	39.4%	40	do.: Ma.10	44.5%
1684/85	5.520	N.A.		8.960		
1685/86	12.640	N.A.		2.800		
1686/87	33.797	Ma.12-12.25		2.800		
1687/88	35.121	Ma. 6-13.25	30.5%	2.720	Ma.10.5	12.2%

Indian Textiles and Imitations in Iran

As we had seen above, parts of Iran's invariably negative balance of trade with South India, whose adherence to a gold-based currency system had long been recognised²¹³, had

²⁰⁹ For "*Bimelipatnamse salempoerissen*" imported in the late 1670's see above. See also *GM* IV, 318ff., 368: R. van Goens, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 11/12/1679.

²¹⁰ Some cases in O. PRAKASH (1985), 102, N.36.

²¹¹ See also K. GLAMANN (1958), *Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620-1740*, København, 69.

²¹² Data compiled from correspondence of VOC factory in Bandar-e 'Abbās, now preserved in ARA. Of the 4.880 pieces of "*nagelwanse en bimelipatnamse salempoerissen*" sold in 1683/84, 1.500 pieces sold at Ma.12.25, 3.305 pieces at Ma.12.75, 75 stained and damaged pieces at between Ma.6 and 8, see ARA VOC 1406, fl.1205vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 28/2/1684.

²¹³ See P.M. JOSHI (1943), *Coins Current in the Kingdom of Golconda*, *JNumSI* V/1, 85-95 and also S. ARASARATNAM (1986), 294ff.

always been directly with exports of the red metal²¹⁴. Earlier on this included transactions involving an additional stage in India where silver was exchanged for gold. The establishment of a direct maritime link all but eliminated the function of this intermediary level, but now the deteriorating exchange rate of Safavid silver coins in Coromandel in the 1640's became a growing problem. Premiums paid on silver imports into Coromandel decreased²¹⁵ and the locally minted *pagoda* was *de facto* devalued. Although this further reduced profits²¹⁶ the volume of commerce remained unaffected²¹⁷. We had stressed above the preoccupations of Safavid policy with precious metal outflows. It is impossible to gauge the effects of this policy on the volume of gold exports to Coromandel ports, it represents the backdrop against which to read the initiatives taken in Iran in order to produce textiles able to substitute for Indian cottons. Whether these efforts were in any way encouraged by the Safavid government, we cannot tell, but they certainly mark a new development.

There had been earlier attempts to imitate Indian textiles. These seem to have aimed at regional if not local markets and were not felt by wholesale importers. In fact, it is from travellers rather than Company records that we learn about these industries. After decades of importation of cheap Indian chintzes had created what we may call a modest local middle class market, a local chintz-making industry had been established in Šīrāz by the mid-1660's, turning out rather low grade - but affordable - painted cottons for local sales to the common man²¹⁸. The manufacturing of weaves in the Indian style - fine floral and figural cottons, "*taffetas*" and *palampores* for bedcovers and wallhangings - employed many in the weaving centres of the

²¹⁴ For complaints about the poor quality of "Moorish ducats" available for transactions (in Coromandel cloth) at Bandar-e 'Abbās see ARA VOC 1135, fl.647rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 24/3/1641. The rise of gold-exports from the Persian Gulf Area as discussed above in Pt.I, Introduction. Developments on the Coromandel Coast at the turn of the century must be seen in the context of the debasement of the Japanese *koubang* in 1696, see K. GLAMANN (1958), 68 and A. KOBATA (1965), The Production and Uses of Gold and Silver in XVIth and XVIIth Century Japan, *EcHR* 2nd ser. XVIII, 245-265.

²¹⁵ See also *GM* II, 200ff., 202: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 22/12/1643; see also *GM* III, 4ff., 30: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 24/12/1655.

²¹⁶ ARA VOC 1168, fl.762rff.: N. Verburgh, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 28/3/1648, which says that profits to be made on Coromandel textiles had fallen to 30%.

²¹⁷ *GM* III 601ff., 607: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 6/12/1667 and earlier ARA VOC 1245, fl.506rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/4/1665.

²¹⁸ See ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 20/1/1677. From the late 1690's we hear of occasional imports of Persian chintzes to England, see e.g. G.P. BAKER (1921), *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, London, 39, but not from the province of Fārs.

Iranian plateau by the mid-1660's²¹⁹. J.B. Tavernier even anticipated that the quantity of thus "taffetas" produced would soon make imports of Indian fabrics obsolete. Similarly J. Thevenot speaks of the many "toiles indiennes" produced in Iran. A late XVIIth century guidebook to the *bāzār* of Eṣfahān distinguishes broadly between Indian *alāḡas* and domestic ("our") *alāḡas*²²⁰.

From the mid-1670's, the production of cotton weaves in the Yazd area (and elsewhere) targeted fabrics such as *salampores*, *guinea-stuffs* and other coarse varieties of cotton cloth, which clad large numbers of urban (and possibly even rural) dwellers in Iran. These fabrics had been imported half-finished to be dyed and made into *qabās* in Iran. Yazdī weavers who in the course of the XVIIth century had developed an expertise in imitating costly silken stuffs in mixed silk and cotton varieties, were at the centre of that production²²¹. From the table above it is evident that demand for Coromandel *salampores* shrank instantly when the success of this domestic industry became known: offers of merchants still interested in the product hovered just above the minimum required to keep imports commercially viable. The VOC were forced to sell part of their *salampores* at discounted prices to one of the chief merchants at Bandar-e ʿAbbās²²². The development of cotton weaving in Yazd went hand in hand with a remarkable expansion of cotton cultivation in the area²²³. Cotton appears to have been grown in most naturally suitable areas of Iran and counted among the country's foremost export commodities²²⁴ and despite domestic mass consumption and the fact that much cotton was channelled as taxes in kind to the royal workshops, cotton cultivation even yielded surpluses which were marketed abroad²²⁵. Unlike silk the preparation of the cotton fibre did not require much specialised labour²²⁶ and the success

²¹⁹ J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 264; J.B. TAVERNIER (1676), 607; J. THEVENOT (1674), vol.2, 178.

²²⁰ *Dar dānestan-e kārwānsarāi-ye Eṣfahān*, loc.cit., No.21 (*kārwānsarāi* Ġedde).

²²¹ ARA VOC 1307, fl.676r-v: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 6/6/1676.

²²² ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 1/8/1676.

²²³ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1932rff.: J. van Heuvel et al., Eṣfahān, to Batavia, dated 27/2/1680.

²²⁴ On cotton cultivation see J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 41 ("croit dans toute la Perse"); A. OLEARIUS (1656/1696), 566 (mainly on the North where he had travelled, namely "Armenien, Iruan, Nachtzuan, in ganz Karabach bey Arasbar, in Adirbaitzan vnd Chorasani"); J. STRUYS (1676), 323, specifically mentions the area Sāve-Qom. The Safavid period is not covered in *Elr*, s.v. cotton. II. Production and Trade in Persia.

²²⁵ See E. KAEMPFER (1712), *Amoenitatum...*, loc.cit.; for exports to Sind see here under Sind and Panḡāb; for the West, see BNP Ms. "Extrait d'un traité...", 1686; for Astrakhan, e.g. J. HANWAY (1753), vol.1, 127 and V. KLEIN (1938/39).

²²⁶ H. WULFF (1966), 179ff.

of this industry is reflected in the late XVIIth century guidebook to the *bāzār* of Eṣfahān, *Dar dānestan-e kārwānsarāi-ye Eṣfahān*, which features Yazd as the most important weaving centre.

The second set of Indian fabrics to be imitated were Bengali weaves, which were being imported in increasing numbers from the mid-1670's: figures for the VOC alone rose from just over 2.000 pieces in 1674/75 to some 17.000 fine cottons and 11.000 silks in 1677/78. Simultaneously these varieties were imported overland in large but unrecorded quantities. In 1680, these Bengali textiles met with a formidable challenge from Iranian weavers. In a year, in which the Dutch alone had imported more than 40.000 pieces, artisans in Lār, Šīrāz and Kāšān were reported to emulate the entire range of the most popular among the calicoes (*chaklas*, *sjoukories*) and silk and mixed silk-and-cotton piece goods (*mandils*, *čārḥānas*): "although they bear no comparison with Bengali cloth in fineness or sophistication, they have met with wide-spread success and are in demand everywhere, as they are sturdier and more resistant than the Bengali ware and decidedly cheaper..."²²⁷. Another contemporary report claims that quality, fineness and fastness of colours all could easily compete with Bengali fabrics²²⁸. Price structure and colour range were said to be more suitable for the cash-strapped domestic market, but experienced merchants reckoned that there would remain a reasonably sized market for imported *chaklas*, kerchiefs (*rumals*) and *alāḡas* from Malda²²⁹. It cannot be excluded that these developments were conscious attempts at import substitution as they coincided with a period in which other (largely unsuccessful) experiments at countervailing wide-spread impoverishment - such as the fixing of upper price-limits for staple food stuffs, but also certain import goods, such as sugar and spices - were reported for Iran²³⁰.

More than anything else, however, these episodes demonstrate that for products of the lower and middle range markets regional substitution (based on cost factors) was a more likely phenomenon than a substitution based on technological innovation. We have seen that in Persian

²²⁷ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1889vff.: "Deductie..." R. Casembroot, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 13/2/1680.

²²⁸ ARA VOC 1360, fl.1932rff.: J. van Heuvel et al., Eṣfahān, to Batavia, dated 27/2/1680.

²²⁹ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2721rff.: Report R. Casembroot, dated Batavia 25/11/1682.

²³⁰ The official in charge of this operation was the *amīr-šekār-bāšī* (see ARA VOC 1351, fl.2580vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 1/9/1679 and ARA VOC 1360, fl.1912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 13/4/1680). On the other hand, the venture of the English private merchant M. Vincent in 1679/80 failed principally because he tried to circumvent customs due at Bandar-e ʿAbbās and could not find buyers for his Bengali textiles at Bandar-e Kong, see DR XXIX, 809f.: entry under 10/12/1680 referred contents of letters from R. Casembroot, dated Šīrāz, dated 3/8/1680 with appendix dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 21/8/1680.

Gulf markets Indian textiles aiming at identical markets competed with one another directly quite independently of their provenance. The processes of imitation and substitution would suggest reviewing the all too static link between product variation and the "traditional" location of manufacture. If the European cloth markets of the XVIIth century formed "something like a single theatre of economic operations"²³¹, a similar statement seems to hold true for the textile trade of the Indian Ocean albeit on a quantitatively minor scale. The principal problem is that we know very little about the entrepreneurs behind the operations and that so far our reflections are based rather on patchy evidence.

Brokers and Companies in the Textile Trade

In these at the same time compartmentalised and highly competitive markets the expertise and connections of their brokers were unvaluable assets for the Europeans. Yet, brokers were often successful merchants in their own right and found themselves not infrequently in situations presenting conflicts of interests. Complaints abound about their agents in Indian textile centres capitalising on their insider knowledge, at times forcing weavers to supply them in preference to the Companies with a fabric known to be much requested on the Iranian market²³². Early on the Dutch had come to the conclusion that the only way to break into the textile trade of the Persian Gulf Area was to enter into formal partnership agreements with Persian traders²³³, but it seems that in their Persian Gulf trade at least they hardly ever went beyond the employment of local brokers. The main strategy followed not only by European traders was to collect samples of textiles that had yielded good profits when sold by their Indian competitors and try to imitate that success²³⁴. Muslim traders could enlarge their market share as the Companies gradually retreated from importing fabrics to Iran which trade had repeatedly yielded less than the required minimum of 40% net profits²³⁵. At one stage in the early 1650's, returns on textiles procured at Agra fell to less than 10% at Bandar-e 'Abbās: agents of Surat-based merchants realised overall

²³¹ C. WILSON (1960-1961), Cloth Production and International Competition in the XVIIth Century, *EcRev* 2nd ser. XIII/2, 209-221, 209.

²³² ARA VOC 1224, fl.251rff.: Testimony of J. Tack, agent at Agra, dated 7/5/1657.

²³³ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Esfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 15/12/1635.

²³⁴ See e.g. ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1636, and the enclosed *factura*.

²³⁵ For the relevant recommendations from Batavia see *GM* III, 85ff., 105: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 4/12/1656. EIC servants reckoned that profits of 35% were attainable, but that transport costs of 45% weighed heavily on these wares, *EPI* IX, 55ff., 58: Pres.Merry, Surat, to London, dated 8/4/1651.

profits of 8% despite the 10% import duty levied on their goods. Had the VOC sold their imports at the same rate, they would have lost almost 10% on the purchase price although they were exempt from import duties²³⁶. An inquiry into purchase prices showed that Muslim maritime merchants were supplied at costs up to a third below those of the VOC²³⁷:

Table 30
Comparison of Textile Sales at Bandar-e 'Abbās: Muslim Merchants vs. VOC

Fabric	Prices in <i>maḥmūdī</i> per score		Difference in <i>maḥmūdī</i>
	Muslim merchants	VOC factory	
Chautar	28	42.5	14.5
Camcanis	35	40.5	5.5
Khassa Uenuada	32	46.25	14.5
Khassa (Gassiapour)	22	29.5	7.5
Cabdulcani	20	24.5	4.25
Aday (?)	17	21	4.0
Jalalsai	20	27.5	7.5
Adother	15	18.5	3.5
Guldar	25	31	6.0
Bafta (Khairabad)	30	34.75	4.75

In the 1660's, the VOC's Banyan broker "Kimsie" offered to prove that it was possible to gain 40% profits on textiles shipped from Surat. His Indian agent "Keval Ram" was given 50.000 rupees to buy a wide range of Gujarati, Lucknow, Lakhawar, Patna and Jalalpur weaves, but it seems that this experiment failed as well. His list of purchases gives an indication of the composition of North Indian cargos assembled by Banyan traders.

²³⁶ ARA VOC 1224, fl.269rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 9/12/1656.

²³⁷ ARA VOC 1201, fl.777rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/4/1653.

Table 31
Textile Sales of "Keval Ram" in Safavid Iran²³⁸

Fabric (specifications)	No. of pieces	Prices in <i>mahmūdts</i>		Sales p.ps.	
		Purchase	Sales	BA	Eşfahān
Sephtangas de Caspyin	6.156	20.545	32.006	5,2	
Chits de Caelpij (10 gaz)	913	4.167	together:	6	
Chits d' Caelpylangs (12 gaz)	214	5.403	6.762	6	
Chiadder off Balenghpous	523	1.188	1.700	3,25	
Chits Derriabadij	35	149	175	5	
Destharchanna	368	536	669	5,5	
Chits de Cammaetsia	35	247	198	3,25	
Lucknow-ware:					
derriabadij	6.253	11.722	together:		
do.	3.167	5.216	68.248	7,1	6,5
Geyrabath goet	1.151	4.665	6.079		5,3
various musters	34				
Alegia trepaj	52	547	655	12,6	
Alegia d'Mouw	92	1.200	1.748	19	
Mamoedijs:	13	237	325	25	
Lakhawar-ware:					
Cechourijs (?)	3.082	17.800	together:	7,9	9.5:108ps.
Omeertijns (?)	128	1.412	25.780	(3.021ps.)	13: 80 ps.
3 ps. musters					
"Kehaar"-ware:					
... < torn >	1.600	10.804	12.000		7,5
Magrebijs	1.280	7.392	9.760		7,7
Abdulchannijs	320	1.245	1.754		5,5
Patna-ware:					
Chiadder de Malda	2.001	5.765	7.470		3,75
Cassa Arruwa	135	1.420	1.890		14
Allegia Tsiaculla	198	5.243	7.314	39	32
Allegia Maelde	65	748	910		14
Alegia Cassarichianchanna	2,5	44	45		18
Cassa Mina	98	1.067	1.421		14,5
Jalalpur-ware:					
Jalaalseij	1.136	4.825	together:	6,75	7
dupetas	2.262	9.183	23.735	(3.209ps.)	(188 ps.)
Siauthaar mamoedijs	2.455	13.877	20.907	9	7,5-10
				(759 ps.)	(1.690 ps.)
... < torn > yessia mamoedij	50.5	620	1.010		20
... < torn > Toocken	17	349	510		30

²³⁸ ARA VOC 1251, pp.1345ff.: "*Specificatie...*", dated Bandar-e 'Abbās, *taq* April 1666; the Dutch rendering of the names of textiles has not been altered.

Textile Traders in Safavid Iran

Information on who plyed the textile trade in the Persian Gulf Area is not easy to come by. The overwhelming majority of the small scale traders who rented freight space on ships between India and the Persian Gulf Area and sold their wares in small quantities in the *bāzārs* of the interior will forever remain anonymous. Many itinerant traders (or agents of large houses) bought precious textiles with rich gold- and silver threads, which required considerable investment and took a long time to dispose of²³⁹. The viability of this petty trade hinged on their intimate connections with Iranian merchants, who supplied them with the necessary information to buy exactly the fabrics most requested²⁴⁰. A great number of Banyan merchants were resident in Persian Gulf ports and the urban centres of Iran. However, it seems that after the fall of Hormūz, a larger share of the business in the ports was conducted by agents, junior partners or even heads of merchant houses with their base in cities of the interior. In the early 1620's we hear of one "cane Colere Begge" (Hān Qollar Beğ?) from Šīrāz and in the early 1650's of Mīrzā Hān from the same city who attempted single-handedly to buy up all English textile imports from Surat²⁴¹. Surat-based merchants trading in Iran often sent the most expensive fabrics, especially those with rich gold threads, as "coloured" English goods, not only to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, but all the way up to Eṣfahān, hoping thereby to prevent the *šāhbandar* from confiscating parts of the precious cargo at his leisure²⁴². After 1650 Lārī merchants acquire an important role as purchasers of Indian textiles for Iran²⁴³. Armenian houses and petty traders played a central part here as in other sectors of Iran's foreign trade, whereas it seems that by the 1680's Jewish traders from Fārs were by and large excluded from the textile trade in the Safavid capital²⁴⁴. Cartels of wholesale purchasers in Bandar-e ʿAbbās rarely attempted to corner textile imports²⁴⁵: in 1669, merchants in Bandar-e ʿAbbās teamed up trying to dictate the price for *alāğa bethilles*, one of the more profitable varieties of Coromandel cloth, but had to climb down when the VOC threatened to

²³⁹ GM IV, 156ff., 166: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, 13/2/1677.

²⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1019rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 21/6/1672.

²⁴¹ IOR G/29/1/14, fl.25vff.: R. Smith et al., Hormūz, to Eṣfahān, dated 6/4/1622; and *EFI* IX, 62ff.: J. Lewis, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to London, dated 8/5/1651.

²⁴² See the scandal surrounding the shipwreck of the privately owned "*Seaflower*", *EFI* XI, 195f.; see also ARA VOC 1241, fl.572rff.: H. van Wijck, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/2/1664.

²⁴³ ARA VOC 1210, fl.891rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/9/1656.

²⁴⁴ *Dar dānestan...*, *loc.cit.*: No.9.

²⁴⁵ ARA VOC 1255, pp.879ff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/8/1667.

dispose of their cloth directly in the Eşfahān *bāzār*²⁴⁶. The following year a powerful group of local traders - Šayḥ Aḥmad Lārī, Mīrzā Yūsuf and the Jewish merchant Abram Babu - joined forces and agreed with the VOC on a forward sales contract, which gave them unique control of the coarser varieties of cotton cloth (*salampores* and *dungarees*). When, later in the season, the English private trader Winter arrived unexpected with the same varieties Šayḥ Aḥmad had sufficient capital (or credit) to buy up the entire cargo²⁴⁷. We know very little about how these operations were financed, but in this case we learn that against their usual policy the Company agreed to deferred payment in Eşfahān²⁴⁸, presumably to allow the purchasers to circumvent the newly imposed duty on bullion exports from Eşfahān, but also because they rightly anticipated extra profits. The case of the New Ğolfan trader Hovhannes amply proves that even small scale operators could avail themselves of a wide range of credit facilities to finance their often mid-term investments in textiles destined for Persian Gulf markets²⁴⁹. In addition to merchant shipping between India and the Persian Gulf Area, the opening of direct maritime pilgrim traffic to Mecca, too, reopened up a petty trade via Moḥā chiefly to Bandar-e Kong²⁵⁰.

If it was important to know which range of goods was in demand at a given point in time, it was equally essential for a successful deal to be struck for the purchaser in India to be able not only to recognise the various qualities of weaves offered often under one identical name. In 1637, for example, the VOC-factory Bandar-e ʿAbbās, following the intelligence of local merchants, received a first consignment of assorted textiles chiefly for transshipment to Al-Bašra. To the dismay of their superiors, the agents sold the bales without paying any attention to differences in quality, size and prime costs²⁵¹, although the bales of "*canekins*", low-cost coarse calicoes from

²⁴⁶ ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669.

²⁴⁷ ARA VOC 1274, fl.746rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 10/9/1671.

²⁴⁸ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van der Dusse, Tadvān, to Batavia, dated 15/8/1670 and *ibid.*, 2310rff.: Id., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 7/3/1671.

²⁴⁹ See L. KHACHIKIAN (1967); Hovhannes' Indian transactions have also been described in E. HERZIG (1991).

²⁵⁰ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2744rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 7/9/1682; besides coffee, the textiles carried included "a considerable quantity of *alāḡa bethilles*, *rumals*, *salampores*, *dungarees* with red, *guinea stuffs*, *perkalas* [a reputedly regular plain cotton weave, suitable for chintz], *muris*, *lungis*, fine chintzes and others..."

²⁵¹ ARA VOC 1122, fl.545vff.: A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, 27/4/1637, where he complains "dat in toecoomende niet meer soo veel divers goet in een pack compt, dat beter voor d'cramers ofte winckeliers als ons past, ofte wel voor coopliden die langh op een plaets stil mogen wesen, om daer d'hoochste merckt voor te procureeren, dat ons alhier nier mach gebeuren". See also ARA VOC 1127, fl.46rff.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 28/11/1637; *ibid.* fl.50v: "want wat manier van doen is dat den vercooper aen den cooper sal seggen soo veel cost mijn dat pack, wat advance wilt ghij der mij voor geven..."

Gujarat, for example, contained five different finenesses and sizes²⁵². Initial information on the dismal performance of the agents can be gleaned from two price lists, one referring to VOC sales, the other to market prices obtained by other traders²⁵³:

Table 32
Comparison Textile Sales Prices Bandar-e 'Abbās (1637/38): Local vs. Company Traders

Fabric	VOC prices in <i>lārtn</i> per score	Banyan and Muslim merchants: <i>do.</i>
Black ardias	92	110-125
Black baftas	120	coarse: 150-170 fine: 210-220
Black "canekins"	55	coarse: 45-50
do. of Ahmadabad	55-70	
Chintz Firuzabad	50	50
Catsia	94	95
Lakhawaris	184	178

This episode caused such a stir that a more detailed report was prepared, which showed the performance of the Company's chief competitors during that season²⁵⁴:

Table 33
Comparison Textile Sales Prices Bandar-e 'Abbās (1637/38): Surati vs. Company Traders

	VOC	Çelebî	Aki Park	Mia Hen	Nan Saraf
Ardias	90	105	107	90-102,5	91-100
Bairami (bl.)	115	145	140	150	135-145
Baftas	110	150	150	150	---
"Canekins"	52	60-62	50	55	58

²⁵² ARA VOC 1127, fl.111: "*Notitie...*", ca.1638: "vierderhande sorteringe van 10 ges lanck costende d'eene rouw 14, d'ander 13, d'ander 12, de vierde 11 ropias d'corgie, ende van ditto 9 ges lanck costende rouw 10 1/2 ropias d'corgie ...ende zijn ...door d'ander to teen prijs vercocht".

²⁵³ ARA VOC 1122, fl.545vff.: A. Adriansz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 27/4/1637 and *ibid.*, fl.547rff.: "*Memorie...*" W. Geleynsz., Ahmadabad, dated 16/5/1637.

²⁵⁴ ARA VOC 1127, fl.136r-v: *Notitie...*, ca.1638; VOC data from *ibid.*, fl.111: "*Notitie...*", ca.1638.

Success or failure in the textile business depended on a thorough knowledge of the demand structure. In some cases, it was all a question of shrewd marketing: In 1638, incompetent VOC factors were talked into selling a whole consignment of inexpensive Gujarati dyed *ardias*, *baftas*, *bairamis* and "*canekins*" - likened by the upset Persian factors to sail- and sackcloth - some 15-20% below the market price, only to find the purchasers somewhat later of passing on the same textiles with a mark-up of between 12 and 15%²⁵⁵.

Close attention was paid to matching the quality of the fabrics on offer in the ports to customer expectations. European traders observed that "the Persians are very peculiar about distinguishing fineness and coarseness of fabrics"²⁵⁶. Customers were equally anxious about obtaining cloth to the right measures, and hefty discounts had to be offered if for whatever reason their expectations could not be met. On occasions, we hear of cases in which Indian factories refused to execute purchasing orders from Iran which contradicted previous instructions, chiefly because arrangements had already been made for weavers to set their looms to a given width or type of cloth²⁵⁷. But generally, purchasing agents in India were ordered to buy exclusively on the basis of patterns sent from Iran²⁵⁸. Only later, such orders by the VOC factory Bandar-e 'Abbās ceased to contain detailed instructions on where to procure certain varieties, as the purchasing organisation had grown sufficiently mature to translate the necessary requirements into autonomous decision-making²⁵⁹.

Textile markets were connected in several complex ways. We would expect the clearest expression of market hierarchies to be contained in information regarding price formation, in which one primary market determined the price structure of an entire region, but no such clear-cut régime regulated the textile trade in our area. Markets had adjusted of course to secular changes such as the elevation of Eṣfahān to imperial capital, to the fall of Portuguese Hormūz and

²⁵⁵ BGP 648ff.: A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 20/4/1638 and *ibid.*, 652f., *do.*, dated 27/4/1638; ARA VOC 1127, fl.154rf.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Batavia, dated 10/5/1638 and *ibid.* fl.134rff., *do.* dated 18/5/1638. In addition, independent sources confirmed the VOC's suspicions that sale at Isfahan would have earned an extra 25-30%.

²⁵⁶ ARA VOC 1130, fl.1228f.: J. Leendersz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 20/4/1639; ARA VOC 1135, fl.736rf.: "*Notitie...*", dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 5/4/1641.

²⁵⁷ ARA VOC 1210, fl.906rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 3/6/1656.

²⁵⁸ GM II, 33: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 18/12/1639.

²⁵⁹ ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/7/1683.

Masqat, and to periodical disruptions such as conflicts of the Safavids with the Mughal and Ottoman Empires. Yet even in peacetime markets were governed by a complex web of influences which had to do as much with purely geographical locations as with the merchants operating on different markets. If Mesopotamia and Iran showed distinctly different patterns of consumption for European cloth, perhaps because of the 'Irāq's closer integration into the Levantine circuits of exchange centring on Aleppo, where European cloth had partly replaced locally produced coarse fabrics for use as outer garments - by the mid-XVIIth century Persian Gulf ports had developed a functional and spatial order of their own for the distribution of Indian textiles in the area.

We had seen how in Safavid Iran large trading houses, whether based at Eṣfahān or elsewhere, had posted "their *kalanter* (*sic*) in the city as well as outside in other places, to whom they sell their goods on the basis of deferred payment", which enabled them to dispose of purchases very quickly²⁶⁰. The agents in turn guaranteed that the principals were kept informed on specific regional requirements. Oversupply of the wholesale market at Bandar-e 'Abbās often prompted traders to try their luck in Eṣfahān's *bāzars*²⁶¹. This might have been a viable alternative for petty traders. But wholesale organisations such as the Companies discovered that the very basis of their organisation, modest economies-of-scale, made it difficult to secure sufficient transport for the journey to interior markets. When they strove to circumvent local wholesale traders either at Šīrāz or Eṣfahān, they had to deal with minor houses, whose limited means and credit only permitted them the purchase of small quantities of cloth. In these cases, sales prices came to resemble more closely the level in retail shops²⁶². Worse: Company servants also found that the main players on the Eṣfahān textile market were precisely the same houses which, in Bandar-e 'Abbās, tried to keep purchasing prices down²⁶³. In the early 1660's a comparative investigation carried out on behalf of the VOC into textile wholesale prices in both markets yielded the following data²⁶⁴:

²⁶⁰ ARA VOC 1349, fl.1688vff.: "*Memorie...*" F.L. Bent, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 1/6/1679.

²⁶¹ ARA VOC 1127, fl.111: "*Notitie...*" on sales in Bandar-e 'Abbās ca.1637/38.

²⁶² ARA VOC 1285, fl.383rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 29/4/1673; *ibid.*, id., Šīrāz, to Amsterdam, 15/7/1673.

²⁶³ ARA VOC 1229, fl.869rff.: J.Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/9/1659.

²⁶⁴ ARA VOC 1232, fl.679ff.: "*Specificatie...*", dated 28/2/1661; period examined for Eṣfahān 6/8/1659-28/2/1661, for Bandar-e 'Abbās 1/5/1659-30/4/1660. While the data seems to suggest that except for the coarse *dungarees* - mostly destined for Ottoman markets - returns on sales in the Safavid capital exceeded those obtained in the port city, despite

Table 34
Comparison of Textile Sales Eşfahān and Bandar-e ‘Abbās (1659/60-1660/61)

Fabric	Eşfahān		Bandar-e ‘Abbās	
	Sample	profits	Sample	profits
Bleached alāğa bethilles	33.150	40%	822	36%
Bleached dungarees	9.492	4.75%	2.582	23.66%
Coarse bethilles	2.500	25.17%	1.200	45%
Bleached chiavenijs	7.500	26.4%	2.400	39.4%
Sephtangas (Saalpij)	9.600	2.75%	480	18.75%
Jalalsai	9.315	15.2%	538	27.04%
Duppetas (Jalalpur)	8.640	21.06%	1.440	27.66%
Damine sade			2.700	26.4%
Lungi			1.200	59.4%

The price structure for textiles at Eşfahān was complicated by the fact that its *bāzārs* were also supplied overland, regularly (and in large quantities). When large caravans arrived, prices could occasionally fall below levels obtained at Bandar-e ‘Abbās²⁶⁵. Despite the rise of the wholesale market at Bandar-e ‘Abbās, prices at Eşfahān remained crucial throughout the XVIIth century for price formation in Iran: traders in the port city required instant information on price changes in Eşfahān and were unwilling to strike any deals without having been briefed by their associates²⁶⁶. Textile prices in Eşfahān were influenced by demand from the provinces (although the area to the East of a line Yazd-Kermān was probably supplied with Indian textiles as a branch of the Indo-Central Asian overland trade), but more important was the degree of interest shown by Ottoman and Russian merchants.

additional costs for transport and possibly interest payments, we have to bear in mind that buyers generally tended to offer prices higher than current market prices once they understood that particular consignments were meant to gauge the market.

²⁶⁵ ARA VOC 1139, fl.291rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Surat, dated 8/2/1642.

²⁶⁶ ARA VOC 1278, fl.1843rff.: "Memorie..." I. Goske, dated 28/4/1670.

Persian Gulf Ports and the Textile Trade

If the rise of Eṣfahān as a centre of the West Asian textile trade is linked to its election as imperial capital, the spatial organisation of the Persian Gulf trade underwent modifications. During the last two decades of faltering rule in Hormūz the Portuguese could not prevent the sale of untaxed Indian cloth of all varieties on the Iranian mainland markets of Moğostān close to the coastline²⁶⁷. The two decades after their eviction witnessed the rise of a wholesale textile market at Bandar-e ʿAbbās at the expense of intermediary inland markets, including Šīrāz. At one point it seemed as if the port city was to eclipse even the capital as chief centre of distribution for Iran: "merchants from all over the country appear; everybody buys here in the hope of striking the best deals, and then carries the goods from Gamron to their places of residence, or wherever else they want, without as much as passing through Lār, Šīrāz or Eṣfahān"²⁶⁸. From Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Indian textiles were also forwarded to Russia and Central Asia: during the Özbeq incursions into North Eastern Iran in the mid-1660's²⁶⁹, repercussions were felt in the Bandar-e ʿAbbās market for textiles²⁷⁰.

Alongside Bandar-e ʿAbbās a number of other ports participated in the Persian Gulf textile trade, some continuing secular patterns and some emerging with new vigour in the XVIIth century. Eastern Arabia continued to play an important role in the textile trade between Cambay and East Africa. Just as in the previous century, plain white cotton cloth of an inferior quality,

²⁶⁷ AHU C.I. 6/31, fl.4v: "Devassa...", dated 14/2/1619.

²⁶⁸ ARA VOC 1144, fl.589rff.: W. Geleynsz., Eṣfahān, to Batavia, 4/9/1642.

²⁶⁹ For the invasion see P. LUFT (1968), 103.

²⁷⁰ ARA VOC 1252, pp.457ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1664. Calicoes such as *lakhawaris* and *ambertis* were sent from Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Astrakhan, whence they were forwarded both to Muscovy and the Kalmuks for use as shirts and linings, who were also supplied via Boḥārā. The transit trade across Safavid Iran to the North does not fall within the scope of this study but seems to have been of considerable importance both for the domestic textile industry and within the operations of Indian merchants trading in Iran, see ARA VOC 1248, pp.3035ff.: *do.*, dated 30/8/1664; for the forwarding trade from Astrakhan V. KLEIN / P. ACKERMANN (1938/39), A Russian Document on Persian Textiles, in: A. POPE (ed.) (1938/39), 2163ff.; on the Boḥārā trade see also *Materialy po istorii Uzbekskoi, Tadžikskoi i Turkmenskoi SSR*, Leningrad 1932, vol.1, 336f., extracts in S. GOPAL (ed.) (1988), *Indians in Russia in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, New Delhi / Calcutta, No.93. I have not seen A. BURTON (1986), *Bukharans in Trade and Diplomacy 1588-1702*, 2 vols., PhD Manchester. On Indian traders in Astrakhan: S. GOPAL (1967), *Some Trading Activities of Indians in Russia in the XVIIIth Century*, repr. in: S. BHATTACHARYA (ed.) (1987), *Essays in Modern Economic Indian History*, New Delhi, 108-114; ID. (1986), *A Brief Note on Business Organization of Indian Merchants in Russia in the XVIIth Century*, *JESHO* XXIX, 205-212. For a later period: S.F. DALE (1990), *Indo-Russian Trade in the XVIIIth Century*, in: S. BOSE (ed.) (1990), *South Asia and World Capitalism*, New Delhi, 140-156. For the Armenian transit trade: S. GOPAL (1971), *Armenian Traders in India in the XVIIth Century*, in: A. GUHA (ed.) (1971), *Central Asia. Movement of Peoples and Ideas from Times Prehistoric to Modern*, New York, 200-213, K. KÉVONIAN (1975) and M. AGHASSIAN / K. KEVONIAN (1988).

the "*teadas*" of the Portuguese sources, was re-exported to markets in East Africa²⁷¹. The textile trade of Portuguese Masqaṭ was chiefly associated with the Sind commerce²⁷². When the VOC first attempted to include Masqaṭ into their network of points of sales and transshipment after the eviction of the Portuguese in 1650, they found to their disappointment that the ʿUmānī home market was very limited indeed. They were told that even to sell the six small bales of coarse fabrics they had brought would take several months²⁷³. In ʿUmān, coarse cottons were produced locally and the country imported only some inferior grades of Indian cottons from Sind (some 200 bales *p.a.*) and Konkan (some 300–400 bales), a total of perhaps 12.000 yds. and some cotton yarn²⁷⁴. Otherwise, the bulk of coarse Konkan and Sind textiles passing through Masqaṭ was transshipped to other Arabian ports such as Baḥrayn, Al-Qaṭīf and Qaṭar²⁷⁵ and Masqaṭī traders supplied Al-Baṣra all year long²⁷⁶. In 1662 no less than 70–80 crafts were reported to have called at Masqaṭ, many of which carried among other things *dungarees* from Konkan ports²⁷⁷. Merchants from Šīrāz and Lār in Southern Iran, which were considered unsuitable markets for the more costly Indian weaves, kept agents in Masqaṭ for the specific purpose of handling imports, via Bandar-e Kong, of coarse and medium-range textiles for regional consumption²⁷⁸. Other Persian merchants used the ʿUmānī port as entrepôt for transshipping Golkondā textiles to minor Iranian ports outside the customs controls of Bandar-e ʿAbbās²⁷⁹. Bandar-e Kong had probably long served as a minor point of transshipment for smaller consignments of textiles for

²⁷¹ See CAA III/372. Exports from Cambay to Quryāt are mentioned in Anon., *Lembranças das coisas da India*, in: R.J. De Lima FELNER (ed.) (1868), 1–56, 45; on the re-export trade from Socotra, see J. De BARROS, *Da Asia...*, *loc.cit.*, III/10/1; for XVIth century Socotra see also J. Perreira Da COSTA (1973), *Socotorā e o domínio português no Oriente* (=ACA Secção de Coimbra LXXXII), Coimbra [also: ID. (1971), *RUC XXIII*, 323–371].

²⁷² ANTT DRI XLIX, fl.354rff.: "*Regimento*" Masqaṭ, dated ca. 1638.

²⁷³ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijfelijck relaes...*", dated 29/11/1651.

²⁷⁴ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated 20/2/1674; see also *ibid.*, fl. 506r-v: "*Memorie...*" F.De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to N. Ritsert, Masqaṭ, dated 13/6/1674; and *ibid.*, fl.522rff.: N. Ritsert, Masqaṭ, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1674.

²⁷⁵ BNL FG Ms. 29, fl.20v, for "*roupas pretas do Sinde e Cambaya*" sent to Al-Qaṭīf; see also ARA VOC 1252, pp.702ff., H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665 and ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated 20/2/1674.

²⁷⁶ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1019rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 21/6/1672.

²⁷⁷ ARA VOC 1240, pp.686ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 13/5/1662. See also ARA VOC 1242, fl.1054rff.: *Id.* to Amsterdam, 9/4/1664.

²⁷⁸ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1019rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 21/6/1672.

²⁷⁹ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 20/2/1674.

the narrow coastal strip of Iran and inland Fārs. After the admission of the Portuguese to the port in 1630 Lusitan textile imports from India were quick to reconquer a significant share in the market²⁸⁰. Much of the English private trade to Al-Baṣra, too, passed through the port and some Englishmen operated a shuttle freight service between the two ports²⁸¹. We had seen above how, by the mid-1660's, Bandar-e Kong and Maṣqaṭ had attracted half of the Persian Gulf's volume of indigenous shipping²⁸² and how, in the 1670's, the former port stood a good chance of supplanting Bandar-e ʿAbbās as the centre for wholesale traders²⁸³.

Bandar-e ʿAbbās functioned as the primary centre for wholesale purchasers of high quality textiles for Iran²⁸⁴, but it also operated within the wider exchange networks of the Persian Gulf Area. On two levels, the maritime wholesale markets of Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Al-Baṣra were closely linked. For certain fabrics which were susceptible of being sold profitably universally, Al-Baṣra could serve as an alternative point of disembarkation: in moments of oversupply, goods destined for Iran but unsaleable at Bandar-e ʿAbbās could be transshipped in smaller crafts to Al-Baṣra, where it was hoped merchants from Šīrāz and Eṣfahān could be lured to make their purchases. Conversely, on other occasions unsold stocks would be sent from Al-Baṣra via Bandar-e Rīg to Eṣfahān²⁸⁵, but we also hear of Indian chintzes being imported to Iran via Baġdād²⁸⁶. Whenever the VOC considered withdrawing their factory from Bandar-e ʿAbbās in order to exercise pressure on the Safavid government, they argued that since many of the purchasers in Eṣfahān were Turkish or Syrian merchants, Al-Baṣra would be a more natural choice for their operations in the region²⁸⁷. Yet, in the short run demand proved less flexible than anticipated

²⁸⁰ BNL FG Ms.29, fl.20vf. on Iranian textile exports through Bandar-e Kong; see also ARA VOC 1108, fl.869rff.: P. Lucasz. to N. Overschie, dated 28/12/1632.

²⁸¹ ARA VOC 1188, fl.452rff.: J. Bartelsz., Al-Basra, to Eṣfahān, dated 26/2/1652.

²⁸² ARA VOC 1245, pp.743ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 8/2/1664.

²⁸³ ARA VOC 1252, pp.702ff., H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665; on the shift to Bandar-e Kong see e.g. ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/10/1673.

²⁸⁴ ARA VOC 1252, pp.702ff., H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 19/1/1665; on the shift to Bandar-e Kong see e.g. ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/10/1673.

²⁸⁵ ARA VOC 1239, fl.1208rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 31/12/1662, speaks of 400 mule loads.

²⁸⁶ BNP FF Ms. 24.516, fl.326f.

²⁸⁷ ARA VOC 1146, fl.902rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 12/2/1644.

and attempts at redirecting the textile trade inevitably caused regular gluts in Al-Baṣra²⁸⁸. Other fabrics were known to be preferably consumed in one given region: "nimguls, which are but half soe long as the guldaers [i.e. "flowered" fine muslins used for turbans]" were considered suitable for the Basran market, but not for Iran²⁸⁹. Similarly, the black cloth captured in the Portuguese vessel "*Nossa Senhora do Bom Succeso*" bound for Al-Baṣra in 1640/41 found hardly any interested buyers in either Šīrāz or Eṣfahān²⁹⁰.

Transshipment of textiles for Ottoman markets was an essential part of activities in Safavid ports such as Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Bandar-e Kong. Muslim and Banyan traders had "Callicoe lawnes, and shaches, namely sallowes, guldaers, sursalles and cuscosees etc." carried via the sealanes to Iran, "whence they are dispersed and sould againe to second merchants in Spahan, Balzar, Bagdat etc., who transport them yet further for a their markt at Constantynople and other places, at extraordinary charge of camellhier, customes, and other exactions on the way; and yet every of these, at the first, second, and third hand, doe become a great gaine"²⁹¹. VOC servants operated on the basis that wholesale textile prices between Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Al-Baṣra merely rose by the equivalent of 6.5% import taxes levied in the latter place²⁹² (other non-shop-owning traders had to include freight costs into their expenses). A detailed examination of price differentials for textiles between the two markets in the mid-1670's yielded a more optimistic picture, but the economic viability of a factory to be established in Al-Baṣra was questioned nonetheless²⁹³:

²⁸⁸ *EFI* VII, 273ff.: R. Cranmer and council, Al-Baṣra, to London, dated 31/7/1645; see also: ARA VOC 1152, fl.254rff.: D. Sarcerius, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 9/1/1646.

²⁸⁹ *EFI* VIII, 109ff.: R. Heynes et al., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 4/3/1647; for other examples see ARA VOC 1152, fl.254rff.: D. Sarcerius, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 9/1/1646, on differences between the Mesopotamian and Iranian markets.

²⁹⁰ ARA VOC 1135, fl.802rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 9/5/1641.

²⁹¹ See *EFI* IV, 120ff., 124: Pres. Rastell et al., Surat, to London, dated 31/12/1630.

²⁹² ARA VOC 1278, fl.1843rff.: "*Memorie...*" I. Goske, 28/4/1670.

²⁹³ ARA VOC 1307, fl.679r-v: "*Aenwijsinghe...*", ca.1675/76. The same inquiry showed that prices for coarse guinea stuffs obtained at Al-Baṣra could fall below Bandar-e ʿAbbās levels due to supply beyond market capacity.

Table 35
Comparison of Textile Sales Prices at Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Al-Baṣra (ca.1675/76)

Fabric	Sample	Prices per piece	
		Bandar-e ʿAbbās	Al-Baṣra
"Addegaris"	2.000 ps.	Ma.2.5	Ma.3.2
Dungarees (Vengurla)	2.000 ps.	Ma.1	Ma.2.6
Lungi Chautars	800 ps.	Ma.2.5	Ma.2.85
"Foppeelijs"	600 ps.	Ma.2.25	Ma.2.8
Panğrangī	720 ps.	Ma.2	Ma.2.4

Al-Baṣra functioned primarily as gateway to the wider regions of the Ottoman Empire²⁹⁴. But it differed from Bandar-e ʿAbbās or Masqaṭ in that it was also an important market town for an extended, immediate hinterland. In the absence of wholesale dealers Indian importers could sell textiles in small quantities to local shopkeepers²⁹⁵. Mass consumption in ʿIrāq was dominated by coarse and cheap varieties of locally produced cotton cloth, as cotton cultivation and manufacture is ubiquitous in Ottoman documents²⁹⁶. Cotton textiles were taxed in the XVIth century Ġazīre at a rate well below the Persian and European luxury fabrics²⁹⁷, and some of them may well have been of Indian provenance. Much of this locally woven cloth was dyed blue or black²⁹⁸. The preference for dark colours which the area shared with its eastern neighbours (as far as coastal Lārestān) and elsewhere in rural Central and Southern Iran

²⁹⁴ Overland trade connections to destinations as far as the Istanbul-region are recorded ever since the Middle Ages, see H. INALCIK (1960), Bursa and the Commerce of Levant, *JESHO* III, 131-147, 141 on the regular royal trade of the Bahmanid sultans in the XVth century. For the later period see also ID. (1979/80), Osmanlı pamuklu pazarı, Hindistan, İngiltere: Pazar rekabetinde emek maliyetinin rolü, *ODTU Gelişme Dergisi. Special Issue* (Ankara), 1-65; but see now for the following century especially S. YILMAZ (1992), Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun doğu ile ekonomik ilişkileri: XVIII yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı-Hint ticaret ile ilgili bir araştırma, *Bell* LVI/215, 31-68, and ID. (1992), XVIII. yüzyıl tekstil dünyasından: Hindistan ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun pamuk-ipek karışımı, *Bell* LVI/217, 775-807.

²⁹⁵ ARA VOC 1188, fl.452rff.: J. Bartelsz. et al., Al-Baṣra, to Eşfahān, dated 26/2/1652; for the activities of the CIO see e.g. ARA VOC 1285, fl.25r., dated 9/3/1672, also: P. KAEPPELIN (1908). CIO imports on the "*St.François*" sold to shopkeepers included 5.000 pieces of *nīm-bairāms*, 3.500 *dungarees*, 3.660 "*soeckerie bebipit*", 840 "*pataka*", 500 "*sjadder beroock*", 120 "*zee hazaries*", 320 *Surati qoṭnr*, 2.680 *alāğa Aḥmadabadi*.

²⁹⁶ D.RIZK KHOURY (1991), 65; see also for the high value of the *muqātaʿa-i penbehāne* of the province of Al-Baṣra: R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlement fiscaux Ottomans...*, *loc.cit.*, 245.

²⁹⁷ On the basis of Ö. BARKAN (1941), Osmanlı devrinde Akkoyunlu hükümdarı Uzun Hasan beye ait kanunlar, *TaVe* I/2, 91-106, I/3, 184-197: W. HINZ (1950), 198, on Mardin, where Yazdi silken fabrics and European textiles were taxed at a rate 50% higher than other silken stuffs, and well in excess of cotton and linen fabrics.

²⁹⁸ Indigo dyeing houses also operated in Al-Qatīf, see R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Rèlements fiscaux Ottomans...*, *loc.cit.*, 250f. Imported indigo is reported to have been transported to Hoveize, Dezful, Şūstar, Vasīt, into Ġazāʿir and elsewhere, *ibid.* 232.

possibly reflected the conservative adherence to the colours of goat's hair, of which women wove their garments locally²⁹⁹. Both for blue shades and a first treatment for black cloths, the dyestuff commonly used was indigo, some inferior qualities of which may have been grown in Hūzestān, while most was imported from Gujarat as we had seen above. Cheap Indian fabrics had made some inroads into the market for low-priced black and blue textiles as early as the mid-XVIth century, when short black cotton cloth (*roupa preta*) was exported from Cambaya to Al-Baṣra³⁰⁰ and "*canekins*" were worn in Hūzestān and lower Mesopotamia³⁰¹. It is just possible that when the export price for indigo soared in the first two decades of the XVIIth century³⁰², it became more profitable to export dyed textiles from India. With black and dark blue *bairamis* of a coarser quality becoming a staple import the local dyeing industry may well have suffered³⁰³. Coarse black textiles, chiefly from Ahmadabad, continued to provide the staple clothing for many inhabitants of lower Mesopotamia, but cheap weaves dyed in red were increasing in popularity³⁰⁴. Conversely, the price for white *bairamis* had risen considerably in the XVIIth century, and by the 1640's they had virtually disappeared from the import cargoes³⁰⁵. Their place was taken, in the aftermath of the Gujarati famine of the early 1630's, by *deriabadis*, another plain white calico.

²⁹⁹ See BNL FG cod. 580, fl.48r; E. KAEMPFER, *Die Reisetagebücher...*, loc.cit., 124f.; P.Della VALLE (1650ff.), *Viaggi...*, vol.3, 324 and R. DU MANS (1660), *Estat...*, loc.cit., 247. See for the present time R. Shahnaz NADJABADI (1992), s.v. Clothing of the Persian Gulf Area, *Elr* V, 849f.

³⁰⁰ ANTT COC fl.102: D. Manuel de Lima, Hormūz, to Goa, dated 23/7/1547 (also *OJC* III/424ff.). The Ottoman customs regulations of 1575 mention a separate duty levied on *bairamis* dyed in black, R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux Ottomans...*, loc.cit., 230.

³⁰¹ *GTT* V 137ff., 141: S. Da Costa, "*Relatorio ...das couzas de Baçora*", dated Goa 11/12/1563.

³⁰² An idea of the price development in Gujarat can be gleaned from I. HABIB (1963), *The Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556-1707*, Bombay, 86ff.: from 1595 to 1617 prices seem to have doubled if not trebled.

³⁰³ However, XVIIth century indigo re-exports from Masqat to Al-Baṣra and Al-Ḥasā are mentioned ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated 20/2/1674.

³⁰⁴ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijftelijck relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651: "alle roude ende swarte sorteringe cleeden sijn hier meede seer getrocken, werdende meest in bassora & nae bij geleegende gewesten 't geheele jaer door in quantiteyt vertiert...". The Ottoman Ġazire maintained a thriving textile production and Diyarbakır's fine red cotton cloths became a priced export commodity later in the century, see Le P. AVRIL (1692), *Voyage en divers états d'Europe et d'Asie entrepris par découvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine*, Paris, 30, who passed through the town in the 1680s; see also K. FUKUSAWA (1987), *passim*. S. FAROQHI (1979), is silent on the area. It remains to be seen whether the doctoral thesis of A. SALZMANN, New York, on Diyarbakır will address the intersecting of the Mediterranean-Levantine and Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean trade circuits.

³⁰⁵ See shipping- and pricelists, e.g. ARA CWG 296a, *Prijscourant* Al-Baṣra, dated 25/9/1645 or ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijftelijck relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

The Portuguese continued to hold a large share in the textile trade to Al-Baṣra from Sind, Chaul, Diu and Dabhuḷ, supplying via Maṣqaṭ a wide range of goods not dissimilar to those transshipped by other traders at Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Bandar-e Kong³⁰⁶. The arrival or delay of "the Portugalls armado or caphila" determined the price level in the textile wholesale market of Al-Baṣra³⁰⁷. However, hardly ever were they seen plying the trade themselves: mostly they hired out freight space³⁰⁸ on their ships or sold protection to Banyan and Muslim merchants. In the early 1650's, the market was temporarily distorted by the abortive attempt of the Mughals to monopolise the freight trade to the Persian Gulf Area. However, the volume of textiles imported for example in 1652 by the Mughal *nāḥoda* Maḥmūd Reḏā (200 bales) compared poorly to the total annual volume of in excess of 2.000 bales³⁰⁹.

From Al-Baṣra, some of the luxurious Iranian weaves, Bengali muslins³¹⁰ and white Gujarati *bairamis*³¹¹ found their way to minor centres all over lower ʿIrāq and Ḥūzestān³¹². It is possible that in the mid-1570's these imports were boosted by drastically reduced customs

³⁰⁶ ARA VOC 1135, fl.647rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 24/3/1641. For a perhaps not untypical cargo see ARA VOC 1139, fl.668r-v, Extracts from *negotieboecken*, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās 15/5/1641, for the vessel "Nsa. Sra. do Bom Sucesso", bound from Chaul to Al-Baṣra and captured by the Dutch in 1641, which among its textile bales carried 760 ps. *dungarees* (35 *lar.* p.score), 112 ps. "*caonijs*" (?) (140-160 *lar.* p.score), 25 ps. "*selaffs*" (25 *lar.* p.score), 1.702 ps. "*canekins*" (38 *lar.* p.score), 185 ps. *bairamis* (92 *lar.* p.score), 1.072 ps. "*chadars*" (42 ps. *boraels*; 180 *lar.* p.score; 1.030 ps. from Dabul; 180 *lar.* p.score), 60 ps. white *baftas* (100-130 *lar.* p.score).

³⁰⁷ *EFF* VII, 273ff.: R. Cranmer and council, Al-Baṣra, to London, dated 31/7/1645.

³⁰⁸ *EFF* VI, 251ff.: W. Thurston et al., Al-Baṣra, to London, dated 28/8/1640.

³⁰⁹ See ARA VOC 1188, fl.452rff.: J. Bartelsz., Al-Baṣra, to Esfahān, dated 26/2/1652; *ibid.*, fl.461rff.: Copy *daghregister* D. Adrichem; *ibid.*, *Factura*, dated Surat 19/5/1652; *ibid.*, fl.470rff.: Copy *daghregister* J. Bartelsz.

³¹⁰ The Ottoman fiscal document in R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlement fiscal Ottoman...*, *loc.cit.*, 274, does not refer to the provenance of the *dūlbend*. However, the mid-XVIIth century chronicler F. Lopes De CASTANHEDA, *Historia do descobrimento...*, *loc.cit.*, II/58 gives a whole list of what were probably fine Bengali muslins as staple imports to the area - "sinabafos, beatilhas, chautares, mamonas, & rêbotins." Earlier D. BARBOSA, *O Livro...*, *loc.cit.*, 261, had commented upon the importation of "synabasos, que sao sortes de panos muyto delguados dalgodam, que antre eles valem muyto, e saom muy estimados pera toucas e camisas".

³¹¹ In the XVIth century, *bairamis* imported into the Persian Gulf Area were superior white calicoes, see J.H.v. LINSCHOTEN (1599), *Navigatio...*, *loc.cit.* For early references see also CAA I, No.XXXI, 155ff., 166: A. De Albuquerque, Cananore, to King Manuel I, dated 1/12/1513, on two prizes from Chaul bound for Hormūz, laden with *bairamis*, and CAA V/153. Only in the XVIIth century, the name begins to refer to coarser, dark dyed cotton cloth, see J. IRWIN (1966), 60.

³¹² R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlement fiscal Ottoman...*, 232, lists Douraq, Hoveize, Šūštar, Dezful and Ġazā'ir.

duties³¹³. But most luxury fabrics were undoubtedly forwarded to Turkey and Syria³¹⁴ and failure of Ottoman merchants to create demand during the trading season regularly threw the price structure into disarray, often with devastating consequences for minor Indian traders³¹⁵: unable to delay their departure, they would have to sell off their bales at heavy discounts towards the end of the season. The less unfortunate would entrust their goods to a *vaktl* and could benefit from high profits to be reaped when smaller caravans bound for Damascus, Mossul or Baġdād arrived. The table below compares textile prices from the height of the trading season in July/August with those in mid-October³¹⁶.

Table 36
Seasonal Variations of Textile Wholesale Prices Al-Baṣra (Summer/Autumn 1654)

Fabric	July/August	15/10/1654	Comments
Guldaer chiagerij [Singerij]	40,41,42	35,36	p.score
Phratchamij chagerij	40,41,42	35,36	p.score
Paaus seddij	55-56	50-51	
dosararij [dohasarij]	7-7,5	7-7,5	per ps.
hesgarij [hasarij]	75,80,83,85	70-72	per ps.
tiarsera [tsaarbera] siagerij	44,45	38-39	
romaal ende chiet djoeaa [d'Joena]	25,26	23-24	
ningul't siagerij	21-22	18-19	
chiet d'heel	31-32	25,5	
chiet percalla	13-14	10-12	
chiet pattouw	13-14	11-12	
roode d'joeaa [Joena]	29-30	22-23	
roomaal d'heel paans reagij [Rengij]	32	26-27	
Guldaar Gompara	25-26	21-22	
Tsiarsera gempara	36-37	30-31	

³¹³ *GTT* V 137ff., 141: S. Da Costa, "Relatorio..." dated Goa 11/12/1563, gives a 10% import duty on textiles; R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlement fiscaux Ottomans...*, loc.cit., 228, on the reduction from 1/12 to 1/20; for customs duties under the Afrāsiyāb see above. Temporarily, rates shot up in the late 1670's to a rather arbitrary 16-20%, see ARA VOC 1349, fl.1656rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 25/2/1679.

³¹⁴ ANTT *GTT* XV-17-40; see also *GTT* V 141.

³¹⁵ ARA VOC 1285, fl.419r.: VOC servants Al-Baṣra to Amsterdam, dated 9/11/1673.

³¹⁶ ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Copy *daghregister* Al-Baṣra (first entry 30/7/1654); for the pricelist for mid-October see *ibid.* fl.279rff. Neither list includes Sindi fabrics. The Dutch rendering of names has been maintained; in brackets variations in the second list. The decline in prices is surprisingly moderate given the fact that commercial conditions rapidly deteriorated with tensions rising between the *bāṣā* of Baġdād and the Afrāsiyāb; see e.g. *ibid.*: mid-September "komt tijdingh dat de babilonischen bassa (tot op't stillen deeser ongenuchten) alle vaartuigen & coopluijden opgehouden hadde, & hier meede krijgt de negotie soo doodelijcken wonde dat alles in katswijn leijt, & wordt op de sindische doecken 4 a 5 Ra. minder als voor 8 daagen gebooden...".

phratchannij gempara	21-22	17-18	
hamanij serser	45-48	39-40	
Romaal catopseij hamani	42-44	38-40	
allegia gempara	39-40	25-26	
mandiel gempara	23,25-30	20-21	
leckhourij	27,29-30,31	26-27	
sammada [Samana]	35,36	30-31	
derriabaddij	20,21,25	17-18	
cherrabaddij	19,20,21	18-19	p.score
caninchamijs	22,24,25	21-22	
caninchamijs(<i>sic</i>) [cabdulchamijs]	16,17	13-14	
chassa gadsiapour	19,20,21	17-18	p.score
chassa mamoea [nouwara]	27,29,35,31	25-26	
chassa nayoa [Nagon]	48-50	46-48	
chassa bengalij	50,55,60,75	50,55,60,65	
guldaer bhaar	26,27	20-21	
allegia d' Molda [Malda]	63,65	50,53	
allegia [de] mouw	40,42,45 ra.	[40,42]	
allegia causarij	65,70	65,66	
romael causwij [Causarij]	70-80	70,75	
chiets Moltamij [Moltarij]	16,17-19	15,16,17	
Allegia savayessij	22,24,25-27	20,22,24,25	
black baftas (27 gaz)	33,35,37,40	30,31	
do. 20 gaz	22,23-25	20,22	
ardias:	12-13	10,12	
beraems dammadabath	21,22,23	20,21,22	
beraems d'souratta	9-10	9-10	
kannekijs mossaphijs&Moorabaddijs	6.5,6.75,7	6.5,6.75	
black cherrabaddijs	18-19	18-19	
chiets paacksij [paaqseij]	13-14	13-14	
palampoesen [pallanckpoes] chaddij	8,9,10	8,9,10	
chiets roomael banorij [badarij]	29,30,32	26,27	
Masitia sirongh [Mesitia serongie]	13-14	20,21 (<i>sic</i>)	
chiets cappanij [capparij]	13-14	12-13	p.score
romaal sijrongh [sijronsij]	31,32-35	25-26	
guldaer de kenij [deckerij]	14-15	12-13	p.score
phatchanij de kenij [phratchanij deckerij]:10-10,5		8,5-9	p.score
salon inkarra [Saloe Nickara]	14,16,20-25	13-20	p.score
salou [Saloe] (entire ps.)	13-14	13-14	p.score
black (entire ps.)	15-16	14-15	p.score
patka	17-18	15,5-16,5	p.score
cleene paatcka	14-15	11-12	p.score
argerij [agarij]	7,5-8	7,5	p.score
allegia banderij	70-72	55-60	p.score
s'jalaalseijs	15,17,18	15,17,18	p.score
coutenij	4,75-5	4,75-5	per ps.
atlassen	4-4,5	4-4,5	per ps.

Table 37
Registered Textile Cargoes of Ships Calling at Al-Başra in Summer 1656³¹⁷

Fabric	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
deriabadi	100				50		25	10	40	10	25	
"chiagerijs"	25	25			25	10	20	10	40	20	20	
baftas (Ahmadabad)	25	50					25		50	20	30	5
baftas Patan (?)	10					20	40	10			30	15
baftas (Lahore/Lakhawar?)	20						10				15	
gempur		20			20	10	10	10	30	15	25	5
do. entire ps.		20										
Burhanpur-ware		5			5							
Agra-ware		20			10							
guldar Warangal		18			8	10						
chintz Multani		10							5		5	
black baftas			150	40								
white "Nermia"			50									
"Nermia coora"			75									
black bairamis			20									
(black) "kadrawasij"			20	3								
"rafta gambielij"			20									
lungi "palla"			40	12								
Mollā Ebrāhīmī			10									
lackee			75	13								
tāḡḡangī			40	4								
meyāne "kanaerdaer"			25	3								
bengālī			30	7								
galbergī			25	5								
(kad) "kanaerdaer"			60	17								
kad "miersij"			60	25								
alāḡa "Cassarij"			20									
dustar armeni				2								
white baftas ("Reserpur")				10								
coarse do.				10								
coarse salouw						10	10	10		20	10	10
chintz (entire ps.)							10					
"fraet gannij" Warangal							10					

In addition several local crafts arriving from Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Bandar-e Kong ad Masqat carrying 200 bales of various (non-specified) textiles from Vengurla, Sind and Surat and a frigate from Diu carrying 20 bales.

³¹⁷ ARA VOC 1210, fl.926r-v: "Notitie...", *i.a.q.* 11/9/1656. The carriers are: (1) Mohan Das's "Surat" from Surat (?); (2) Hāḡḡī Sayyed Beḡ's "Hugli" (?) from Surat (?); (3) three Sindi frigates; (4) VOC freight from Tatta; (5) private English vessel from Surat(?); (6) Hāḡḡī Sayyed Beḡ's "Fath" (?) from Surat(?); (7) Hāḡḡī Sayyed Beḡ's "Ilāht" (?) from Surat(?); (8) Moḡammad Bakr's "Qadr" (?) from Surat(?); (9) a ship of Aḡa Moḡammad from Surat (?); (10) Aḡa Moḡammad's "Ġaʿfar" from Surat (?); (11) a small vessel, "Karīm", of Sayyed "Setha" from Surat (?); (12) frigate of "Reel Wescer Kerou genaemt roepa".

The textile trade of Al-Basra was therefore subjected to a twofold seasonal régime, that of the monsoon and that of the Great Desert caravan travel. In 1656, when more than 2.500 bales of cloth were unloaded at Al-Basra the market was unable to absorb these quantities, as the more important caravans to Aleppo and Anatolia had already left. Unlike the Great Desert caravan traders Baġdādī purchasers could avail themselves of riverine transport facilities and would also buy outside the main trading seasons. However, we had already seen that the general opinion among maritime traders held them in low esteem because of their limited purchasing power³¹⁸.

Given the lack of exportable manufactures or raw materials the patterns of textile trade need to be linked, in an international perspective, to the availability of precious metals. Considering the almost certain premium paid on bullion in the Indian regions it made economic sense for Indian merchants to exchange cheap textiles for precious metals in the Persian Gulf Area³¹⁹. When the Safavid government imposed stricter controls on the export of specie, merchants widely anticipated the transfer of large sections of the Eşfahān-based transit textile trade to the Ottoman Empire to Al-Basra³²⁰. In the event, the development which might have inaugurated a significant shift of trade routes was curtailed by the Ottoman assault on the Afrasiyāb.

³¹⁸ ARA VOC 1210, fl.929rff.: Jan Barra, Al-Basra, to Surat, dated 11/9/1656 gives the following sales to Baġdādī merchants: 50 scores *guldar valanger* [i.e. probably from Warangal in Golkondā] (à 9 ra.), 50 do. coarse *bethilles* (à 12,75 ra.), 50 do. *"faraetchanij valanger"* (à 7,25 ra.), 20 do. *rumal "cattopsaeij"* (à 27 ra.), 10 do. *hamām* (à 54,5 ra.), 10 dos. (à 29), 20 do. *chintz* (à 19,75 ra.; entire ps.), 16 do. *"taesgannij"* [i.e. possibly *iāḡganġi*] (à 28,5 ra.), 12 do. *lungi "palla"* (à 37 ra.), 16 do. *meḡāne "kanaerdar"* (à 30,5 ra.), 6 do. *"kadlanaerdaer"* (à 36,5 ra.), 8 do. *bengāl* (à 35 ra.), 16 do. *lackee* (à 42 ra.), 24 dos. *"kad mierseij"* (à 21 ra.), 18 dos. (à 21,5 ra.).

³¹⁹ By the same token, low-cost European fabrics were a difficult article to barter for costly products such as silk. This may partly explain the inability of European light-weight fabrics to make significant inroads into Levantine markets during the XVIIth century.

³²⁰ ARA VOC 1251, pp.1325ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/4/1666.

Chapter 6

THE TRADE IN FOODSTUFFS: RICE AND SUGAR

The preoccupation of historians with the position of the Europeans in Indian Ocean commerce has distracted attention from the voluminous maritime trade in basic necessities, which - with the exception of sugar - was at the periphery of European interests in the Arabian Seas.

The Rice Trade

The trade in rice, the main cash-crop foodgrain in large parts of India, has now been examined for some subunits of the early modern Indian Ocean¹, but its existence in the Persian Gulf has been neglected. Historically, rice had long featured alongside dates and fish as staple foodstuff in settlements on the Iranian shores of the Persian Gulf, but local cultivation was concentrated in lower Mesopotamia and some smaller pockets in river valleys of Fārs². In our period, Al-Baṣra, was chiefly supplied from nearby districts such as Ġazā'ir and Hūzestān³ (possible local surpluses were seemingly not exported by sea), while elsewhere the share of rice in the regional diet warranted importations from India. In other regions of the Islamic world, rice cultivation has often been seen in conjunction with processes of limited commercialisation⁴. Yet, it would seem that with the possible exceptions of the somewhat atypical island population of Hormūz in the XVIth and Masqaṭ in the XVIIth century, no interregional dependency of Persian Gulf ports on foodstuff imports developed, despite the relatively cost-effective waterborne transport available from Kanara and Bengal. While drawing on a marked imbalance of surplus

¹ For the Arabian Seas: S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1984), *The Portuguese, the Port of Basrur and the Rice Trade 1600-1650*, *JESHR* XXI, 433-462; for the Bay of Bengal: S. ARASARATNAM (1988), *The Rice Trade in Eastern India 1650-1740*, *MAS* XXII, 531-549; for Southeast Asia e.g. A. REID (1988), *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680* (vol.1 *The Lands Below the Winds*), Yale, 20ff.

² See M. CANARD (1959), *Le riz dans le Proche Orient aux premiers siècles de l'Islam*, *Arabica* VI, 113-131 and comments in A.M. WATSON (1974), *The Arab Agricultural Revolution and Its Diffusion 700-1100*, *JEcH* XXXIV, 8-35, and ID. (1983), *Agricultural Innovation in the Islamic World ... 700-1100*, Cambridge, 15ff. For rice in the regional diet during the period in which its expansion spread see also M.M. AHSAN (1979), *Social Life under the Abbasids*, London etc., 90ff. For Iran see now also the comments in F. RAHİMĪ LĀHEĠĀNĪ (1988), s.v. However, on the paucity of price data for rice even for 'Irāq see E. ASHTOR (1969), *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris, 45f. and 103 and M.M. AHSAN (1979) 140f.

³ See R. MANTRAN (ed.) (1967), *Règlements fiscaux ottomans...*, *passim*; see also D. Rizk KHOURY (1991), 65.

⁴ See for Northern Anatolia, H. ISLAMOĞLU-İNAN (1988), *Les paysans, le marché et l'état en Anatolie au XVIe siècle*, *AESC* XLIII/5, 1025-1043, especially 1036, and EAD. (1991), *Peasants, Commercialization and Legitimation of State Power in XVIth Century Anatolia*, in: C. KEYDER / F. TABAK (eds.) (1991), *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, New York, 57-76. See also H. INALCIK (1982), *Rice-Cultivation and the çeltükçi-re'āyā System in the Ottoman Empire*, *Turcica* XIV, 69-141. On Bengal see O. PRAKASH (1985), 24ff.

and deficit regions, Indian rice exports to the Persian Gulf Area seem to have been motivated by navigational necessities, which required ballast cargoes, and as the main ingredient of the diet of sailors and traders travelling the searoutes to and from the Persian Gulf Area⁵.

In early XVIth century, rice was a firmly established feature of exchange between the subcontinent and the Persian Gulf Area⁶, often as return freight of horse traders⁷. The importance of rice supplies for the social stability of the Hormūz is best indicated by the fact, that taxation of rice imports rested with the King of the island state even after the customs house had been taken over by the Portuguese. During the Ottoman expeditions in the Arabian Seas others trades suffered severe setbacks, but rice supplies kept being shipped across the increasingly dangerous waters of the Western Indian Ocean⁸. This was all the more important in the 1540's as those years were seemingly marked by wide-spread signs of famine⁹. Judging from later information available for Masqat, there may well have been some reexports from Hormūz to other Persian Gulf ports, but only shipments to Bahrayn are recorded as regular trade¹⁰.

In the early and mid-XVIth century, Portuguese vessels carried fine white rice from Kanara ports such as Bhatkal, Basrur, Mirjan and Honawar to Hormūz¹¹, while in the later

⁵ For the diet of "Asian" maritime traders during Indian Ocean voyages see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 210.

⁶ See for Hormūz: Pedro de Albuquerque, *capitão* of Hormūz, to King Manuel I, dated 4/8/1516, in: J.R. COELHO (ed.) (1892), *Alguns documentos...*, 388f.; see also CAA VII, 164; for Masqat: J. AUBIN (1971), Cojéatar et Albuquerque, *MLI* I, 99-134, 119.

⁷ CAA III, 376ff., 378f.: Vicente Da Costa, Goa, to King Manuel I, dated 31/10/1513, reckoned that some 8.500.000 kg could easily be exported from Goa.

⁸ ANTT COC p.41: Bastião Lopes Lobato, Hormūz, to Goa, dated 15/1/1546; see also OJC III, No.123. No such reservations are mentioned in V. Magalhães GODINHO (1982), 46.

⁹ S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1993), 94, speaks of "famine conditions ...over a rather large territory extending from the Red Sea littoral to the Deccan". For the participation of Hvāga Šams od-Dīn in the profitable rice trade to the Red Sea see L.De ALBUQUERQUE/I. GUERREIRO (1985), Khoja Shams-ud-Dīn comerciante de Cananor na primeira metade do século XVI, in: EID. (eds.) (1985), *IIª Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa. Actas* (=EHCA. Memórias XXV), Lisboa, 231-239.

¹⁰ P. TEIXEIRA (1610), *Relaciones...*, 26: "Arros que es el mas comun mantinimiento despues de los datiles, le và de Harmuz, de lo q̄ alli se lleua de la India." For rice consumption in the Ottoman province of Al-Ḥasā, see J. MANDAVILLE (1970), 499.

¹¹ Portuguese sources chiefly speak of two varieties, *arroz giraçal*, reputedly the superior quality, see ANTT DRI LIX, fl.101, and *arroz chambaçal*, possibly an inferior quality, see CAA VI, 332: Order A. De Albuquerque, Hormūz, dated 1/9/1515, referring to the wages paid to five Malabari carpenters working in Hormūz. For etymologies see S.R. DALGADO (ed.) (1919), *Glossário luso-asiático*, 2 vols., Lisboa, s.v See also Anon., *Livro que trata das cousas da India e do Japão*, ed. A.De Almeida CALADO, *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* XXIV, 1960, 1-138,

XVIth century Basrur emerged as the chief point of embarkation: the *capitães* of Hormūz regularly sent a vessel to the port to fetch supplies for the island¹². Portuguese officials found it necessary to accommodate many of the wishes of Venkatappa Nayak (1586-1629), the Ikkeri ruler who held sway over the port and its hinterland¹³, and to issue *cartazes* to his successor Virabhadra Nayak, as regular rice supplies were essential for the survival of Masqaṭ¹⁴. For it seems that after the fall of Portuguese Hormūz, no Persian Gulf port depended to the same degree on imports of Indian foodgrains for basic sustenance as Masqaṭ¹⁵. In the 1620's private Portuguese vessels and *Estado*-ships joined in the provisioning of the 'Umānī port¹⁶. By the 1630's there was a distinct possibility of the provisioning of Masqaṭ (and of the Portuguese *armada* in the Persian Gulf) falling entirely into the hands of private traders, Portuguese and Saraswat alike¹⁷, because of difficulties arising from famine conditions in India¹⁸. The price of rice in Masqaṭ was thus subjected to demand-and-supply mechanisms and, consequently, in the 1630's, led to fluctuations in the cost of keeping a garrison and an *armada* in Masqaṭ: One *fardo* of imported rice oscillated around 7.25 *lārtn*¹⁹, which indicates an average price noticeably

65; on Bhatkal see also S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1990), 126.

¹² *APO*¹ III, 228ff., 233: King Philip I to the vice-roy: formulae for *residencia*-inquiries.

¹³ *ACE* I, 91ff., 99f.: "Concelho sobre os apontamentos e condições das pazes entre el Rey Banguel e Vencatapanaique...", dated 18/11/1619.

¹⁴ See e.g. *ACE* I, 456f.: "Concelho sobre a chegada de Vitulasinay embaixador del Rey Virabadranaique", dated 21/12/1632. On the dangers of conflict with the Ikkeri ruler because of his stranglehold on rice supplies, see HAG LM XIV, No.274/5, fl.171f.: Count De Linhares, Goa, to King Philip III, dated 4/11/1630, see *BFUP* VII, 1956.

¹⁵ For Masqaṭ in the 1630's see A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, in: *APO*², IV-II-1/2, 76.

¹⁶ BNL FG Ms.1982, fl.43rff.: *Livro em que se registão todos os assentos...*, 27^a session, 27/7/1624.

¹⁷ *ACE* II, 79ff. (dated 25/4/1636); see also: A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, in: *APO*², IV-II-1/2, 71. Costs for freighting rice on private vessels were to be detracted from the funds set aside for the defense of Masqaṭ, see BNL FG Ms.1983, fl.70r.: *Livro em que se registão todos os assentos...*, 2/6/1625; see e.g. for the ship of Gaspar Pereira: *ibid.*, fl.95v.

¹⁸ *BFUP* VIII, 1958: LM XV, No.17: Count De Linhares, Goa, to King Philip III, dated 4/11/1632; see also *BFUP* XII, 1959: LM XIXD, No.91. See also AHU C.I. 11A/209: "*Relação...*", dated 12/12/1635: on investment in *fortalezas do Norte* for Masqaṭ.

¹⁹ A. BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas...*, in: *APO*², IV-II-1/2, 70f. The author equals one *fardo* with 1,5 Portuguese *alquieres*, thus probably ca.20kg. Elsewhere a *fardo* of Kanara rice is said to correspond to ca.33kg. A soldier in Masqaṭ received half a *fardo* of rice per month in addition to his 9,5 *lārtn* pay, a sailor of the *armada* daily two *sers* (ca.1kg) of rice in addition to a monthly pay of 5 *lārtn*, see *ibid.* Assuming that the *medida* had not changed in content during the intervening 120 years, provisions were more generous in the early XVIth century, see CAA VI, 297f.: Order of A. De Albuquerque, dated Hormūz 13/6/1515, when 2 *medidas* seems to have been the standard measure, see S.R. DALGADO (1919), s.v.

higher than those recorded for the same period at Bandar-e ‘Abbās²⁰. The *Estado da India* implemented a series of measures aimed at ensuring sufficient supply of the ‘Umānī port: one M. Teixeira De Azevedo, appointed *capitão* at Basrur, had to consent to ship a annual minimum of 130kg to Masqat, if he wanted to obtain a licence to send two private pinnaces *p.a.* to the port²¹. While the overriding concern was to sustain the Portuguese military presence in ‘Umān, Masqat was authorised to sell rice to friendly neighbouring ports when supplies were plentiful²². But in the event, we hear of constant complaints about the *capitães* of Masqat accused of hoarding the rice and selling it outside the city and to Persian ports such as Bandar-e Kong. Consequently, the trade was decreed open to all subjects of the Portuguese crown²³, but the system never quite developed into a safe lifeline for the Portuguese garrison, and the fall of Masqat was to do with the lack of foodgrain supplies as much as with military ineptitude.

After the eviction of the Portuguese, Masqat continued to import Indian rice, and the numerous Arab and Indian vessels plying this trade over the years were subjected to manifold Portuguese attacks²⁴. Whether in fact the closer dependence of Masqat on foodgrain imports derived from its navigational advantage of allowing two cross-Ocean voyages per season as suggested by a Dutch observer, is possible but not beyond doubt²⁵. In the 1660’s, Masqat functioned as entrepôt for Kanara rice transhipped for Iranian ports²⁶, although there were also

²⁰ Compare the table below; however, it is just possible, that Bocarro refers to retail prices, while figures in the Table show wholesale prices.

²¹ See S. SUBRAHMANYAM (1984), 453. In addition, he was allowed only to buy rice at Basrur once the *Estado* had completed his purchases.

²² BNL FG Ms.1983, fl.24vff.: *Livro em que se registão todos os assentos...*, 9/9/1623.

²³ ANTT DRI XL, fl.90r.: Vice-roy D. Pedro Da Silva, Goa, to King Philip III, dated 3/11/1637; for later cases see ACE II, 377f., No.135: 19/11/1642. Similar accusations had, of course, been levied against capitaes of Hormüz in the XVIth century, see APO’ III, 790f.: King Philip I to Vice-roy D. Francisco Da Gama (1597-1600); see also DOR V, 181ff., 182: D. João Coutinho, Goa, to King Philip II, dated 20/2/1619: "...alguũs Capitães leuauão de Ormuz arroz nos nauios para os portos de Persia e Arabia".

²⁴ BFUP XXXV/II, 196: LRV V, fl.60: Viceroy, Goa, to Rustamji, dated 16/3/1702; see also ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schrijftelijck relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651 and on French imports of rice to Masqat ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/5/1671.

²⁵ ARA VOC 1279, fl.902rff.: Factory Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Amsterdam, dated 4/3/1672.

²⁶ ARA VOC 1239, fl.1673rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 30/4/1663.

direct Portuguese rice ships from Goa to Bandar-e Kong²⁷. In Kanara ports, European merchants, who attempted to buy rice for their voyages, often found that prices were pushed up by competition of up to 50 vessels bound for Masqat, where profits of 100% could regularly be expected²⁸. By the mid-1670's, we hear of imports in the range of 15.000 tons *p.a.*, chiefly from the Kanara ports of Bhatkal, Basrur and Mangalore²⁹.

The trajectory of the Bandar-e 'Abbās rice trade is more difficult to sketch. Besides being a function of seasonally fluctuating demand the commerce seems to have operated to some extent as a small-scale food-crop trade to supply a purely local market. It has often been remarked that overland transport of foodgrains over long distances was too costly ever to be a profitable business. However, even for seabound traffic from Surat to Bandar-e 'Abbās the costs for packaging, lading and duties alone (not reckoning freight rates) added a further third to prime costs³⁰. One estimate reckons that under pre-famine conditions profits of 100% and more could be reaped on rice imports from Gujarat, but later 15-25% were considered more likely³¹. Exports from Mughal lands came to a virtual standstill in the early 1630's, when only European

²⁷ ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1651; for Portuguese rice imports to Bandar-e 'Abbās see e.g. ARA VOC 1349, fl.1670vff.: F.L.Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 13/4/1679.

²⁸ DR XIII, 92ff.: Abstract of letters from L. Leenerts., dated 7 and 8/2/1661.

²⁹ ARA VOC 1304, fl.473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e 'Abbās 20/2/1674. The report also mentions several hundreds of bags imported from Konkan ports, both of the common and of the *dengi*-variety. S.R. DALGADO (1919), vol.1, s.v. [new ed.], on the basis of A. LOPES MENDES (1886), *A Índia Portuguesa*, 2 vols., Lisboa, vol.1, 50, mentions "*arroz dangó*" as being grown in Portuguese India.

³⁰ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: *Factura "Wapen van Rotterdam"*, B. Pietersz., Surat, dated 20/1/1636: 15.015 man-e Surat costing 21.020 *mahmūdī* plus costs of duty, yarn, wages for sewing bags, carriers, rent of carts and crafts, customs, a total of 6.696 *mahmūdī*. See also ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: Id. Suhali, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 24/2/1636: "d'onkosten van doty tot sacken beswaeren geseyden rijs zeer, conde U.E. den Rijs sonder de Sacken vercoopen, ende de sacken, die van dubbelde dotye gemacckt sijn tot packagie omde sijde baelen gebruijcken, 't soude den rijs zeer doen verlichten. 114 sacken rijs, die mede inde facture bringe sijn ons door de Mallebaeren (soo als den chamboock daermede de reviere aff naar de schepen quam) gerooft 't welck desen rijs oock vrij wat beswaert...". For profits see DR IV, 249ff., 268.

³¹ For profitability see: COEN VII/2, 1489-1492, 1490: J. van Hasell, Surat, to Batavia, 28/10/1628: "Om cattoen, toebacq, rys ende andere grove waeren, die wel de meeste proffytten geven, te laden syn de schepen vrij cleijn..."; ARA VOC fl.386rff.: "*Daghregister*" D. van der Lee, see also BGP 235 (extract): 60-100%. For the lower profits see BGP 639ff., 641: N. Overschie, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 19/1/1638. VOC servants were instructed that unless sales produced profits of 100% rice was to be returned to Batavia, see ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 24/2/1636.

traders were granted rare licences to carry some of the little rice available out of the country³² and Bandar-e ʿAbbās felt repercussions of the Gujarati famine in the form of foodgrain shortages. European and local maritime traders joined in speculatively delaying their sales of what little rice they had been able to collect³³, while English carriers were soon known to import Sindi rice to Bandar-e ʿAbbās³⁴.

In the late 1620's, local Muslim and Armenian traders had complained that in carrying rice to Bandar-e ʿAbbās the VOC encroached upon a territory which they considered their preserve³⁵. The Companies used both their own and locally hired vessels in the rice trade³⁶. In addition, this was a sector of early expansion of private trade. The VOC's first director in Iran, Hubert Visnich, pocketed handsome profits from the trade in foodgrains: "The rice is not carried upcountry, but is sold profitably in Bandar-e ʿAbbās after the departure of the ships"³⁷. A report of the late 1620's speaks of 2.500 bags (ca.190 metric tons) of rice carried by (Dutch?) private traders from Surat to Bandar-e ʿAbbās alone³⁸. English private traders were known to dispose of large scale consignments at the port especially after the rise of Bombay. Only occasionally we hear of minor officials participating in the rice trade such as one *motašaddī* who, in summer 1633, bought 20 bags at a price of 14 *lārīn* each, but later failed to pay back the debts incurred with the VOC over this purchase³⁹. On the whole, Company participation in the rice trade after

³² For prohibition of rice exports to Iran during the famine years in the 1630's see *EFI* IV, 19ff., 25f.: President Wylde, Surat, to London, dated 13/4/1630; for high rice prices see: *EFI* IV, 177ff.: J. Slade et al., Suhali, to London, dated 9/12/1631; see also ARA VOC 1103, fl.274rff.: "Memorie" Factory Surat, under 26/8/1630. However, see AHU C.I. 11A/209: "Relação...", dated 12/12/1635: on investment in *fortalezas do Norte* for Masqat.

³³ ARA VOC 1109, fl.66rff.: W. De Leeuw, aboard "Utrecht", to Batavia, dated 10/8/1632: after 2 months they earned 70-80%, but, he continues, "indien ick mijn sin hadde mogen volgen, ick soude denselven noch langer bij mij gehouden hebben".

³⁴ ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to Batavia, dated 8/4/1636.

³⁵ BGP 281ff.: J. Smit, Surat, to Batavia, dated 3/1/1629; the VOC in Bandar-e ʿAbbās had reckoned that they could import some 115 metric tons *p.a.*, see *ibid.*, 278f. In the event, both Companies occasionally supplied their factories in Bandar-e ʿAbbās with superior rice varieties from India.

³⁶ *EFI* V, 165f.: Factory Surat to Factory Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 3/2/1636; *EFI* VI, fl.84: H. Chapman, Eṣfahān, to London, 30/7/1638; see also BGP 639ff., 641: N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 19/1/1638.

³⁷ COEN V, 754f.: Resolutions, dated 5/7/1629.

³⁸ ARA VOC 1100, fl.328r-v.: "Remonstrantie..." I. Diert.

³⁹ ARA VOC 110, non-fol.: "Transport..." A. Del Court, dated 18/3/1633. We have no further information on the *motašaddī* except that in earlier years other officials in Eṣfahān seem to have drawn bills on him, which were accepted by VOC servants, see *ibid.* H. DUNLOP confuses one Naqd ʿAlī Beḡ, *motašaddī* of the list of debtors of the Dutch, see

the famine was negligible⁴⁰, except for the independent provisioning of vessels and crews during their stay in the Persian Gulf and, possibly, for the return journey⁴¹.

Quantities imported into Bandar-e ʿAbbās increased noticeably during the early 1640's but never seem to have greatly exceeded amounts consumed locally: between December 1639 and mid-May 1640, non-European ships imported a total of in excess of 20.000 *man-e Surat* (some 300 metric tons) from Surat, Dabhuḷ, a number of Malabar and Kanara ports, Masulipatnam and -transshipped elsewhere - Bengal, in excess of 25.000 *man-e Surat* in the first three months of 1641, and more than 35.000 *man-e Surat* between mid-February and mid-May 1643⁴². However, ten years later (possibly also due to Anglo-Dutch conflicts and the Mughal interference with the freight trade to Middle Eastern destinations), the amount was down to some 11.000 *man-e Surat* between January and May 1652⁴³. However, Bandar-e ʿAbbās never developed as an important wholesale market for rice⁴⁴, as local traders would only buy comparatively small quantities. On the other hand we hear of cases in which debts incurred by petty traders in the port city were paid back not in cash but in small consignments of rice⁴⁵.

It does not seem that rice was carried upcountry any considerable distance, except as provisions on caravan journeys where one expected to encounter little or no food available at the

BGP index, with Šāh ʿAbbās' I envoy to England, see Th. HERBERT (1634), *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaille...*, 27f.; on his mission in England see the comments in J. FINETT (1656), *Some Choice Observations of Sir J. Finett Touching the Reception and Precedence... of Forren Ambassadors in England*, London, 173ff., and R.W. FERRIER (1973), *The European Diplomacy of Shah Abbas I and the First Persian Embassy to England*, Iran XI, 75-92, especially 83ff.

⁴⁰ For exceptions see e.g. ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vf.: "*Rendement...*" of spring 1663 for sales of some 600 bags of rice (at a profit of 188.5%).

⁴¹ E.g. ARA VOC 1388, fl.2232vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 27/5/1683. In 1686, the Dutch factory at Bandar-e ʿAbbās found it difficult to find sufficient provisions for the trading season, see ARA VOC 1425, fl.326r-v: W. Lycopthon, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 27/9/1686.

⁴² For 1639/40: ARA VOC 1134, fl.231rf.: "*Notitie...*", for 1641: ARA VOC 1135, fl.669rf.: "*Notitie...*"; for 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.505rff.: "*Notitie...*". This latter list has one vessel from Dabhuḷ carry 80.000 man rice, probably a mistake for 8.000. In 1640/41, the Dutch captured the Portuguese "*Nsa.Sra. de Bom Successo*" and sold his cargo of 70 last rice at 100 *lārīn* per last (here a last was reckoned to be 3.000 *pond*, therefore a total of over 70.000 kg).

⁴³ ARA VOC 1188, fl.371rff.: Shipping list Bandar-e ʿAbbās. However, in 1653, the VOC found no difficulties in selling the rice cargo of a captured Portuguese vessel amounting to some 350.000 pounds (or 11.000 *man-e Surat*) at prices between 2.5 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat* for brown rice and 3,5 *lārīn* for white rice, see ARA VOC 1201, fl.806rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 30/4/1653.

⁴⁴ ARA VOC 1329, fl.1547vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/6/1677.

⁴⁵ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2310rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 7/3/1671.

halting posts. Elsewhere in Safavid Iran overland transport of rice was not uncommon, e.g. from the main cultivation centres in the Caspian lands and from the Qazvīn area to the capital Eṣfahān⁴⁶. But in the South, rice grown in the region was available throughout the year in urban centres along the road from the coast to Eṣfahān, and some account books of Company agents show daily purchases of rice for virtually every stage between Mahyār and Tadvān⁴⁷. If outside the cultivating regions rice could never rival wheat or millet-based glutinous soups (*āš*) as main component of popular diet it Indian rice seems to have featured prominently as an important basic ingredient only for recipees in upper class cookery⁴⁸. XIXth century sources concur in describing *polāw* (or *polou*) -meals as rather costly food, due to the necessity to have the degenerated Fārsī *čampe* variety (originally from India) imported from the subcontinent.

In the XVIIth century there was not one single major port for rice exports to the Persian Gulf Area: Rajapur exported some rice to Bandar-e ‘Abbās⁴⁹, Chaul⁵⁰ supplied Hormūz, Masqaṭ and later Bandar-e Kong until well into the XVIIth century⁵¹, as did Calicut⁵². It seems that with exception of Masqaṭ this traffic hardly expanded beyond the seasonal requirements for merchant fleets calling at Persian Gulf ports. Imports from Gujarat grew more important in the early XVIIth century in conjunction with a general upturn in the volume of traffic, while the inauguration of direct voyages between Coromandel and Bengal and the Persian Gulf Area led

⁴⁶ *Dar dānestan...*, loc. cit., No. 6. A.K.S. LAMBTON (1969/1991), 388, states for the XXth century: "Throughout the country the main diet of the peasant is bread except in the rice-growing area of Māzandarān where it is rice, and in the date-growing areas [i.e.: chiefly the South and South-East] where it is dates".

⁴⁷ IOR G/29/1, fl.146rff.: Journals and accounts.

⁴⁸ See B. FRAGNER (1984), Zur Erforschung der kulinärischen Kultur Irans, *WI XXII/IV*, 320-360, especially 339ff.; for more information on the use of rice see J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.4, 170ff.; here also for the higher price of rice imported from Surat.

⁴⁹ Besides freighting Company and "Courteene" ships, local traders also participated directly with vessels in this trade: see *EFF*^I VII, 276ff.: W. Pitt et al., Eṣfahān, to Surat, dated 7/9/1645; and *EFF*^I VIII, 113ff.: President Breton et al., Surat, to London, dated 31/3/1647.

⁵⁰ ANTT CSL III, fl.200rff.: A. De Sousa, Chaul, to D. João De Castro, dated 23/4/1546: "...cada ano vimte e trynta naos neste porto darroz pera Ormuz", see also CSL III, 184ff.

⁵¹ For Hormuz see *EFF*^I I, 177, on a N. Downton taking a Chaul prize laden with rice (dated 3/8/1612); for Masqaṭ e.g.: *EFF*^I III, 39: Portuguese frigate from Chaul to Masqaṭ, laden with wheat and rice (Nov./Dec.1624); or ANTT DRI LIX, fl.102r.: "*Socorros...*" 1649. For Bandar-e Kong see DR XIV, 382ff.: Abstract of letter H. van Wijck, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 5/5/1663, who also mentions a rice-laden vessel from Damão.

⁵² For the XVIth century ANTT Gavetas XV-2-36 (CAA III, 256ff.): Alvaro Vaz, Cochim, to King Manuel I, dated 24/12/1504, on a Hormūzī vessel; for the XVIIth century ARA VOC 1285, FL.1r-v: Director Bandar-e ‘Abbās to Amsterdam, dated 17/1/1673, on Calicut-based Banyans which cooperated with the EIC.

to Bengali rice⁵³ arriving at Bandar-e ʿAbbās⁵⁴ and Masqaṭ⁵⁵. Carrying Bengali rice to the Persian Gulf Area may have been a viable option for private traders (and hence by implication for the EIC whose directors' pressure for profitability prompted servants to rent out freight space⁵⁶), it did not fit into the overall Asian trading network of the VOC⁵⁷. Thus it seems that after the dispersal Hormūz' inhabitants the Persian Gulf rice trade was largely reduced to catering for periodically increased demand during the trading season in Safavid ports.

⁵³ Large scale partly commercialised rice and cash crop cultivation, in part destined for export markets in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, took off when more and more fertile alluvial lands were claimed during the colonisation process in the later XVIth century, see R.M. EATON (1987), *Islamisierung im spätmittelalterlichen Bengalen*, in: W. SCHLUCHTER (ed.) (1987), *Max Webers Sicht des Islam*, Frankfurt/M., 156-179, especially 159ff.

⁵⁴ E.g.: ARA VOC 1255, pp.879ff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/8/1667, on "zeker vrijman met sesselfs scheepje genaemt de Rosecrans" arriving from Bimelipatnam, and ARA VOC 1268, fl.1373rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/6/1668 on the ship of Nawāb Moḥammad Amīn Ḥān, from Balasore.

⁵⁵ ARA VOC 1304, fl.522rff.: N. Ritsert, Masqaṭ, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1674, on a ship from Balasore laden with rice.

⁵⁶ For one episode dating from 1712 see K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 211, when operations were based on expected returns in the range of 400%.

⁵⁷ At one stage, the VOC aimed at substituting exports of Bengali rice to Ceylon with colonial produce from Batavia, and wished to carry as bulk goods from Bengal to Bandar-e ʿAbbās sugar, see DR XIV, 442f.: Council "Raad van India", Batavia, 7/9/1663.

Table 38

Wholesale Rice Prices at Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Surat (1623-1665)

Year/ quarters	Bandar-e ʿAbbās	Surat	Comments
1623	3.11-4.62		BA: entire shipload
1624		1.69	
?	2.37		
1630	2.8-3		
1631	4-4.14		BA: normal price
	5.92-6.15	8.1-10	BA: high price
1632/1		9.24	
1632/3		4	
1633	4-4.81	4	
1634	2.96		
1635	1.18		BA: current price
1635	2.96		BA: common quality
	5.06		BA: fine quality
1636	2.07-2.96	1.6-1.97	BA: GB imports
1637	2.37-2.96		BA: Hindustani variety
	3.55-4		
	5.77-6.07		
1641		1.53-1.73	
1665	1.9		

Sources:

1623: ARA VOC 1079, fl.192r: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās 1623/24; 1630: ARA VOC 1100, fl.328r-v: "Remonstrantie" I. Diert (not dated); 1631: ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās 1631; 1633: ARA VOC 1106, fl.186vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās 1633; 1634: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās March 1634, *BGP* 474f.; 1635: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Sept. 1635, *BGP* 541ff.; 1635: ARA VOC 1119, fl.977rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Febr.1636; 1636: ARA VOC 1117, fl.774rff.: Sales Bandar-e ʿAbbās; N. Overschie, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 25/3/1636; 1637: ARA VOC 1122, fl.596rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, in: A. Oostende, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, 6/12/1636; Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; ARA VOC 1122, fl.547rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated Ahmadabad 16/5/1637 (information collected from Persian merchants at Surat); 1665: ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, 24/6/1665. For Surat: H. van SANTEN (1982), 92.

The Sugar Trade

In the early modern Indian Ocean trade sugar was the ideal ballast cargo, for it was highly profitable. Its commercial history in the XVIIth century Persian Gulf Area differed greatly from the rice trade both in volume and in the degree to which it integrated economies of the Indian Ocean region with one another, albeit never even remotely to the extent that the sugar trade was to intertwine the destinies of the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Of more immediate concern, perhaps, for this study, sugar was also the only commodity in the Indian Ocean circuit, for which the Persian Gulf region itself produced effective competition to imports from further East. Whether within the region's diet sugar performed the same passage as in XVIIth and XVIIIth century Europe, from being regarded as a luxury spice to serving as an ubiquitous condiment, almost a foodstuff itself, is difficult to tell on the basis of our biased sources. However, as we shall see, the latter part of the XVIIth century saw increasing imports of cheaper varieties of sugar to Iran, a trend which might point to such a development.

By the early XVIth century sugar was firmly ensconced as one of the main bulk cargoes exchanged between the subcontinent and the Persian Gulf Area⁵⁸, and later in the century "Alabi"-traders were known to re-export sugar from Hormūz to Al-Baṣra⁵⁹. In a wider historic perspective, this information is somewhat unexpected, for although for the 'Abbāsīd caliphate we hear of an East-West trade in fine white sugar from Makrān to Mesopotamia, sugar plantations of Hūzestān were undoubtedly more important for local consumption⁶⁰. There is some medieval evidence for sugar being transported overland from Egypt to Mesopotamia and from Baḡdād into Iran⁶¹, but local production in 'Irāq does not seem to have been touched by the partial *renversement* of the Mediterranean sugar trade after the rise of Portuguese colonial plantations

⁵⁸ E.g. Pedro de Albuquerque, *capitão* of Hormūz, to King Manuel I, dated 4/8/1516, in: J.R. COELHO (ed.) (1892), *Alguns documentos...*, 388f.; see also CAA VII, 164.

⁵⁹ BFUP XIV/XVI, 1960, 601f.: Luis Leitão Coutinho, Hormūz, to King Philip I, dated 18/10/1589.

⁶⁰ G. LE STRANGE (1905), *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 246 and 329; see also the etymological vicinity of *hūz*, sugar cane, and Hūzestān. For early contributions to the debate on the spread of the sugar cane through the Persian Gulf Area see the geographer C. RITTER (1840), *Über die geographische Verbreitung des Zuckerrohrs*, Berlin, and the orientalist P. SCHWARZ (1916), *Die Zuckerpressen von Ahwāz*, *Der Islam* VI, 269-279.

⁶¹ E. ASHTOR (1981), *Levantine Sugar Industry in the Late Middle Ages - A Case of Technological Decline*, in: A. UDOVITCH (ed.) (1981), *The Islamic Middle East 700-1900. Studies in Economic and Social History*, Princeton, 91-132, has two cases, see pp. 96 and 112. He also quotes Al-Qalqaṣandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣā* (vol.7, 370) on the export of Egyptian sugar to Bahrayn.

on the Atlantic islands⁶². Nor did Al-Baṣra import much Indian sugar in the XVIIth century: from Surat, the frigate of "Vonparera" carried 114 *man* of sugarcandy and Sidi Aḥmad's ship 286 *man* of powdered sugar in 1636, and of 18 non-VOC ships calling at the city in 1656, whose cargo is known, only one carried a meagre 10 bags of sugar⁶³. Quantities sold remained trifling, even when the VOC entered the Basran market later in the century with Japara sugars: in the season 1671/72, a mere 5.800lbs. of loaf sugar were sold after the close of the trading season to a Baḡdādī merchant at 20 *maḥmūdī* per *man*⁶⁴. The following season, the Dutch sold ca.3.800lbs. of the same variety at 16 *maḥmūdī*, while local shopkeepers bought from CIO traders ca.1.100lbs. of white sugar and ca.800lbs. of brown sugarcandy from Bantam⁶⁵. A year later, Japara loaf sugar saw its market shrink even further due to the expansion of demand for white Masqaṭī loaf sugar in the mid-1670's⁶⁶.

⁶² For some examples of Portuguese sugar cargoes destined for the Eastern Mediterranean see V. Magalhães GODINHO (1984), vol.4, 84ff.; E. ASHTOR (1981) is careful enough not to see a causal link between the import of Atlantic sugar and the alleged "decline" of the region's sugar industry. For a qualifying assessment of the evidence see also J.H. GALLOWAY (1977), The Mediterranean Sugar Industry, *GeoRev* LXVII/2, 177-192, of which he was seemingly not aware.

⁶³ On 1636: ARA VOC 1121, non-fol.: B. Pietersz., Suhali, to Batavia, dated 23/4/1636; on 1656: ARA VOC 1210, fl.926r-v: "Notitie...", *i.a.q.* probably 11/9/1656.

⁶⁴ ARA VOC 1279, fl.947rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 13/4/1672; the local *man* corresponded to of 25 *pond*, the price hence roughly to 19.2 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat*.

⁶⁵ ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: VOC servants, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 9/3/1673.

⁶⁶ ARA VOC 1292, fl.567rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Baṣra, to Amsterdam, dated 14/6/1674.

Table 39

Wholesale Prices for Sugars in Al-Basra (1654-1685)

Varieties	Year/quarter	1654	1670	1672	1673(2)	1673(4)	1685
N.N.	powder	14.4-18		11			
	candy	28.8-32.4					
Hindustan	powder		19.2				
	candy		36				
Bengali	powder						12.1-20.1
Batavia	powder		21.5-23				
	candy		34.6-35.5		25	35.5	
Japara	loaf			19.2	16.8	14.4	

Sources:

1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.238rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 30/7/1654; ARA VOC 1208, fl.279rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 15/10/1654; 1670: ARA VOC 1274, fl.739rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, Al-Basra, 19/11/1670; 1672: ARA VOC 1279, fl.952rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 28/5/1672; ARA VOC 1279, fl.947rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 31/4/1672; 1673(2): ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; 1673(4): ARA VOC 1285, fl.419rff.: VOC agents, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 9/11/1673; 1685: ARA VOC 1408, fl.829rff.: Pricelist Al-Basra, 18/4/1685; 1686: ARA VOC 1425, fl.454rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 18/1/1687; ARA VOC 1425, fl.460rff.: W. Bullestraate, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 26/9/1687.

Most of the sugar imported into the Persian Gulf Area originated in Northern India. Here, a wide range of different types of sugar-canes were grown from ancient times⁶⁷, and by our period cultivation of the *paunda*-variety had reached the stage of a fully-fledged cash-crop economy: the labour-intensive production of unrefined raw sugar (*gur*) kept soils, field labour and specialised artisans occupied for virtually the entire calendar year in a cycle characteristically encroaching upon the seasonal rhythm of other crops. In addition, soil on which sugar-cane was grown requires long periods of fallow to recover fully. If this was outweighed to some extent by a high-value yield per acre as calculated on the basis of the *Ā'in-e Akbarī* - typical for cash-crops

⁶⁷ L. GOPAL (1964), Sugar Making in Ancient India, *JESHO* VII/1, 57-72, gives twelve varieties.

and, in the area, exceeded only by indigo⁶⁸. These and other factors combined for the peasant to make sugar-cane cultivation a "cash raising and debt servicing crop rather than ...a surplus accumulator"⁶⁹ which inextricably tied peasants into credit arrangements. Again, we have little if any evidence for movements of contraction or expansion affecting North Indian production, which can in any way be linked to the Persian Gulf Area, and one is tempted to conclude that exports to Iran and Arabia accounted for too little to have a bearing on the volume peasant production and came nowhere near to equaling local consumption.

Gur could be produced in the peasant household and would be consumed locally, but while we have only incomplete information on the exact composition of sugar cargoes for the Persian Gulf Area, it seems that white refined powder sugar of superior quality made up the bulk of Company imports by European Companies from both India and China for most of the time. The refining of white powder sugar required multiple labour-intensive and time-consuming boiling and drying processes, involved the work of specialist sugar refiners and their implements and demanded greater capital outlay⁷⁰. While it certainly increased the purity of the product, the varieties thus produced created a number of transport problems. Surati traders often carried a larger percentage of sugarcandy (see table), and we also find sugar-loafs or discs. Boiling and refining processes could yield products of varying degrees of purity (and even solidity). Just which was the form under which sugar was preferably consumed in Iran could tell us something about its use - as condiment or sweetener, for preservation or decoration - and, perhaps, about the point in time in which to watch the Persian "sweet tooth" developing outside a restricted luxurious environment⁷¹. Desirable though it would be both for the student of problems regarding the allocation of labour and resources in India and for the historian of nutrition in Iran

⁶⁸ See S. MOOSVI (1987), 87ff.

⁶⁹ The most comprehensive recent study on aspects of cane-processing, marketing and financing in Upper India is S. AMIN (1984), *Sugarcane and Sugar in Gorakhpur. An Inquiry into Peasant Production for Capitalist Enterprise in Colonial India*, Delhi etc. The quote *ibid.*, 70, refers to the late XIXth/early XXth century.

⁷⁰ For some information on pre-industrial processing technology in Northern India see H. NAQVI (1968), 247ff.

⁷¹ The "triangular oppositions/combinations" (*sic*) suggested in K.N. CHAUDHURI (1990), 161, for the cultural definition of basic necessities of life (food, clothing, housing), while rightly disputing the logic of LÉVI-STRAUSS' binary oppositions in food preparations, include a category "food taste" (salt, sour, bitter/sweet), which in itself falls short of satisfying the historian: it assumes an objective taxonomy of scientifically verifiable tastes the existence of which is not beyond doubt as shown by research by nutritionists and psychologists; see the discussion in S.W. MINTZ (1986), *Sweetness and Power*, Harmondsworth, 229f.N.19.

to have detailed information on the form in which sugar was refined, traded and consumed, our sources only give a very patchy picture⁷².

A number of North Indian sugars were imported by Iran. Early XVIIth century sources distinguish between powdered sugars from Lahore and Surat and loaf-sugar from Surat and Agra. Agra sugars were exported either via Surat or via Lahore, and it seems that some was carried overland⁷³. It became soon evident that Sindi traders were able to capitalise on cheaper transport costs to the port of Tatta: "Their custome is to hire carts from Agra to Multan ...[where] they embarque it and with all charges of customes included costs them not above one rupee per maund fromt hence to Tutta". Freight costs to from Tatta to Iran on local vessels amounted to 7 rupee (or 17 *lārīn*) per *harwār* (or eight local *man*)⁷⁴. Similarly, Lahori merchants could use the navigable Indus as a relatively cheap artery of communication for bulky goods such as sugar⁷⁵. F. Pelsaert also speaks of sugar-cane cultivation in the Multan area and says that some of its produce was also sent to Lahore⁷⁶. The Portuguese dominated the Sindi sugar trade and also carried much of the Panjābī produce for some decades after 1622. However, for the trade through Bandar-e ʿAbbās imports from Surat became soon more important, mostly sugars of North Indian or to a lesser extent of Gujarati origin. At Surat, EIC, English private traders and Muslim merchants also transshipped Lahori sugars which had been embarked in Sindi ports⁷⁷. Price formation of the export markets was intimately linked to the production areas: dramatic price rises for *gur* in Agra in autumn 1637⁷⁸ translated swiftly into shortages in Surat⁷⁹.

⁷² Given the large-scale involvement of European traders in the Asian sugar trade and the fact that the XVIIth century witnessed momentuous changes in the use of sugar and a concomitant growth of the "saccharine" lexicon, in the Western hemisphere (comparable evidence for Asia is as yet not available), in what follows we not attempted to describe varieties other than in the expressions of our sources; the *Ā'in-e Akbarī* for example only gives rather general categories: brown, white, refined and sugarcandy, see G. FERRAND (1920), *Les poids, mesures et monnaies des Mers du Sud aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, *JA* XIth ser., 5-150, 193-312.

⁷³ See for the seaborne trade *EFF* I, 97: Th. Kerridge et al., Surat, to Agra, dated 6/5/1619; for the overland trade in 1618 IOR E/3/6/699, Reports Th. Barker and E. Pettus, see also R. FERRIER (1976), 204.

⁷⁴ *EFF* V, 126ff.: W. Fremlen et al., Tatta, to Surat, dated 18/12/1635.

⁷⁵ See *EFF* VI, 134f.: Account of H. Bornford's Journey, dated March 1639?

⁷⁶ F. PELSEAERT (1627), *Remonstrantie...*, *loc. cit.*, 278.

⁷⁷ E.g. the voyage of the "Diamond" after wintering at Lahoribandar, see *EFF* VI, 194ff., 210: Pres. Fremlen etc., Surat, to London, dated 9/12/1639; see also ARA VOC 1134, A. van Oostende, Esfahan, to Amsterdam, dated 13/2/1641.

⁷⁸ See W. MORELAND (1923), Some Side-Lights on Life in Agra 1637-39, *JUPHS* III/2, 146-161, 152, probably on the basis of ARA CWG Nos. 119 and 120 (Jan.1637-Febr.1639). However, the bleep recorded in autumn 1637 did not indicate regular seasonal fluctuations, as it did not recur the following year, nor is it evident from data compiled for

Wholesale prices for powdered sugar and sugar candy at Bandar-e ‘Abbās by and large shadowed prices in Surat. If this suggests a clear linkage between the two markets, the price movements of Hindustani, Bengali and Chinese sugars in Bandar-e ‘Abbās demonstrate that the eventual sales price was determined as much by total supply and that at least initially all varieties competed directly with one another. Unlike in the textile trade the VOC’s for Hindustani sugars did not differ significantly from those of their Surati competitors, but the VOC never held a dominant position in the Hindustani sugar trade⁸⁰.

the early 1640’s in Surat, see table below. For a more detailed table, distinguishing two qualities of *gur* (here: “*zwarte suiker*”) see H. van SANTEN (1982), 97.

⁷⁹ BGP 633f.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Bandar-e ‘Abbās, dated 28/11/1637. However, it must be borne in mind that prices for powdered sugar and sugarcandy, destined for export were much higher than prices for *gur*, see for example the figures given in H. van SANTEN (1982), Table 6f. There was some discrepancy in reports about sugar prices in Bandar-e ‘Abbās in 1637, see ARA VOC 1122, fl.547rf.: W. Geleynsz., “*Memorie...*”, dated Ahmadabad, 16/5/1637.

⁸⁰ ARA VOC 1127, fl.136r-v: Sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1638, has agents of the Surati house Çelebî selling powdered sugar from Ahmadabad at 29-30 and sugarcandy at 40 *lārth*. The Banyan merchant Nan Saraf realised the same price on his sugar candy and 26-29 *lārth* on powdered sugar. In the same season the VOC sold Hindustani sugars at 20-30 and 32-40 *lārth* respectively, see table.

Table 40

Wholesale Prices for Hindustani Sugars in Surat and Bandar-e 'Abbās (1640-1645)

Year (quarters)	Surat			Bandar-e 'Abbās	
	<i>gur</i>	Powder	Candy	Powder	Candy
1640(4)				14-15	23-24
1641(1)	3.53	10.51	18.49	14-15	23-24
1641(2)		8.41	17.65	12	21
1641(3)				12.5-13	24
1641(4)	5	8.57	15.23	11.5	20-25
1642(1)	5	8.57	15.23	11.5	20-22
1642(2)	3.5	10.47	15.23		
1642(4)	3	7.61-9.52	19.03		
1643(2)	2.43	4.42-9.72	18.28	12	26
1644(1)	2	9	18		
1644(4)			18	16	
1645(4)	5.5	6.66-7.61			24-25

Sources:

Data for Bandar-e 'Abbās from: 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. van Oostende, Esfahān, to Heren XVII, 13/2/1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.738rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 24/3/1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.485r: Factura exports to Surat and Batavia, 9/3/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1643(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.610r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 30/4/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1144, fl.488rf.: W. Geleynsz. et al., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 14/5/1643; 1644(1): ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rf.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 10/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1645: ARA VOC 1152, fl.485rf.: Pricelist Bandar 'Abbās, 18/10/1645. Data for Surat compiled from H. van SANTEN (1982), Tables 6e (*gur*) and 6f (powdered sugar and sugarcandy).

N.B.: Prices for Surat in rupee per *man-e šāhghānt* (i.e. 69 *pond*)
Prices for Bandar-e 'Abbās in *lārtn* per *man-e Surat* (i.e. 30 *pond*)

Table 41

**Officially Registered Non-VOC Sugar Imports (bags) through Bandar-e 'Abbās in
Selected Seasons**

Arrival	Ship	Owner	from	Hindustan		Others
				Powder	Candy	
30/12/1640	<i>Seahorse</i>	EIC	Surat	450 (A)		10 (Ba) ¹
1641:						
17/2/1641	N.N.	Pt.private	Bengal			40 (B) ²
17/2/1641	<i>Supply</i>	EIC	Surat	100(A), 100(L)		
22/2/1641	N.N.	Gouv. Dabhul	Masuli.			150 (B) ³
22/2/1641	N.N.	Isk.Mirza Ahmad	Surat	200 (L) ⁴		
24/2/1641	N.N.	Malik Moḥammad	Masuli.			500 (B) ⁵
24/2/1641	N.N.	Hāḡḡī "Chiaetbeecq"	Surat	350 (L)		
24/2/1641	"Coetepia?"	(King of Golkonda)	Masuli.			500 (B)
24/2/1641	<i>Expedition</i>	EIC	Surat	230 (A)	20 (L)	
26/2/1641	N.N.	Fārsī	Surat	150 (L)	150 (L) ⁶	
28/2/1641	N.N.	Hāḡḡī Aḥmad	Surat	125 (L)	80 (L) ⁷	
				<u>N.N. varieties</u>		
29/3/1641	N.N.	Ḥasan Mokrī	Rajapur	48		
3/4/1641	N.N.	Nahodā "Kessengie"	Rajapur	80		
4/4/1641	N.N.	Banyan "Oddersa"	Hartwuri?	120		
4/4/1641	N.N.	Local Gouv.	Satourij?	40 ⁸		
20/4/1641	N.N.	Hāḡḡī "Chiaetbeecq"	Surat		100 ⁹	
1642:						
	<i>Aḥmadī</i>	Hāḡḡī Aḥmad	Surat		200 (L)	
	<i>Qāsemt(?)</i>	"Assawora"	Surat		300 (L)	
	N.N.	Hāḡḡī "Chiaetbeecq"	Surat		325 (L)	
	<i>Qoṭbšāht</i>	sar-e ḥayl (Golk.)	Masuli.			200 (B)
	N.N.	"Hierdiesa" (B)	Surat		30 (L)	
1643:				<u>N.N. varieties</u>		
28/2/1643	N.N.	Hāḡḡī Aḥmad	Surat		100 ¹⁰	
12/3/1643	N.N.	N.N.	Surat		30	
17/3/1643	<i>Hopewell</i>	EIC	Masuli.			700
18/3/1643	<i>Moḥammadī</i>	N.N.	Surat	37	250	
19/3/1643	N.N.	sar-e ḥayl (Golk.)	Masuli.			750 ¹¹
28/3/1643	<i>Mastḥ(?)</i>	N.N.	Surat	50	200	
31/3/1643	N.N.	Hāḡḡī Aḥmad	Surat	23	70	
4/5/1643	N.N.	N.N.	Bengal			25
1652:						
5/2/1652	<i>Banda</i>	VOC (freight)	Surat	150	229	
7/2/1652	" <i>Jasij</i> "	N.N.	Surat	33	20	
10/2/1652	<i>Salammiatras</i>	N.N.	Surat	100	100	
3/3/1652	<i>Lenoreth</i>	EIC	Surat	200	70	

3/3/1652	<i>Mohammadī</i>	N.N.	Surat	200	30
25/3/1652	<i>Narsa Šāht(?)</i>	N.N.	Masuli.		
12/4/1652	<i>Faḥṭ</i>	N.N.	Surat	200	100
15/4/1652	<i>Ġāfart</i>	Haggi Ahmad	Surat	100	150
15/4/1652	" <i>Adrousiy</i> "	Sayyid Adrous	Surat(?)	100	200
20/4/1652	" <i>Zeid Zadera</i> "	N.N.	Surat	350	200
29/4/1652	N.N.	N.N.	Surat	100	50
14/5/1652	N.N.	N.N.	Surat	100	150

Legend: (A) : Agra / (B) : Bengal / (Ba) : Bantam / (L) : Lahore

Notes:

¹ 10 chests; ² not specified whether powdered or sugar candy; ³ bags à 4 man; ⁴ bags à 8 man; ⁵ bags à 4 man; ⁶ chests à 8 man; ⁷ canassers à 8 man; ⁸ bags à 4 man; ⁹ bags à 8 man; ¹⁰ bags à 7 man; ¹¹ bags à 4 man; ¹² bags à 5 man.

Sources⁸¹:

For 1641: ARA VOC 1135, fl.669rf.: "*Notitie...*", Bandar-e 'Abbās, probably 18/3/1641, covering 29/12/1640-18/3/1641; for 1642: ARA VOC 1146, fl.961rff.: "*Notitie...*" Bandar-e 'Abbās 1643; for 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.505rff.: "*Notitie...*", Bandar-e 'Abbās, 14/5/1643, covering 25/2/1643-14/5/1643; for 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.371rff.: Shipping list Bandar-e 'Abbās, probably 14/5/1652, covering 1/1/1652-14/5/1652.

Bengali sugar was known to be in demand in Iran since the XVIth century, and just as textiles, had travelled either via the rivers Ganges and Indus⁸² or had been transshipped in ports on the Indian West-Coast⁸³. When the EIC first considered inaugurating direct voyages between Coromandel and Iran they hoped to include in their cargoes substantial amounts of Bengali sugar⁸⁴. The vessels "*Jonas*", "*Mary*" and "*Heart*", arriving from Masulipatnam in spring 1633, carried some 35.000lbs. of a white variety⁸⁵. Within less than a decade the Bengali sugar trade

⁸¹ See also ARA VOC 1134, fl.231rf.: "*Notitie...*", probably 5/5/1640, covering registered "Moorish" shipping at Bandar-e 'Abbās for the period 4/12/1639-5/5/1640: Powdered sugars from Surat (14.480 man-e Surat), Masulipatnam (2.800) and Bengal (2.800) and sugarcandy from Surat (3.620).

⁸² See Fr.G. Da CRUZ (1569), *Tractado em que se contam muito por extenso as cousas de China, con suas particularidades e assi do reyno dormuz*, Evora, IV/20.

⁸³ See for example the "*Caderno das presas que se fizeram*" of 1510 (ANTT CC II-21-3), printed in CAA III, 13ff., 17, which speaks of "tres naos dormuz estando sobre ancora com seguros no porto de batecalaa" (i.e. Bhatkal), carrying "duzentos fardos daqure". However, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, 292, speaks of vast exports to Hormūz of "açuquar em poo, que ha tera [scil. de Bhatkal] daa em muyta abastança", an information repeated, of course, in the so-called "*geografia quinhentista*", ed. L. RIBEIRO, *Studia* VII, 1961, 151-318, 240. V. Magalhães GODINHO (1984), vol.4, 116f., endorses the idea of local sugar production. For imports into Cochim see ANTT CSL II, fl.275f.: A. De Sousa Chicorro, Cochim, to Goa, dated 8/2/1546.

⁸⁴ *EFF* IV, 156ff., 159: President Rastell et al., Surat, to Factory Persia, dated 10/6/1631.

⁸⁵ *DR* II, 256ff., 261.

became extremely competitive as Muslim⁸⁶ and Hindu merchants as well as Golkondā officials⁸⁷ made large purchases. In 1642, we hear of a direct voyage from Pipeli to Bandar-e 'Abbās by a Muslim ship chiefly carrying sugar, and in 1644 a Portuguese vessel arrived at Bandar-e Kong from Bengal laden with 1.000 bales of sugar⁸⁸. By 1658, Surati merchants such as Mohan Das Nan regularly sent a vessel to Bengal for sugar purchases⁸⁹, and by the early 1680s other Surati houses, such as the Çelebî, appear in Bengal's sugar markets⁹⁰. Orissa and Bengali officials, too, joined in the lucrative commerce⁹¹: in 1662, when the VOC's exemption from *rāhdār*-duties was under review by the *subahdār* in Bengal, the Dutch consented to carrying some 240 bags (ca.31.000lbs.) of sugar as freight for the *subahdār* Mîr Ğumla⁹². Private traders soon participated in the trade and we learn of a Thomas Peniston who paid a 20% freight rate for sugar carried by a EIC vessel to Bandar-e 'Abbās⁹³. In the early 1680's, the EIC agent in Bengal Matthew Vincent features as one of the main competitors of the VOC on the Iranian market for Bengali imports, loading on his two or three ships between 4.500 and 7.000 bags annually⁹⁴. Dutch private trade, too, developed out of Bengal to Bandar-e 'Abbās, and in 1668/69 374 bags of illicitly carried "private" sugar were confiscated when the Bengal-based vessel "*Duynvliet*" called at Colombo⁹⁵. In fact, transshipment of sugar cargoes in Coromandel ports was widely

⁸⁶ DR V, 215ff., 217: Abstract letter A. Gardenijs, Coromandel, to Batavia, dated 16/2/1641; on depressed sales prices in Bandar-e 'Abbās see *ibid.*, 375ff., 378: Abstract letter P. Croocq, Surat, to Batavia, dated 4/5/1641.

⁸⁷ On 200 bales of Bengali sugar in the *sar-e hayl*'s ship sent from Masulipatnam to Bandar-e 'Abbās in see DR VII, 244ff., 261: "*Verbael...*".

⁸⁸ For 1642: ARA VOC 1139, fl.538rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 7/3/1642; for 1644: ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: C. Constant, Esfahān, to Batavia, dated 15/9/1644.

⁸⁹ On one occasion he was said to have assembled 3.000 bags of sugar in record time, see ARA VOC 1226, fl.817rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/5/1658.

⁹⁰ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2653r, mentions a letter of the VOC director in Bengal to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 10/9/1681.

⁹¹ DR VII, 244ff., 290: "*Verbael...*" on Malik Beğ's ship carrying sugar and textiles from Balasore to Iran in 1643/44.

⁹² ARA VOC 1234, fl.204rff.: H. van Wijeq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 5/5/1662.

⁹³ *EFF* VIII, 131f.: J. Lewis, Esfahān, to London, dated 15/9/1652.

⁹⁴ For 1680: ARA VOC 1361, fl.592vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 2/7/1680; for 1681/82: ARA VOC 1379, fl.2648vff.: *do.*, dated 6/3/1682.

⁹⁵ ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669. On the irregularities under the then Dutch director in Bengal see also F.S. GAASTRA (1985), Constantyn Ranst en de corruptie onder het VOC personeel te Bengalen, in: S. GROENEVELD (ed.) (1985), *Bestuurders en geleerden*, Amsterdam, 126-137. Another case is recorded for 1676/77, when in Bandar-e 'Abbās 91 "canassers" of candy, eight gunny sugarcandy and 36 "canassers"

practised by European Companies even after the inauguration of direct voyages between Bengal and the Persian Gulf Area⁹⁶.

By the mid-XVIIth century a good deal of Bengal's sugar production was geared up to the export trade. If the extraordinary profitability of Bengali sugar was chiefly due to low prime costs and to credit granted in Bengal at comparatively low interest rates to merchants⁹⁷, EIC servants noticed a 40% price difference at the Hugli wholesale market between February and August/September, when the merchant fleets had left⁹⁸. Initially, the VOC carried Bengali sugars first to Batavia whence they were reexported to the Persian Gulf Area, but by 1642 the Persian factory pressed for direct voyages via the Coromandel Coast⁹⁹ and in the 1680's, the EIC resolved that Bombay should serve as storehouse for Bengali sugar when direct shipping to the Persian Gulf Area was unavailable¹⁰⁰. One can only speculate on the impact of the revised shipping schedules of direct voyages on price formation in Bengal. If, from the 1660's, the VOC held a very strong position in the Bengali sugar trade to the Persian Gulf Area, a cut-throat struggle developed at Bandar-e 'Abbās for market shares as soon as large-scale English imports arrived, with each party striving to undercut the competitor's prices: in 1660, an English consignment of 2.000 bags transshipped in Madras and sold at Bandar-e 'Abbās at 10 *lārīn* reduced the sales price of the VOC's Bengali sugars to 10,5 *lārīn*, cutting profits to an unusually

of powdered sugar were discovered by the factory's "*fiscaal*" in a house other than the official VOC storehouse, see ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 20/1/1677. The "*fiscaal*" received 1/3 of the proceeds yielded by the sale of the goods found and was not yet independent of the factory's director. For this later development see F.S. GAASTRA (1986), *The Independent Fiscaals of the VOC*, in: L. BLUSSE' (ed.) (1986), *All of One Company* (=Itinerario VII), Leiden, 91-107.

⁹⁶ DR XIV, 104ff.: Abstract letters from Coromandel, arrived at Batavia 31/3/1663 and *ibid.*, 140ff.: *do.* from Bengal; on the VOC "*Pegu*" from Bengal to Masulipatnam and the EIC freighting 1.000 bales on a "gourab den nabab Chanchanna toebehoorende", as well as "twee groote porcus ofte inlantsche vaertuygen".

⁹⁷ ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669. This piece of information would suggest that the VOC at least could not cover all their purchases immediately with bullion imports. O. PRAKASH (1985), 90, speaks of interest rates ranging between 12-18% *p.a.*, without referring to changes over time, *do.* ID. (1987), *Foreign Merchants and Indian Mints in the XVIIth and the Early XVIIIth Centuries*, in: J.F. RICHARDS (ed.) (1987), 171-192, and ID. (1988), *On Coinage in Mughal India*, *IESHR* XXV, 475-491.

⁹⁸ *EFF* VIII, 139ff., 145: President Blackman et al., Suhali, to London, dated 10/12/1652.

⁹⁹ ARA VOC 1139, fl.471rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 19/4/1642.

¹⁰⁰ See K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 211.

low 68%¹⁰¹; in 1663, English cargoes equalled the volume of VOC imports and prices fell subsequently from 12.5, to 12 and finally 11.5 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat*¹⁰².

Over time, different Bengali sugars enjoyed varied fortunes¹⁰³ and although cultivations suffered periodical setbacks due to the devastating floods¹⁰⁴, exports to the Persian Gulf Area took off when, from 1662, access to Chinese sugar was denied by the expulsion of the Dutch from Taiwan: the VOC sent a cargo of some 140.000lbs. of the Sripur variety to Bandar-e 'Abbās to test the market¹⁰⁵. This type was found to be preferred over Hugli sugar, as it could be formed into loaf-sugar thereby responding to the requirements of the Iranian market¹⁰⁶. From the early 1660's and again in the early 1670's 1.000.000lbs. of Bengali sugars were regularly ordered from Iran¹⁰⁷. In the early 1670's annual orders dispatched to Bengal requested supplies to be composed of 50% Sripur and 50% Birbhum varieties, and to discontinue purchases of Hugli sugar, but the Bengal factory could not provide sufficient amounts of the coveted Sripur sugars¹⁰⁸. In the 1660's returns on Bengali sugar had reached the levels formerly obtained by

¹⁰¹ ARA VOC 1233, fl.101rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 31/5/1660, see also: ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: *do.*, 2/9/1660.

¹⁰² DR XV, 309ff.: Abstract letters H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia. Profits fell below 100% and orders of Bengali sugars temporarily were reduced to 700.000 *pond p.a.*, see DR XV, 552ff., 557: Abstract letter R. van Heyningen, Hugli, to Batavia, dated 31/1/1664 (*sub* 17/12/1664).

¹⁰³ In 1651 and 1652 cost factors had given sugar from the Malayan port of Patani an edge over Bengali varieties, see for 1651: ARA VOC 1188, fl.556rff.: D. Jansz. Steur, Masulipatnam, to Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 3/11/1651; for 1652: ARA VOC 1190, fl.375ff.: C. Speelman, "*Daghregister...*", last entry 6/11/1652.

¹⁰⁴ GM II, 332ff., 349: C. van der Lijn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 18/1/1649; see also GM III, 835ff., 853: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 31/1/1673.

¹⁰⁵ DR XIV, 104ff.: Abstract letters from Coromandel, arrived at Batavia 31/3/1663. In Bandar-e 'Abbās the new variety sold well, the bulk being included in a large consignment of in excess of 1.000.000 pounds of Bengali sugar at 15 *lārīn*, the rest yielding separately 18,25 *lārīn*.

¹⁰⁶ ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 24/6/1665; see also ARA VOC 1251, pp.1325ff.: *do.*, dated 6/4/1666.

¹⁰⁷ For orders in 1670/71 see GM III, 739ff., 743: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 2/9/1671; for 1671/72 see *ibid.*, 835ff., 853: *do.*, dated 31/1/1673; for orders 1674/75 and 1675/76 see O. PRAKASH (1985), 174.

¹⁰⁸ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/5/1671, and ARA VOC 1279, fl.907rff.: *do.*, 31/1/1672. At the same time, we hear of the EIC importing 10.-11.000 bags in addition to 3.-4.000 bags of sugar carried as freight, among which much Sripur sugars, see ARA VOC 1279, fl.952rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 28/5/1672. The English were to sell 7.000 of their bags, half of the Sripur, half of the Birbhum varieties, at 13,5 *lārīn*, 3.-4.000 bags of poorer qualities at 11 *lārīn*, the Banyan traders Naren (?) Das Nan sold his 2.483 bags, which did not comprise Sripur sugars, at 9,5 *lārīn*, *ibid.*, fl.954rff.: *id.*, to Batavia, dated 16/5/1672 and fl.1019rff., dated 21/6/1672.

Chinese imports¹⁰⁹, but on the Bandar-e ʿAbbās-marketplace it was considered inferior to Arabian sugars from Masqaṭ¹¹⁰. On the other hand, Bengali sugars were reported to be more profitable than those imported from Java by the early 1670's¹¹¹.

In the XVIIth century and probably connected to the rise of the Companies' Southeast and East Asian trade, Chinese and later Indonesian sugars appeared in appreciable quantities in the Persian Gulf Area. Southeast Asian sugars were less requested than certain Bengali varieties and loaf-sugar from ʿUmān, but large cargoes continued to arrive and, most of the time, were sold at prices exceeding those paid for the former types¹¹². Due to navigational constraints, Bengali sugar tended to be sold earlier, but in summer 1675 we hear of interest expressed in a cargo of Batavia sugar by a group of traders including the son of Šayḥ Ahmad¹¹³. EIC ships embarked sugar from Bantam and, occasionally, also Dutch private traders¹¹⁴, where Chinese craftsmen had established sugar refineries¹¹⁵. VOC vessels carried Japara sugar, which in Iran they tried to field against ʿUmānī imports¹¹⁶, albeit not very successfully, although it was "40% cheaper, but also of much better quality, whiter and better granulated"¹¹⁷.

¹⁰⁹ ARA VOC 1239, fl.1673rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 30/4/1663: with prime costs at fl.35.000 and sales at fl.97.731:7:8 profits topped 170%.

¹¹⁰ DR XIV,382f.: Abstract H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 5/5/1663.

¹¹¹ GM III, 779ff., 809: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 31/1/1672. We are left to speculate whether the illicit dealings of VOC servants such as C. Ranst, see F. GAASTRA (1985), also had positive side-effects on the operational smoothness of VOC purchases.

¹¹² ARA VOC 1279, fl.902rff.: Factory Persia, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 4/3/1672, on a cargo of 1.000 chests on Dutch ships and a large cargo sugar embarked at Bantam on an English ship.

¹¹³ ARA VOC 1297, fl.1013e-v: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 16/7/1675.

¹¹⁴ For the English see *EF*^I VI, 270ff., 272: Factory Surat to London, dated 29/10/1640; for the Dutch DR XIX, 148, under 1/9/1670; later, CIO ships, too, called at Bantam for sugar cargoes destined for Iran, see ARA VOC 1279, fl.1019rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Batavia, dated 21/6/1672.

¹¹⁵ See M.A.R. MEILINK-ROELOFSZ (1962), 258.

¹¹⁶ DR XV, 124: Abstract of letter from Governor General, Batavia, to Japara. Initially, Japara sugars sold cheaply in Bandar-e ʿAbbās: in 1657/58, prices for Japara sugar rose to an unprecedented 13 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat*, see ARA VOC 1226, fl.795rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 1/3/1658, while the usual sales price in Bandar-e ʿAbbās was reported to be 8 *lārīn* with a the purchasing price 6,5 *lārīn*.

¹¹⁷ DR XIV, 383f.: Abstract of letter H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Batavia, dated 5/5/1663. Elsewhere, Japara's export-sugar has been described as "brown or palm sugar, which was not of good quality", see M.A.R. MEILINK-ROELOFSZ (1962), 287.

Sales of Chinese sugar long held an important place among cash-raising commodities at Bandar-e 'Abbās¹¹⁸. The fact that before the arrival of the East India Companies, and again after the emergence of vast direct seabound imports from Bengal, Chinese sugars were more costly than other varieties possibly reflected transport costs¹¹⁹. It was not just the long distance but also the monsoon-régime which turned this trade into one of the more complex ventures. Initially, Chinese sugars competed directly against Indian varieties and timely arrival of the cargo was crucial, but the Eastern fleet could at best arrive in late spring and small delays sometimes meant that Iranian merchants had already completed their purchases and began to retire upcountry¹²⁰: In 1641, more than 5.000 chests of a VOC consignment of Taiwan sugars remained unsold for the trading season. Late arrival of the ships had also meant that no transport to the interior was available¹²¹. In addition, for some time chests embarked in Taiwan were of uneven quality, often incapable of carrying the 170-180kg of sugar, causing great difficulties and losses on unloading in Iranian ports, where it was claimed that only chests of half that weight could be handled by the workers¹²², and necessitating time-consuming repacking for caravan transport to the interior. In 1644, it was considered discontinuing direct voyages from Taiwan altogether and to have all sugar sent from Batavia instead, because, merchants in Bandar-e 'Abbās claimed,

¹¹⁸ In 1644, the Safavid *e'temād od-Doule* could be brought to reduce the value of the silk cargo the VOC were expected to accept by 1.250 *tāmdn* as supplies from Taiwan had been sharply reduced, see ARA VOC 1146, fl.973rff.: C. Constant, Esfahān, to Amsterdam, dated 13/7/1644.

¹¹⁹ For 1618 see IOR E/3/6/699, Report of E. Pettus, who has powdered sugars from Lahore and Surat selling at 21-22 and 19-20 *šāht* per *man-e Tabrtz* respectively, whereas Chinese powdered sugars were worth 28-30 *šāht*. For the later development see below table and graph and BGP 555f.: A. Smit, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, dated 10/1/1636, who says that in the mid-1630's Lahori usually sold at a price ca.10% above the average Chinese variety.

¹²⁰ GM II, 109ff., 112: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 30/11/1640.

¹²¹ ARA VOC 1139, fl.647rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to A. van Diemen, dated 21/6/1641.

¹²² ARA VOC 1139, fl.647rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to A. van Diemen, dated 21/6/1641; the Persian factory bitterly complained about the large chests, "de welke van dese arbeidsl. niet connen gehandelt worden, soo dat int ontladen der barcken van [den] 3 a 4 gemeenl. een aenstucken ende dan voorts ten deele soo 't niet geheel is, int waeter geraecken, alsoo dese luijden door haer swackheijt die niet machtich sijn te handelen, mede iser geen vat aen, sijn gladt ende slibberich van de sijroop, daer en booven dat het principaelste ende de spillinge veroorsaect, is dat de kisten soo schandelijck gespijckert zijn, en soo 't seggen dorsten, apparent niet een s naer gezien wert als ie vande Chineesen ontfangen off in een kist 10 ofte 20 spijckers zijn, alsoo hier bevinde den eenen de helft meer spijcker soo grooten swaerte als 280 a 300 catty is soodanige kisten niet houden... Soo zijn de deekels ende bodems meest al zeer ongelijck onder ende boven uijtsteekende dat in t' handelen meede veel spillinge veroorsaect, alsoo de arbeijders haer handen aen 't oversteekende slaen, ende daer meede de bodems offte deeksel afscheuren als meede int' setten inde rijmen barcken, als aen landt zijnde zeer verhinderl. want als het oneffen endt aen d'eene ofte andere cant haepert geraect het deeksel offte boodem op een eermen 't selve weeder kan helpen spilt een goede partije onder ende tusschen andere kisten...". Sugar exported from Gujarat to Iran was packed ideally in bales corresponding to size and weight of three broadclothes (EFI¹ IV, 74: P. Rastell et al., Surat, to Ahmadabad, dated 27/10/1630); in the 1640's, two bags of Bengal sugar, of ca.140 pound, made up one camelload (ARA VOC 1137, fl.128rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 30/12/1641).

earlier arrival would protect them from rapacious newly appointed officials, who were unlikely to arrive as early as December or January¹²³. Later on, the Persian factory suggested dispatching the "Chinese" vessels from the Southern point of India directly to the Persian Gulf without first calling at Surat, a strategy which would save one month and virtually guarantee early arrival in April, "when the Lārī, Šīrāzī, Eṣfahānī and Qazvīnī merchants still are all to be found"¹²⁴. However, there were also problems at the supply end: in 1643, the VOC had to turn down an advance contract offered by two merchants at Bandar-e ʿAbbās, who proposed to buy almost 900.000 *pond* (30.000 *man-e Surat*) of Chinese powder sugar, because they feared such a large amount could not be supplied by Casteel Zeelandia, which, in fact, experienced a shortage of imports from the Chinese main that very season¹²⁵.

The eventual surrender of Taiwan in 1662 to Cheng forces meant the cessation of direct Dutch imports of Chinese sugar, so far considered one of the mainstays of the Persian Gulf trade¹²⁶. By May 1662, news of the forebodings already influenced buying decisions of local traders in Bandar-e ʿAbbās and Muslim purchasers in Gujarati ports were expected to move accordingly¹²⁷. While VOC factors in Iran were concerned as to whether this development would affect bullion exports from the Persian Gulf Area to Coromandel¹²⁸ the enterprising governor of Dutch Ceylon van Goens tried to tempt Chinese sugar cultivators to settle on the island, but succeeded only in transferring some Chinese sugar mills¹²⁹. Chinese sugars disappeared from cargoes bound for the Persian Gulf Area, and while this development opened

¹²³ ARA VOC 1146, fl.928rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 24/5/1644 relates the case of "75 kisten suicker die nu becoomen ende aen [de] coopl. vercocht waeren, heeft den Sabbbandaer alle de coopl. onttrocken ende onder een gefingueert pretexts (*sic*) hij deselve voor des Coninghs keucken coopt, naer hem genoomen, daer in 't minste niet teegen doen connen...".

¹²⁴ ARA VOC 1215, fl.835rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 5/6/1657.

¹²⁵ ARA VOC 1146, fl.821rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 20/5/1643; ARA VOC 1146, fl.936rff.: M. Le Maire, Taiwan, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 25/11/1643.

¹²⁶ GM III, 403ff., 437: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 26/12/1662.

¹²⁷ ARA VOC 1234, fl.204rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 5/5/1662 and ARA VOC 1240, pp.686ff.: *id.*, to Batavia, dated 13/5/1662.

¹²⁸ ARA VOC 1234, fl.188rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 25/3/1662.

¹²⁹ GM III, 581ff., 591: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 5/10/1667.

up new opportunities for Bengali imports, it also created a niche for produce from the Malayan archipelago¹³⁰.

Persian Gulf markets promised high profits and the VOC soon adopted a policy which in moments of insufficient sugar-supplies had them preferring to send cargoes to the "*westerkwartieren*" rather than to Europe¹³¹. The VOC promoted sugarcane cultivation in the territories of the Malayan archipelago more directly under their control: from 1637, Javanese exports were sent to Europe on a very small scale (most sugars continued to be Chinese), but when, in the wake of the Luso-Dutch conflict in Brazil, in the 1640's, sugar prices in Europe (especially in Amsterdam)¹³². East Indian exports were not further encouraged: in 1644 the VOC-Governor General promised to comply with requests to send more sugar to the Persian Gulf Area instead in order to avert further upheavals of the European price-structure¹³³. However, it was premature for a coordination of supply policies for separate markets in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean: the composition of sugar cargoes to Bandar-e 'Abbās did not change beyond recognition and it would be mistaken to speak of a "revolution" in Asian trade substituting Dutch colonial produce for Indian, especially Bengali, sugars from the 1640's onwards¹³⁴.

¹³⁰ For the later development of Company exports from Taiwan see now D. MASSARELLA (1993), Chinese, Tartars and "Thea" or a Tale of Two Companies: The English East India Company and Taiwan in the Late XVIIth Century, *JRAS* 3rd ser. III/3 (forthcoming).

¹³¹ *GM* II, 403ff., 412: C. Reniers, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 10/12/1650. Profits in Amsterdam could be as low as 75%, see K. GLAMANN (1958), 155.

¹³² For a brief account see J.I. ISRAEL (1989), *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740*, Oxford, 167ff. For details see in particular M. EDEL (1969), The Brazilian Sugar Cycle of the XVIIth Century and the Rise of the West Indian Company, *Caribbean Studies* IX, 24-44; for an overview of the Brazilian sugar trade in the XVIIth century see F. MAURO (1960), *Portugal, le Brésil et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 2^e 1983(augm.); Pt.ed.: *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico 1570-1670*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1989, vol.1, 305ff.; it seems that prices on the Lisbon market, which on the whole followed the trend set by Amsterdam, declined not quite as steeply as in the Netherlands, see F. MAURO (1989), vol.2, 287: graph ("*Açúcar*"). On the effects of the Dutch intervention on the Brazilian sugar industry see also M. BUESCU (1968), *Invasão holandesa: perdas da economia açucareira*, *Verbum* XXV/4, 397-408. For price developments see also the table below; prices of Brazilian sugar recovered after the demise of the WIC and related private trade out of Brazil.

¹³³ *GM* II, 232f.: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 31/12/1644. Some believed that up to 1.800.000 *pond* could be sold in Iran, see J.J. REESSE (1908), *De suikerhandel van Amsterdam van het begin der XVIIde eeuw tot 1813*, Haarlem, 165f.

¹³⁴ K. GLAMANN (1958), 152ff., believes to have detected "no less than a commercial revolution in the Inter-Asiatic trade"; J.J. REESSE (1908), 159ff., whom he follows rather closely for this period, is more cautious, see *ibid.*, 165f.; the latter study mistakenly assumes the entry of the VOC in the Iranian sugar market in 1644 only.

Table 42

Wholesale Prices of Sugars in Bandar-e 'Abbās and Amsterdam (1631-1654) in fl. per pond

Year	Bandar-e 'Abbās					Amsterdam					
	N.N.		Bengal		China		N.N.		Bengal		Siam (unref.)
	Powder	Candy	Powder		Powder	Candy	powder	candy	powder	candy	
1631	0.41	0.66							0.54		
1632	0.41-0.48	0.23-0.73								0.71	
1633	0.45-0.5				0.23-0.3	0.36-0.38				0.46	
1634		0.5			0.25	0.36				0.49	
1635	0.32-0.4	0.46-0.5					0.49	0.55			0.26
1636	0.32-0.35	0.47-0.5				0.46	0.45-0.49	0.58			0.31
1637	0.45	0.66-0.75			0.33	0.66		0.83		0.68-0.72	0.33
1638	0.41-0.45	0.58-0.6	0.4							0.5	
1639	0.3						0.33	0.49			
1640	0.24	0.41	0.22		0.2	0.33	0.47	0.64			0.55
1641	0.24	0.41	0.19-0.22		0.16-0.2	0.26-0.4	0.35				0.51
1642	0.16-0.2	0.3	0.17		0.16	0.26-0.28					0.46
1643	0.18	0.3	0.16		0.18	0.3					0.44
1644	0.3-0.31	0.3-0.46	0.18-0.23		0.18-0.25	0.3-0.41					
1645	0.2-0.21		0.18-0.25	0.3-0.33(cy)							0.46
1646	0.18-0.25	0.31	0.2		0.2	0.31					0.65
1647			0.19-0.2		0.2	0.26					
1648			0.23		0.19-0.25	0.36					0.6
1651			0.2 (p)	0.27 (h)							0.73
1652			0.16 (p)	0.23 (h)	0.26						0.69
1653			0.14(p)-0.26	0.2 (h)	0.2						0.66
1654			0.16		0.2						0.69

Legend: cy: candy / p: Pipeli / h: Hugli

Sources:

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Sources:

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Iran was considered a safe market for sugar with vast, continuous demand: the VOC regarded experiments in the Red Sea markets as riskless "since sugars can always be sold in Persia"¹³⁵. Similarly, VOC servants felt *pancado*-sales were helped along by including sugars¹³⁶. Assuming only negligible imports from Hūzestān and the absence of local production, annual imports through Bandar-e 'Abbās may well have exceeded 3.000.000lbs. in the 1670's¹³⁷. In the 1680's, for example, the sugar trade was considered the mainstay of the Dutch commerce

¹³⁵ GM I, 663ff., 677: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 22/12/138.

¹³⁶ ARA VOC 1146, fl.918rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 10/3/1644.

¹³⁷ In 1681, imports of up to 16.000 chests of 'Umānī loaf sugar (à 120 pounds) were anticipated at Bandar-e 'Abbās, see ARA VOC 1355, fl.433r.: Resolution R. Casembroot and council, Bandar-e 'Abbās, dated 10/6/1681; in the same year English three ships imported from Bengal 11.058 bags of powdered and 190 large "canassers" of candysugar, and the VOC sold ca.935.000lbs. of Bengali and 22.000lbs. of Batavia sugar, see ARA VOC 1379, fl.2593rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 26/7/1681. VOC figures are not always reliable, as, in times of brisk demand, Company servants would forego the weighing of incoming cargoes to ensure swift delivery to the purchasing party, see ARA VOC 1241, fl.812rff.: D. van Schouten, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 6/4/1652. Compare this to an early estimate of the potential for sugars exported from Surat, which gives a figure of some 300.000 kg annually, see IOR E/3/6/699, Report Th.Barker. The absence of population figures makes it more than hazardous to venture guesses on *per capita* consumption in Iran. However, see also the equally conjectural figures in N. DEERR (1949/50), *The History of Sugar*, 2 vols., London, vol.2, 532, who gives for the first decade of the XVIIIth century a *per capita* figure of 4 lbs. for England, and F. MAURO (1989), vol.1, 313, who speaks of an annual consumption of 3.000 chests of Brazilian sugar in Portugal in the second half of the XVIIth century.

in the area¹³⁸ and the VOC was probably the largest single importer of sugars to Iran¹³⁹. The large volume of sugar imports reflected the dietary preferences in Iran, "since the principal treat Persians use to offer at all respectable meals and invitations, both before and after midday, consists of sugar confectionery and costly candied sweets; besides, much sweets are consumed in private homes, especially by women"¹⁴⁰.

Despite constant demand, wholesale prices for sugars in Bandar-e 'Abbās were sensitive to the volume in supply, indicating limits to expansion and flexibility. In 1643, it was reckoned that total powder sugar imports into Bandar-e 'Abbās had, for the first time, exceeded the maximum possible demand estimated to exist in the Persian Gulf Area¹⁴¹. VOC servants believed it would take some two to three years of less than normal imports for the old price level to be reached, "since we find it difficult to bring merchants to increase their bids once prices for goods have fallen"¹⁴². In Bandar-e 'Abbās, sugar purchasers distinguished three qualities; price differentials in one season could be up to 50%, but we cannot reconstruct a trajectory over time¹⁴³. Long storage in Bandar-e 'Abbās led to a deterioration of the product (and hence reduced prices), as climatic conditions were not conducive for the preservation of processed sugar. Sugar arriving late in the season was in danger of melting in the heat¹⁴⁴, while in winter, otherwise the ideal period for trading, sugar chests accidentally exposed to heavy rain would only

¹³⁸ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2777rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 29/6/1682.

¹³⁹ K. GLAMANN (1958), 161, has Iran as the main destination of the VOC's inter-Asian sugar trade, calculating that imports from Batavia alone amounted to 24.139.183 *pond* (804.639,5 *man-e Surat*) powdered sugars and 4.542.722 *pond* (151.424 *man-e Surat*) sugarcandy for the years 1680-1709; his figures for Bengali sugar, 5.407.558 *pond* powdered sugar and 34.755 *pond* sugarcandy must be revised upwards to well in excess of 6.199.243 *pond*, see O. PRAKASH (1985), 174f., who provides no figures for the periods 1686-1705 and 1708-1709.

¹⁴⁰ ARA VOC 1379, fl.2712rff.: Report R. Casembroot, dated Batavia 25/11/1682.

¹⁴¹ ARA VOC 1144, fl.535rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 25/2/1643.

¹⁴² ARA VOC 1146, fl.902rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 12/2/1644. However, prices soared dramatically the following year, when private merchants failed to import sugar from Hindustan and Bengal, ARA VOC 1146, fl.928rff.: *do.*, dated 24/5/1644.

¹⁴³ GM II, 7ff., 34: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 18/12/1639; nor can we tell whether these three qualities in any way coincide with the three boiling processes, which in the Levant yielded the *nabāt*, *muwassat* and *mukarrar* varieties.

¹⁴⁴ For comments on difficulties, i.e. melting, see GM V, 746ff., 772: W. van Outhoorn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 8/2/1696.

reveal a sticky, brown syrup, losing much of its original weight in the process¹⁴⁵. Similarly, sugar which had to be stored in Kerala ports often suffered as it needed to be constantly exposed to fumigation to avoid the deleterious effects of the humid climate¹⁴⁶.

Eṣfahān was probably the most important sugar market in Iran and, as there was next to no competition from overland traders¹⁴⁷, transport costs from the coast to the interior could be fully passed on to customers, in addition to the profit margin traders would reserve for themselves. Predictably, prices were generally higher in the capital than in the port cities¹⁴⁸. Only in exceptional circumstances (or, possibly, because of not fully comparable sets of data) prices dropped to levels which would make it an unlucrative enterprise to carry the bulky commodity all the way from the port to Central Iran¹⁴⁹. Demand periodically experienced peaks in the period leading up to *nourūz*¹⁵⁰. Equally important, perhaps, was the presence of the court in Eṣfahān: when Šāh ʿAbbās II spent almost a year in his palace in Ašraf "with an unbelievably large following, among whom most of the grandees, who all are wont to indulge in a rather dissolute life, and who account for the largest part of sugar consumption", prices in Eṣfahān had reached a low, as traders did not dare venture all the way to Māzandarān. When reports spoke of the court's return to the capital the price for sugars promptly rose by one *šāht* per *man-e Tabrīz* (corresponding roughly to one *lārīn* per *man-e Surat*). The sugar market was also seemingly influenced by politically motivated closures of the Ottoman-Safavid border¹⁵¹, which would suggest that sugar was carried overland across Iran into Anatolia.

¹⁴⁵ For the rains: ARA VOC 1139, fl.548rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 31/3/1642; for the summer: *ibid.*, fl.47rff.: *do.*, dated 19/4/1642.

¹⁴⁶ ARA VOC 1241, fl.631rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 17/3/1664.

¹⁴⁷ Some overland imports have been recorded for 1618, see IOR E/3/6/699, Report Th. Barker: "there is a sorte of sugar made about Agra which they bring either (*sic*) overland at great chardge and yet sell to good profit", see also R. FERRIER (1976), 204.

¹⁴⁸ In the early 1640's profits on carrying sugar from the port to the capital were reckoned to amount to 12%, see ARA VOC 1144, fl.589rff.: W. Geleynsz., Eṣfahān, to Batavia, dated 4/9/1642.

¹⁴⁹ GM II, 135f.: A. van Diemen, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 31/1/1641.

¹⁵⁰ ARA VOC 1240, fl.1409rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 30/8/1660.

¹⁵¹ ARA VOC 1117, non-fol.: N. Overschie, Eṣfahān, to Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 19/10/1635.

Table 44

Wholesale Prices for Sugars in Bandar-e 'Abbās and Eṣfahān (1628-1644)

Year (Quarters)			1628 -29	1631	1632	1640	1641	1643	1644 (2-3)	1644 (3-4)
Bandar-e 'Abbās	N.N.	Powder	34.5	25	25					
		Candy		40	44				18	26-28
	Hind.	Powder				14-15	12	12		16
		Candy				23-24	21	26		
	Beng.	Powder				13-13.5	11.5	10	11	13-14
	China	Powder				12-12.5	11	11	12	14-15
		Candy				20	16	18		18-19
Eṣfahān	N.N.	Powder	22.2					17.9		
		Candy						34.7		
	Hind.	Powder		30.5-34.25		21			29	
		Candy		44		36			34.75	27.2
	Beng.	Powder				20.5	8.5	16.3	22	25.6
	China	Powder			30	20	13	17.9	28.5	26.4
		Candy			45	30	13	26.5	26.5	34.4

Sources:

1628/1629: ARA VOC 1098, fl.604vff.: VOC sales 1628/29; ARA VOC 1103, fl.174rff.: Pricelist Eṣfahān 1628/29.; 1631: Pricelist Eṣfahān, BGP 361ff.; ARA VOC 1103, fl.224r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās 1631; 1632: ARA VOC 1106, non-fol.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās Oct.1632; ARA VOC 1106, fl.131r: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 22/10/1632; 1640: ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Eṣfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641: ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; ARA VOC 1137, fl.18r.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 10/8/1641; 1643: ARA VOC 1144, fl.516r: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/5/1643; ARA VOC 1146, fl.856r: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 16/10/1643; 1644(2-3): ARA VOC 1146, fl.924rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; C. Constant, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 23/3/1644; ARA VOC 1146, fl.968rff.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 13/7/1644; 1644(3-4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 8/10/1644; ARA VOC 1151, fl.598rf.: Pricelist Eṣfahān, 15/9/1644.

Developments in sugar sales are not easily recognisable from the data compiled for the table and graph below. Prices are given (or have been converted into) *lārīn* which operated almost as a currency of account and are not weighted against the depreciation of the Safavid currency¹⁵². It is all the more significant, then, that no clear upward trend of prices is visible: possible explanations have been suggested below, which include growing dependence of the Iranian market on ‘Umānī imports, the emergence of powerful groups of monopsonistic merchants, and interference of Safavid officials in the port administration. More important, perhaps, but largely undocumented, may have been imports through ports other than Bandar-e ‘Abbās, such as Bandar-e Kong. The most important development, however, was undoubtedly the cessation of direct imports from Taiwan, although it has to be borne in mind that some of the refined sugars carried by European competitors of the VOC from Bantam also originated from China. As they often formed part of clandestine imports through ports other than Bandar-e ‘Abbās or of secretive deals between merchants and Safavid officials, for which prices are not available, the impression of a sudden and radical change may be somewhat misleading. Similarly, the diminishing importance of Hindustani sugars suggested in the table can be explained by the bias of Dutch sources which rarely reported current prices for sugars disembarked from Muslim and Banyan ships arriving from Surat¹⁵³. Thirdly, Bengali sugars were, throughout the period examined, both cheaper and - not shown in either Tables or Graphs, but evident from the same sources - more profitable, than other varieties. Lastly it should be emphasised again that while fluctuations in prices can undoubtedly be partly attributed to variations in the volume in supply, no consistent data is available to sketch the trajectory of import volumes, other than the VOC’s, over a longer period.

¹⁵² There was no need to take into account the restructuring of the florin, as in the second half of the century, sales prices were recorded in local currencies.

¹⁵³ However, prices for the early 1640’s, for which years wholesale prices are available both for Surat and Bandar-e ‘Abbās would point to a partial integration of the two markets.

Table 45
Wholesale Prices for Sugars at Bandar-e 'Abbās (1623-1688)

Year/ quarter	H.N.		Hindustan		Bengal			Batavia		Japara	China	
	Powder	Candy	Powder	Candy	Powder		Candy	Powder	Candy	Loaf	Powder	Candy
1623/4		60.8			38							
1626					27						27	
1628											15	17
1628/9	27-34.5											
1631	25	40										
1632	25-29	14-44										
1633(2)			18	25							18	22
1633	27-30											
1633(4)			14	26							14	23
1634(1)		30										
1634(2)			15-16	25-25.66							15	22
1635(1)	24.2	28										
1635(3)	19.75	30										
1636(1)	19.75-21	30	21-21.66	30-32.2								28
1636(3)	20	28.2										
1636(4)	20			35-40							20-21.33	30-35
1637(1)			20-24	35-45							20	40
1637(2)	27-27.5	40-45										
1638			20-30	32-40	24							
1638(4)	25-27	35-36										
1639	18											
1640(2)	14.5	25										
1640(4)			14-15	23-24	13-13.5						12-12.5	20
1641(1)	14.5	25	14-15	23-24	13-13.5						12-12.5	20
1641(2)			12	21	11.5						11	16
1641(3)			12.5-13	24							12	22-24
1641(4)			11.5	20-25	11.5						10	16
1642(1)	10-12		11.5	20-22	10-10.5						10	16-17
1642(2)	11	18										
1643	11	18										
1643(2)			12	26	10						11	18
1644(1)		18			11						12	
1644(3)												25
1644(4)	18-19	26-28	16		13-14						14-15	18-19
1645					15		20					
1645(4)	12-13			24-25	11-11.5		18-19					
1646	11-15	19			12.5						12.5	19
1646/7					11.875-12.5			12.5				16
1647(1)					12.5						12.5	
1648(1)					14					13.75	11.75-15	22
1651					12 (p)	16.75 (h)						
1652					10 (p)	14 (h)					15.75	
1653(2)					8.75 (p)	12 (h)						
1653(3)					16						12	
1654					10						12	
1655/6					9.5						12.1	
1656(2)											14	
1657					12.25						16.7	
1658					13-17			13			19-27	
1659					17.5							
1660					10.5-11.5						12.5	
1661					10.5						8.5-14	
1662					15-15.25						30	
1663					16-21	18.5 (s)		21				
1664					12							
1665					11 (h/p)	13 (s)		13.1-14.25			13.6	
1666					8.75-11.25				27			
1667		19-22			9	12.66 (s)						
1669					11 (h/p)	12.2						
1670					11.5-15							
1671		25			15							
1672								15.5				
1673		20			16.75			13-20.5				
1674					12.5			14.75	35.5	14.4		
1675								11				
1676						19-20		7.5-9	20			
1677					12-15	13.5(t)-15.5(b)	30	11-15.5	24			
1678					12			15				
1679					13			16				
1680					14			17				
1681					13			18				
1682					6-10							
1683					12.75-18	10 (h)	35	24	34			
1684					14		28	18	34			
1686						12.1(b)-20.1(t)						
1687					15.25	20 (h)						
1688					15.25	20		19.5				

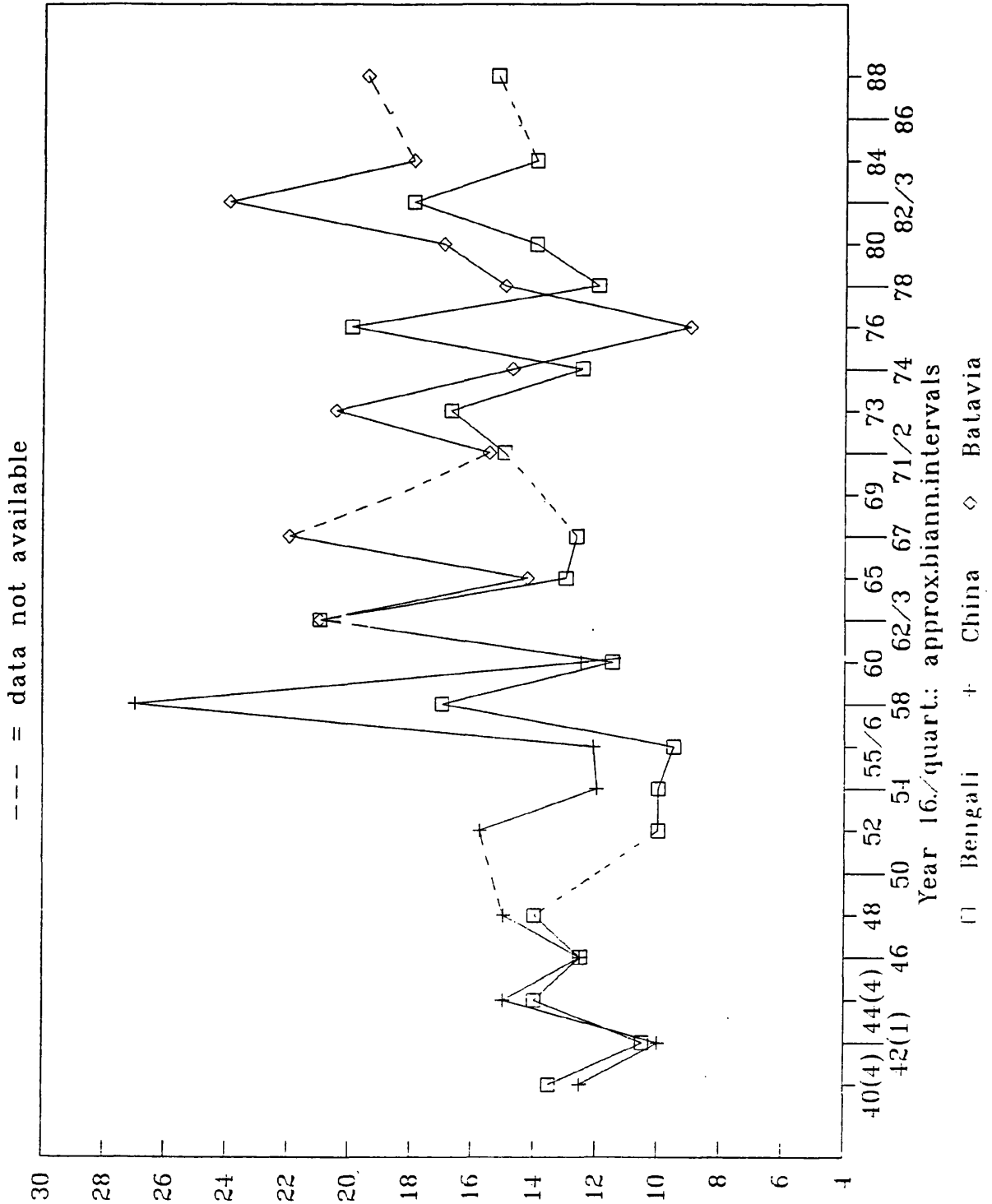
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Gardenijs, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Heren XVII, 25/1/1637; 1637(1): Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 15/3/1637, *BGP* 609; Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 25/3/1637, *BGP* 617; 1637(2): ARA VOC 1122, fl.547rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, Ahmadabad, 16/5/1637 (information obtained from Persian merchants at Surat); 1638: ARA VOC 1127, fl.111: VOC sales at Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1127, fl.136rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; ARA VOC 1127, fl.94f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās 1638; 1638(4): ARA VOC 1128, fl.299rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. Adriaensz., Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Surat, 10/11/1638; 1639: ARA VOC 1130, fl.1042ff.: A. van Westerwolt, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Coromandel, 4/4/1639; 1640(2): ARA VOC 1134, fl.222rf.: A. van Oostende, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, 8/5/1640; 1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rf.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e 'Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1641(1): ARA VOC 1135, fl.742rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, Febr./March 1641; ARA VOC 1134, fl.198rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; A. van Oostende, Isfahan, to Heren XVII, 13/2/1641; ARA VOC 1135, fl.738rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 24/3/1641; 1641(2): ARA VOC 1135, fl.733: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, May 1641; 1641(3): ARA VOC 1137, fl.18v.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/9/1641; 1641(4): ARA VOC 1137, fl.88rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/12/1641; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e 'Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rf.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.485r: Factura exports to Surat and Batavia, 9/3/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rf.: Pricelist Bandar-e 'Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1642(2): ARA VOC 1144, fl.611f.: VOC sales Bandar-e 'Abbās; W. 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Graph

Wholesale Prices for Sugars at Bandar-e 'Abbās
(1640-1688; approximately biannual intervals)



Sources:

1640(4): ARA VOC 1135, fl.628rff.: Pricelists Esfahān and Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 12/11/1640; 1642(1): ARA VOC 1137, fl.95: Pricecalculation Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 18/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.486rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, March 1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.485r: Factura exports to Surat and Batavia, 9/3/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.630rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1/1/1642; ARA VOC 1139, fl.528rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 31/3/1642; 1644(4): ARA VOC 1151, fl.827rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 8/10/1644; 1646: ARA VOC 1162, fl.30vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1646; ARA VOC 1153, fl.620rff.: W. Geleynsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 9/4/1646; 1648: ARA VOC 1168, fl.765rff.: Pricelist Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1648; ARA VOC 1170, fl.742rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 25/8/1647-4/5/1648; 1652: ARA VOC 1188, fl.444rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1652; 1654: ARA VOC 1208, fl.529rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās 1654; 1655/1656: ARA VOC 1210, fl.860r and 829rff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, 1/5/1655-30/4/1656; 1660: ARA VOC 1230, fl.312rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 23/4/1660; ARA VOC 1233, fl.87rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1660; ARA VOC 1233bis, fl.A102rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 2/9/1660; 1663: ARA VOC 1239, fl.1673rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/4/1663; ARA VOC 1239, fl.1683vff.: VOC sales Bandar-e ‘Abbās, March-May 1663; ARA VOC 1239, fl.1675rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 4/6/1663; 1665: ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 24/6/1665; ARA VOC 1253, p.1618ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 8/9/1665; 1667: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 26/5/1668; 1671/1672: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2352rff.: L. van den Duse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 15/5/1671; ARA VOC 1279, fl.907rff.: L. van der Duse, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 31/1/1672 (on November 1671); 1673: ARA VOC 1285, fl.25rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 30/9/1673; ARA VOC 1285, fl.379rff.: F. De Haze, Šīrāz, to Heren XVII, 15/7/1673; ARA VOC 1295, fl.434rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 5/10/1673; 1674: ARA VOC 1304, fl.436rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 24/5/1674; ARA VOC 1292, fl.567rff.: A. Repelaar, Al-Basra, to Heren XVII, 14/6/1674; 1676: ARA VOC 1307, fl.647rff.: Offers for VOC goods; F. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 9/5/1676; ARA VOC 1307, fl.669rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 31/8/1676; 1678: ARA VOC 1340, fl.1573rff.: F. Bent, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 18/6/1678; 1680: ARA VOC 1360, fl.1935rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 21/5/1680; ARA VOC 1361, fl.577vff.: R. Casembroot, Šīrāz, to Batavia, 3/8/1680; 1683: ARA VOC 1388, fl.2224vff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Heren XVII, 19/4/1683; ARA VOC 1388, fl.2263rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, 31/7/1683; 1684: ARA VOC 1396, fl.746rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Ceylon (?), 31/7/1684; 1688: ARA VOC 1439, fl.559rff.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ‘Abbās: VOC sales, 30/9/1688.

From the mid-XVIIth century, the market became increasingly dominated by groups of powerful merchants, who acted not individually, but as a group and thereby displayed considerable and virtually monopolistic purchasing power¹⁵⁴. In an early attempt to corner the market, two merchants at Bandar-e ʿAbbās had proposed as early as 1643 to buy almost 900.000 *pond* (30.000 *man-e Surat*) of Chinese powder sugar¹⁵⁵. In 1652, a cargo of Patani sugar was sold to a group of merchants - Ḥʾāḡa ʿAbd ol-Rezā, Mīrzā Ḥān, Šayḥ Aḥmad, Ḥʾāḡa "Mondigaer" and one Jewish trader Yūsuf - with the payment of 1.500 *tūmān* to be received from their partners in Eṣfahān - Mīrzā Šafī, Ḥāḡḡī Ḥasan, Moḥammad Moʿīn and one Yisrael Ephraim - ten days from sight¹⁵⁶. The price of this variety was a surprisingly low 10 *lārtn* per *man-e Surat* (for 12.100 *man*), compared to 14 *lārtn* yielded by Bengali imports (for 3.260 *man*)¹⁵⁷. In the third quarter of the century, Šayḥ Aḥmad emerged as the main wholesale purchaser. In 1656, he suggested to the VOC to agree to him acting as sole buyer of all the imported Taiwan sugars (and other heavy bulk commodities such as copper and tin)¹⁵⁸. When the Company refused, Šayḥ Aḥmad mustered the assistance of a number of other merchants, who, in the season 1657/58, attempted to block sales prices at 23 *lārtn*. Only on learning that the VOC had resolved to send a caravan of 500 camels laden with sugar to Eṣfahān, they gradually upped their offers, first to 24,5, some days later to 25 *lārtn*. This attempt of local merchants to corner the market backfired, as Dutch threats to turn the tables and enter the markets at Eṣfahān eventually led to the highest sales prices at Bandar-e ʿAbbās ever recorded¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁴ ARA VOC 1330, fl.967rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 12/8/1677.

¹⁵⁵ ARA VOC 1146, fl.821rff.: C. Constant, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 20/5/1643; see also above.

¹⁵⁶ ARA VOC 1190, fl.375ff.: C. Speelman, "*Dagregister...*", last entry 6/11/1652. Similarly, in 1641, 7.700 chests of Taiwan powder sugar had been sold at Bandar-e ʿAbbās for a total of 742.123 *lārtn*, "omme in Spahan te betalen op twee en drie maenden dagh", *DR* VI, 181ff., 201.

¹⁵⁷ ARA VOC 1188, fl.371rff.: Shipping list Bandar-e ʿAbbās, last entry 14/5/1652. The total amount of sugars officially registered as imported to Iran by non-VOC traders during January-May 1652 through Bandar-e ʿAbbās alone amounted to more than 1.450 bags of powder sugar and over 1.000 bags of candy sugar.

¹⁵⁸ ARA VOC 1210, fl.906rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 3/6/1653. Similarly, a group of unnamed Jewish traders bought all sugar (some 415.000 pounds) and tin (imported by the VOC in 1661/62, see ARA VOC 1240, pp.686ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 13/5/1662; these had seemingly been contracted for earlier, as the arrival of 900 bags of sugar in a Banyan vessel directly from Bengal did not interfere with the sale.

¹⁵⁹ ARA VOC 1224, fl.443rff.: J. Willemsz., Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/6/1658. It is possible that Šayḥ Aḥmad and his associates believed they had a better knowledge of Dutch sugar imports than usual, because some 700 chests of Chinese sugar had to be freighted on Banyan vessels at Surat: the owner of one of the ships, carrying 400 chests, was Mohan Das Nan.

In the later 1660's, Iranian merchants were keen to secure purchases of Bengali sugar cargoes of up to 10.000 bags prior to the arrival of the vessels at prices above the current market rate, mostly to be paid for by the Eşfahān-branches of these South Iranian houses. The offer was accepted by the Dutch and turned out to yield extraordinary profits, as the Bengali consignment was less voluminous than expected and next to no other sugar cargoes happened to arrive the following season¹⁶⁰. In 1670, a group of merchants consisting of Šayḥ Aḥmad, Mīrzā Yūsuf of Šīrāz and the Jewish trader Abram Babu reacted to information received from India concerning the lost voyage of an English ship laden with sugar from Balasore, and raised their offer for the next season to 15 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat* of Bengali sugar¹⁶¹. When in January 1671 they informed Mīrzā Yūsuf's firm in Šīrāz of the arrival of ca.1.000.000lbs., his brother wrote back suggesting payment by his factors in Eşfahān, where 1.600 *tūmān* would be handed over after the month of *Ramazān*, while Šayḥ Aḥmad saved his monopoly by swiftly buying up 1.000 bags of Bengali sugar arriving in a craft of the English trader Winter¹⁶².

The bullion-crisis in Bandar-e ʿAbbās, compounded by restrictions imposed on the traffic in precious metals grew more acute in the mid-1660's traders buying sugar for cash were offered substantial discounts¹⁶³. At the same time, a prolonged drought in countries bordering the Arabian Seas, which was inevitably followed by poor harvests and famine, led to soaring prices for victuals¹⁶⁴. The emergence of a few single large players on the Iranian market certainly exacerbated profiteering. Repercussions were felt in Eşfahān and the city was ripe with danger of food riots. The fresh memory of food shortage in the late 1660's may have helped the cause of confectioners and pastry-cooks in the capital who - possibly through the head of their "guild",

¹⁶⁰ See ARA VOC 1273, fl.1869rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 18/6/1669: Offers ran at 11.5 *lārīn* as opposed to the market rate of 11 *lārīn*; see also ARA VOC 1278, fl.1809rff.: L.v.d. Dusse, *do.*, dated 16/5/1670.

¹⁶¹ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 15/8/1670; in a later letter, *ibid.*, fl.2296rff.: *id.*, to Amsterdam, dated 15/10/1670, he only names Mīrzā Yūsuf as purchaser of 10.000 bags.

¹⁶² On the letter of Mīrzā Yūsuf's brother see ARA VOC 1284, fl.2319rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 7/3/1671; on Šayḥ Aḥmad: ARA VOC 1284, fl.2365rff.: *do.*, dated 8/6/1671.

¹⁶³ ARA VOC 1245, fl.563rff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 24/6/1665.

¹⁶⁴ For reports from Iran see: ARA VOC 1268, fl.1356rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 26/5/1668; see also ARA VOC 1266, fl.155ff. and fl.941ff.: Report, A. Boogaert, Surat, to Amsterdam, dated 8/11/1668. For Eşfahān J. CHARDIN (1711), vol.1, speaks of a famine preceding the coronation of Šafī II as Solaymān. In addition, the years around 1670 witnessed a devastating plague: for Iran see E. KAEMPFER (1712), 41; for Aleppo see ARA VOC 1278, fl.1824rff.: I. Goske, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 24/4/1670. For plague cycles and related phenomena in the wider Middle Eastern region see M. DOLS (1979), *The Second Plague Pandemic and Its Recurrences in the Middle East 1347-1894*, *JESHO* XXII, 162-189.

the *qannād-bāšī* - prompted the *E'temād od-Doule* to issue a *fermān*: "having demonstrated to the *E'temād od-Doule* that every year two or three merchants travel to Bandar-e 'Abbās, buying up all the sugar available and carrying it to Eṣfahān, where they would sell it at their discretion, so that unless they wanted their [*scil.*: the confectioners'] trade to cease altogether they had to buy their sugar at the highest prices. Since this would be to the great detriment of the entire community, they appealed to the *E'temād od-Doule* to introduce a fixed price for this commodity, which request was complied with and a decree was issued by the said *E'temād od-Doule* ordering that traders are not allowed to sell sugar for more than 12 *maḥmūdī* per man of 12 pounds (i.e.: *man-e Tabrīz*), irrespective of earlier offers to merchants in the range of 16 *maḥmūdī*." As the fortunes of merchants rested on speculative gains they needed to balance recurring periods of oversupply and slackening demand and they feared that this *fermān* was to inaugurate a policy of administratively regulated prices which would into disarray the entire structure of trade at Bandar-e 'Abbās¹⁶⁵. In the short run, merchants simply refused to sell sugar at the newly imposed rates and kept it in storehouses at Bandar-e 'Abbās, Lār and Šīrāz¹⁶⁶, and hoped that their appeal to the Grand Vizir to repeal the decree would meet with some success¹⁶⁷. The government moved swiftly, sending a courier to the port city with orders to have all the sugar of Šayḥ Aḥmad, suspected of being the main culprit, cleared from his storehouses and carried to the capital: yet, when the governor's *ḡānešīn* asked the Dutch for a list of buyers, he discovered that the Bengali sugar had in effect been sold to more than sixty traders, Muslim and Hindu alike. Notified of this new development the governor called upon his lieutenant to press ahead with the confiscation of Bengali sugar to be sent to Eṣfahān. He was also to impose heavy fines on whoever was found to have disposed of the commodity earlier. It was ironic that the governor himself headed the list as main purchaser, but eventually fines to the amount of 61 1/4 *tūmān* were collected¹⁶⁸. When merchants protested against the unlawful levying of the fines a document was issued stating that the original order had been merely to ensure that all the available sugar from Bandar-e 'Abbās

¹⁶⁵ Similarly, in the late 1670's the Safavid government tried to impose maximum prices on such imported commodities as sugar and spices. Then, the official in charge of this operation was the *amūr-šekār-bāšī*, see ARA VOC 1351, fl.2580vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 1/9/1679 and ARA VOC 1360, fl.1912rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 13/4/1680.

¹⁶⁶ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2296rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 15/10/1670 and *ibid.*, fl.2319rff.: *do.* dated 7/3/1671.

¹⁶⁷ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van der Dusse, Tadvān, to Batavia, dated 15/8/1670.

¹⁶⁸ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2310rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 7/3/1671.

and elsewhere was sent to the capital: at no time was it contemplated to fine those who had no sugar to deliver.

In an intriguing if somewhat naïve gesture to pacify the VOC, Safavid officials reassured Company servants that wholesale prices in the port were not affected by this *fermān*¹⁶⁹. As the action of the great Iranian merchants not only affected the retail trade in Eṣfahān but also paralysed the forwarding trade to other parts of the empire, it was hoped that despite the *fermān* remaining in force, traders from Qazvīn and Tabrīz flocking to the port could make up for the business lost with merchants supplying the capital¹⁷⁰. However, 1673/74 saw no Dutch sugar imports and the Surat factory was advised to sell its supplies, as even a forwarding trade could inflict no damage at Bandar-e ʿAbbās¹⁷¹.

In the later 1670's interference of local Safavid officials was increasingly felt. As early as the mid-XVIIth century, some merchants began forging close links with Safavid officials in port and province. Other officials acted distinctly against the perceived interest of the Safavid government, some bartered privately acquired silk for VOC-sugars at prices up to a third below those for royal silk¹⁷². Sugars had also often been carried by merchants in the train of Safavid ambassadors returning from Indian courts, as in the case of Moḥammad ʿAlī Beḡ, one of whose companions wished to import no less than 500 bags of sugar customs free in the 1630's¹⁷³. But in 1676, an English ship arriving from Bengal was forced by the *šāhbandar* to sell parts of its cargo of more than 1.000 bags at a mere 6,5 *lārīn* per *man-e Surat*¹⁷⁴. The following year, potential purchasers of a Dutch cargo of ca.250.000lbs. of Japara and ca.500.000lbs. of Bengal sugar were intimidated by interest expressed by the governors of Bandar-e ʿAbbās, Lār and Šīrāz;

¹⁶⁹ See ARA VOC 1274, fl.742r for a Dutch rendering of the document, the original of which has not been preserved.

¹⁷⁰ ARA VOC 1279, fl.1024rff.: F. De Haze, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, 19/9/1672.

¹⁷¹ ARA VOC 1291, fl.558r.: Factory Bandar-e ʿAbbās to Amsterdam, dated 21/3/1674.

¹⁷² ARA VOC 1139, fl.484r-v: "Factura" "N. Enkhuizen", 2/4/1642.

¹⁷³ *EFF* IV, 287ff., 289: W. Gibson, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Surat, dated 15/3/1633.

¹⁷⁴ The case of the officials rested on allegations that most of the goods claimed to be customs-exempted EIC-imports had been discovered to be in reality private traders' wares. Eventually, Šayḥ Aḥmad intervened, some brown Bengali sugar was passed through the customs house and sold at 6.5 *lārīn*, "alsoo sijluiden niet langer conden waghten en weder vertrecken moesten, sullende aen dese voyagie wel gedencken ende haer vingers over de winst niet blaeuw tellen", as the Dutch commented venomously, see ARA VOC 1307, fl.676r-v: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 6/6/1676.

it is interesting to notice that a Dutch suggestion to complain to the court while acclaimed by the minor traders was turned down by the more powerful merchants, since "these officials were their good friends, whose wrath they were unwilling to bring upon themselves." Šayḥ Aḥmad's son fully endorsed what his father considered a new and unacceptable way of doing business, as "he had always striven, by all possible means, to avoid arrangements with the [politically] powerful"¹⁷⁵. However, when the "Return" of the English agent in Bengal, Matthew Vincent, disembarked 4.500 bags of Bengali sugar (Sripur, Birbhum and Chandrakona varieties) at Bandar-e Kong in 1680, it was reported "that the *šahbandar* had combined with the important and rich Persian merchant Šayḥ Aḥmad (who had come down from Lār at the insistence of the Englishman's broker expressly to join in the sale of the said sweet cargo) to corner the entire cargo among themselves without allowing anybody else to claim a part"¹⁷⁶. Similarly, the *šahbandar* was known to collude with English private traders in the importation of Bengali sugars.¹⁷⁷

When VOC imports of Bengali sugars resumed in 1674/75, for some reason Chandrakona sugar was sent, which was considered unsuitable by potential buyers and could only be sold as *pancado* with large cargoes of copper and tin, "because it is here [*scil.*: at Bandar-e ʿAbbās] not at all requested, as it was found to be ground as fine as flour and not to be granulated, and hence not to be suitable for further processing"¹⁷⁸. This comment would suggest that sugar imported to Iran was subjected to further processes, probably the conversion of crystallised sugar into candy and loaf sugar for similar objections were raised by buyers when in 1682 English traders

¹⁷⁵ ARA VOC 1329, fl.1547vff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/6/1677.

¹⁷⁶ ARA VOC 1361, fl.592vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, dated 2/7/1680. By the mid-XVIIth century, Bandar-e Kong had become an important point of disembarkation of sugars for merchants other than the VOC: for the English "*Archipel*" see also ARA VOC 1188, fl.489r.: J. van Neck, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Al-Baṣra, dated 24/6/1652; for a Portuguese vessel from Bengal: ARA VOC 1146, fl.984rff.: C. Constant, Esfahān, to Batavia, dated 15/9/1644.

¹⁷⁷ ARA VOC 1388, fl.2232v.: J. van Heuvel, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 27/5/1683.

¹⁷⁸ ARA VOC 1313, fl.546rff.: F.L. Bent, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 20/6/1675. An urgent request to discontinue purchases of this variety was executed without delay, see ARA VOC 1329, fl.1504vff.: *do.*, dated 20/1/1677.

made an abortive attempt to introduce granulated Barbados sugar¹⁷⁹. Early in the XVIIth century loaf sugar imported from Surat similarly needed to be refined¹⁸⁰.

Neighbouring ʿUmān was to emerge as the region most suitable to satisfy the requirements of the Iranian market. Masqaṭ and other ʿUmānī ports were said to have been the chief sources of sugar for Iran before the advent of Chinese sugar¹⁸¹, but it seems that the industry experienced some expansion due to vigorous backing by the Yaʿāriba Imāms in the second half of the XVIIth century. Considering its high glucose and fructose and, in some types, sucrose content, palm sugar would appear to have been the obvious source of sugar. Yet, sugar cane was cultivated in the oasis surrounding the interior settlements of Samad, Manah, Behlāh, Sahrel, Ġabbī, Nizwā (as well as probably ʿIzkī). By the mid-1670's the manufacturing of sugar, as a export commodity second only to dates, was strictly controlled by the Imam: the making of loaf sugar was concentrated at the capital of the interior, Nizwā, where the Imam and others brought sugar cane to be pressed, boiled and processed in two refineries owned by the Imām under a 3:1 partnership arrangement with a local merchant. The resulting produce was subdivided into three qualities¹⁸² the prices of which, it was said, were determined as a function of wholesale prices at Bandar-e ʿAbbās. Independent sugar processing was seemingly of little account¹⁸³. Only later we hear of independent investment in sugar factories, such as by one Ḥimyar b. Munīr An-Nabhānī in ʿIzkī, an official of the ruling dynasty. His case is illuminating: the factories were destroyed by enraged local residents when the end of the Yaʿāriba loomed, as his investments in this cash-crop processing plant went hand in glove with a blatant disregard for traditional landownership patterns¹⁸⁴.

¹⁷⁹ K.N. CHAUDHURI (1978), 211, and quoted again as an example for the working of "consumer tastes" even in the trade of "basic necessities of life" in ID. (1985), 19.

¹⁸⁰ The reference is to IOR E/3/6/699 and E/3/6/792, the oft-quoted reports of E. Pettus and Th. Barker, which have respectively: "loafe sugar of Suratt bringeth not forth the like gayne [*scil.*: as powder sugar], for that they are forced to refyne it againe heere" and "the powder is heere refined", which we interpret as an additional cycle of remelting and reboiling.

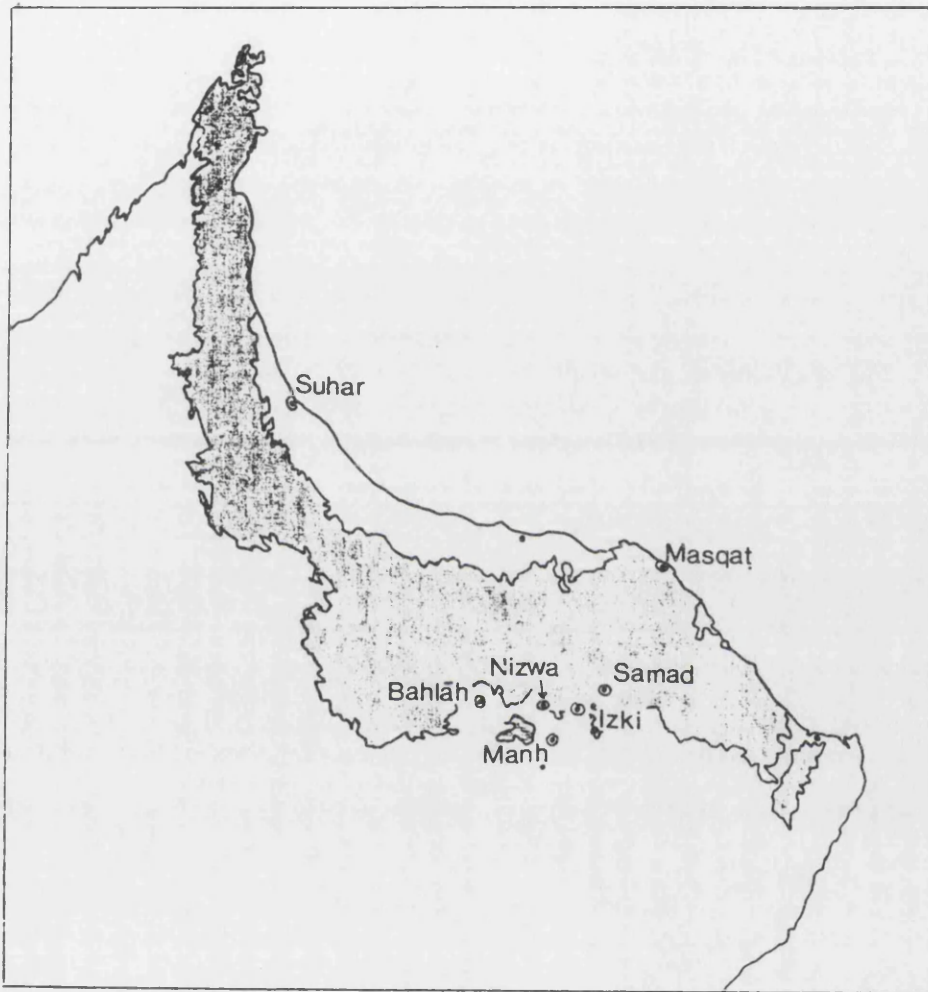
¹⁸¹ ARA VOC 1251, pp.1325ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, 6/4/1666.

¹⁸² S.B. MILES (1919), 397, writes that "the Omanis have only been able to produce a coarse treacle, and have not succeeded in reaching the crystalline stage of its manufacture".

¹⁸³ These informations are derived from ARA VOC 1304, 473rff.: Report G. Wilmsen, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 20/2/1674.

¹⁸⁴ The case is cited in J. WILKINSON (1977), 211.

Map 14
Sugarproducing centres in XVIIIth century 'Umān



If ʿUmānī sugars did not conquer a larger share in wider Indian Ocean exchange networks one reason may have been the constant and voluminous demand from Iran¹⁸⁵. As Iran was the single largest import market for sugar in the Indian Ocean trading system, it comes as no surprise that more than two-thirds of the perhaps 5.-6.000 chests (ca.1.000.000lbs.) produced in ʿUmān were exported to its northerly neighbour, either via Masqaṭ or other harbours, the remainder being sent to other Persian Gulf destinations, such as Bahrayn, Al-Ḥasā and Al-Baṣra, and even to Mohā. The volume of production was directly influenced by sales on the major markets abroad¹⁸⁶, an export-oriented policy possible only, we can presume, because it was strictly centralised under the Imamate's administration.

Masqaṭ itself was said to be destination of some imports of "black" sugar from the subcontinent¹⁸⁷. Yet, if in ca.1650 competition for seaborne Bengali sugars came primarily from imports via Lahore, with the demise of Portuguese power in ʿUmān, Masqaṭ emerged as the chief contestant¹⁸⁸. After the expulsion of the Dutch from Taiwan in 1662, the position of Arab traders improved and VOC servants feared they would soon lose what control they had over the sugar market at Bandar-e ʿAbbās. Some suggested re-entering the sugar trade from Gujarat and Bassein, or even Arabia¹⁸⁹. In 1663, merchants in Bandar-e ʿAbbās found Masqaṭī sugars exceeded comparable Bengali varieties in quality¹⁹⁰. By the mid-1660's ʿUmānī sugar production expanded as purchasers in the Persian Gulf Area found it difficult to meet the demand for ready money of importers from India, but also because Masqaṭī traders imported loaf sugar, "for which the Bengali sugar is not suitable (except for the Sripur variety), whereas Batavia sugar if formed into loaf sugar would lose too much [*scil.* weight(?)]"¹⁹¹. Masqaṭī loaf sugar was said to be used

¹⁸⁵ The conclusion in V. Magalhães GODINHO (1984), vol.4, 115, that "nunca foi região que ...avultasse no trato internacional" therefore requires some qualification.

¹⁸⁶ See ARA VOC 1304, 473rff.: Report G. Wilsen, dated Bandar-e ʿAbbās, 20/2/1674. At Bandar-e ʿAbbās, in 1663, imports of 4.000-5.000 chests (or up to 900.000 *pond*) were recorded, see DR XIV, 382f.: Abstract letter H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/5/1663, and in 1681, imports of up to 16.000 chests of ʿUmānī loaf sugar were anticipated at Bandar-e ʿAbbās, see ARA VOC 1355, fl.433r.: Resolution R. Casembroot and council, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, dated 10/6/1681.

¹⁸⁷ ARA VOC 1188, fl.538rff.: E. Boudaens, "*Schriftelijk relaes...*", dated Surat 29/11/1651.

¹⁸⁸ ARA VOC 1185, fl.574rff.: D. Sarcerius, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 25/3/1651.

¹⁸⁹ ARA VOC 1240, pp.401ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 12/4/1662.

¹⁹⁰ DR XIV, 382f.: Abstract letter H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Batavia, dated 5/5/1663.

¹⁹¹ ARA VOC 1251, pp.1325ff.: H. van Wijcq, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, to Amsterdam, 6/4/1666.

in Iran for the preparation of "šerbets and other refreshing and invigorating drinks", while Bengali sugars were employed for candied sweets¹⁹². Preferences were expressed in sales figures: in 1666/67, the Hugli variety sent in place of 700.000 pounds of Sripur sugar it was not requested by Iranian traders¹⁹³. Pure Masqaṭī loaf-sugar, on the other hand, increased its share in the Iranian market in the 1670's at the expense of Batavia-imports¹⁹⁴. Advance contracts accepted by the VOC included only Bengali sugars, but not the Batavian varieties, the reasons given being the unlikelihood of Batavia being able to send adequate supplies and the low prices offered¹⁹⁵. In the 1680's, expansion of sugarcane cultivation in 'Umān offered the increasingly cash-strapped Iranian market a cheap alternative to Indian and Southeast Asian imports¹⁹⁶.

In the 1680's, the need to find outlets for Javanese sugar may have inaugurated a very gradual shift away from Bengali imports to boost the sale of Dutch colonial produce¹⁹⁷. And although, in the early 1690's the VOC felt their share of the Iranian sugar market was gradually eroded by English, Armenian and Muslim competitors the latter's imports of Bengali and Manilha varieties did not, seemingly, price the Dutch colonial produce out of the market¹⁹⁸. In fact, towards the mid-1680's the growing impoverishment of Iran was blamed for a return to cheaper local sources of fructose and similar sources of energy, such as syrups of grapes and dates¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹² ARA VOC 1379, fl.2712rff.: Report R. Casembroot, dated Batavia 25/11/1682.

¹⁹³ ARA VOC 1255, pp.879ff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 6/8/1667.

¹⁹⁴ GM IV, 21ff., 36: J. Maetsuijcker, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 28/2/1675.

¹⁹⁵ ARA VOC 1284, fl.2272rff.: L. van der Dusse, Bandar-e 'Abbās, to Batavia, dated 15/8/1670. Dutch reports say that Batavian sugar was bought at Bandar-e 'Abbās chiefly by Banyan merchants - as opposed to the Bengali varieties, which found their buyers among Iranian and Jewish traders - who, having suffered at the hands of the new governor of the port city began to refrain from making further investments in this bulky commodity in the early 1670's, see *ibid.* fl.2319rff.: *do.*, dated 7/3/1671.

¹⁹⁶ ARA VOC 1416, fl.1626rff.: R. Casembroot, off Qešm, to Amsterdam, dated 9/9/1684; Dutch military action against Qešm meant that the Persian cargo of 1686 was sold in Surat (see ARA VOC 1430, fl.1535vff.: J. van Heuvel, Eşfahān, to Batavia, dated 15/7/1686), which would resolve the puzzle of the only cargo of Bengali sugar sold in Surat between 1680 and 1709 observed by K. GLAMANN (1958), 160.

¹⁹⁷ This case is argued, on the basis of not entirely convincing evidence, in O. PRAKASH (1985), 176.

¹⁹⁸ GM V, 388ff., 422: J. Camphuys, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 26/3/1691; *ibid.*, 668ff., W. van Outhoorn, Batavia, to Amsterdam, dated 30/11/1694: Batavia sugar still yielded 119% profits. Manila, was one of the points in which the exchange circuit of the Indian Ocean intersected with trans-Pacific voyages: it is not inconceivable that sugar exported from Manila not originated from the Chinese spice trade but also from Central America or the West Indies, see ... <???>; see ... <???>.

¹⁹⁹ ARA VOC 1416, fl.1626rff.: R. Casembroot, off Qešm, to Amsterdam, dated 9/9/1684.

CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this thesis we had claimed that trade in the Persian Gulf Area needs to be studied in a perspective that looks beyond the borders of the "nation state". In fact, we argued that the network of port cities and trading places which sustained commercial regions had to be placed at the heart of the investigation rather than the policies of "central states". The historical survey of trade patterns and of the relations between state officials and merchants has shown that the peripheral / peripheral location of port cities in conjunction with their particular rationale engendered specific forms of contacts between what one German school of social theory would like to distinguish as "Herrschaft und Gesellschaft". For Iranian ports, the active participation of state officials in trading ventures has emerged as a characteristic feature in times in which the "central state" had little clout over the coastal lands. In Al-Baṣra, it seemed, on the other hand, that the commercial life of the port was run under the watchful eye of the Afrāsiyāb ruler and his clan almost as a family enterprise, while, under Ottoman domination, the "imperial" patterns as pointed out for Safavid ports appears to have obtained. In ʿUmān, after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the "maritime" branch of the Yaʿārība Imamate developed into the dynasty most closely associated with seaborne activities, both peaceful exchange and violent raid, ever since the Kings of Hormūz. The maritime empire of the Yaʿārība was only gradually emerging towards the end of the period under examination in this thesis and must be seen in the very different political context at the turn from the XVIIth to the XVIIIth centuries.

The investigation into the horse trade has revealed a number of different ways in which state agencies could regulate the trade in strategically important prestige goods. After a period of fully commercialised trade in the early XVIth and partly monopolised trade under the *Estado da Índia* in the mid- and late XVIth century, the character of this commerce became more fragmented. In Safavid ports the most restrictive rules applied, while Al-Baṣra, Arabian ports of the Southern shores and especially ʿUmān developed as important markets for commercial horse-coping on behalf of the élites of the Indian subcontinent. However, in all Persian Gulf ports state agencies (or, more accurately, members of the ruling families or their protégés dominated the trade). The horse trade thus represents an example of administered trade with highly regulating

interferences of state agencies to the point where the very term trade becomes doubtful as a suitable descriptive category. Safavid Iran implemented controls and restrictions more tightly even than in the trade of precious metals. This may lead us to believe that the particular social value placed on horses may have played a part. The trade of important foodstuffs, on the other hand, such as dates and wheat, was carried on on a commercial basis by both local and foreign traders within and outside the Persian Gulf proper, regardless, it seems, even of hostilities between Ottomans and Safavids, or Indo-Iranian wars. Commercial sources suggest that there was large scale cultivation of dates (for export markets especially in India) and wheat (albeit to a much smaller extent and mainly for the intraregional trade). But we do not know whether or how this translated into new arrangements between landlords and peasants or labourers.

For imports into the Persian Gulf Area we had concentrated on goods aiming at mass markets, such as cheaper varieties of piecegoods and foodstuffs. Sources originating with the VOC were found to be particularly useful, not only because they were the largest single importers of many of the goods discussed, but also because for the period here under examination they seem to have integrated the country trade in our area into their intra-Asian operations more comprehensively than their European competitors. Hence, the documentation appears to be fuller and more reliable than for EIC or CIO. Distortions of the realities reported arising out of the need to conceal illicit private trade of Company servants can of course never be excluded, but for the XVIIth century at least they would appear to be no match to the vast sectors of unrecorded (if, at times, legal) private trade carried on in the English factories.

We had seen that throughout the XVIIth century, the Persian Gulf Area continued to operate as the most important conduit for trade between the Ottoman Empire and South Asia. It is difficult to establish a uniform hierarchy of markets and for different goods the price structure was determined in different markets. Yet, through constant flows of intelligence market centres in the area and beyond were connected in a permanent circuit of adjustment. In particular it must be borne in mind that throughout the XVIIth century Indo-Middle Eastern overland and maritime trade were intimately linked. In Iran, it was the function of Eṣfahān's *bāzār* to balance prices of overland and maritime imports, especially in view of reexports to the Ottoman Empire and Muscovy; repercussions of substantial overland imports could be felt on markets as far South

as Lār and could determine wholesale prices in Bandar-e ʿAbbās and, to a lesser degree it seems, Bandar-e Kong.

Although *entrepôts*-duties were not levied in Bandar-e ʿAbbās either, the combination of lesser government presence and the continuation of the Portuguese *cartaz*- and convoy-system turned Bandar-e Kong into the true centre of the forwarding trade in the Persian Gulf. The European Companies all considered at least once to remove their operations from Bandar-e ʿAbbās further along the coastline. The recurrence of such projects seems to confirm the conviction expressed in the historical survey, that the choice of one particular harbour, Bandar-e ʿAbbās, as main entry point into Iran was a political decision, not one based on economic criteria (such as reducing costs of overland transport through shortening the distance between point of (dis-)embarkation and markets). It is ironical then, that more often than not these intentions were prompted by intractable problems in the Companies' relations with Safavid authorities; the VOC in particular resented that despite alleged Dutch naval superiority in the Persian Gulf only the EIC and the Portuguese enjoyed part of the customs revenues in Iranian ports. Whether the partly political motivation of the rise of Bandar-e ʿAbbās in itself can explain its loss of *entrepôt* functions is less than clear. Rather it could be argued that the failure of the political élite governing the Safavid prime port to develop an active interest in commercial affairs allowed for the fragmentation of these functions over a number of trading places, of the coastal lands and in the interior, in fore- and hinterland alike.

Masqaṭ was perhaps the port which more than any other continued to operate as *entrepôt*. Here, Indian exporters brought their wares to market, which were bought by traders from the Persian Gulf Area. Not surprisingly, wholesale prices for reexports were generally well below the levels at Al-Baṣra and Bandar-e ʿAbbās¹. Al-Basra functioned of course primarily as a gateway to the Ottoman empire, but in some years goods sold at Al-Baṣra could find their way into Iran via Baḡdād, Behbehān or Bandar-e Rīg. However, transport costs, export duties in Al-

¹ Spices, on the other hand, which were subjected to the Dutch régime of regulated prices, were reexported into ʿUmān from Iranian ports via Ġulfar or Šuḥār, see e.g. ARA VOC 1304, fl.522r.: N. Ritsert, Masqaṭ, to Batavia, dated 19/9/1674.

Basra and customs in Iran made this rarely a profitable venture². Conversely, the VOC who could expect to obtain favourable privileges, was in a position to consider relocating all their operations from Bandar-e ‘Abbās to the Ottoman port, when armed conflict erupted in 1684/85³.

The reexport of Asian commodities was found to have been a common feature of seaborne trade across the Western Indian Ocean and an indicator for the mutual integration of the Indo-Iranian markets. A short look at transport conditions makes us realise that this is not entirely surprising, given that the distance between Bandar-e ‘Abbās and Surat could be covered in as little as two weeks⁴. In fact, on occasions our sources seem to suggest that the reexport trade from the Persian Gulf was not always profit driven, and that in the case of the closely integrated markets of Gujarat and the Persian Gulf Area merchants and shipowners sometimes simply used cheap freight space from the Persian Gulf for goods known to be in universal demand in North-West India⁵. For certain products, especially those traded under near monopoly conditions (but also for copper which was universally in demand on both sides of the Arabian Sea), wider areas constituted interconnected markets. Although demand was relatively inflexible, in the late 1630’s, South-East Asian spices unsold in Bandar-e ‘Abbās could seemingly be carried to Surat without causing upheavals on the Gujarati spice markets⁶. However, before we can

² ARA VOC 1406, fl.1205vff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 28/8/1684.

³ ARA VOC 1416, fl.1607rff.: R. Casembroot, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Batavia, dated 20/10/1684.

⁴ E.g. *EFT* VI, 238ff.: President Factory Surat to London, dated 28/2/1640. The intimate connections between the coastal lands of the Persian Gulf Area and Western India continued, of course, well into the XIXth and even XXth century, see e.g. the observations in J.R. PREECE (1885), *Journey from Siraz to Jask - via Darab, Forg and Minab*, *RGS Suppl. Papers* I, 403-437.

⁵ For an occasion in which merchants willingly accepted losses on reexports of copper and spices see ARA VOC 1261, fl.726rff.: W. Roothals, Bandar-e ‘Abbās, to Amsterdam, dated 26/1/1668.

⁶ ARA VOC 1128, fl.94ff.: B. Pietersz., Surat, to Batavia, dated 20/8/1637.

come to more comprehensive and far-reaching conclusions, it is desirable to learn more about the ways in which overland and maritime commerce linked up not just on an abstract level of commodity prices and volumes of exchange, but rather on the more personal level of alliances, contacts or antagonisms among the merchant houses and family firms who plied the trade.

TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration here adopted by and large follows the system suggested in R. EISENER (ed.) (1984), *Tabellen zur Umschreibung...*, Tübingen, with the a few exceptions, chiefly the conventions for the article and *nisba* in Arabic and the diphtongs and feminine endings in Persian. For transliterations from Indian vernacular and other less frequently used languages (e.g. Hebrew, Ukrainian) a more simplified approach has been chosen, which allows to recognise toponyms or anthroponyms (where identified) without, however, aspiring at comprehensive renderings of the original pronunciation or spelling.

ABBREVIATIONS

(journals, series, learned societies, works of reference, conference papers)

<i>AA</i>	- <i>Asian Affairs</i> , London.
<i>AAAGeo</i>	- <i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i> , Lawrence.
<i>AARP</i>	- Art and Archaeology Research Papers, London.
<i>AASr</i>	- <i>Asian and African Studies</i> , Bratislava.
<i>AASr(H)</i>	- <i>Asian and African Studies</i> , Haifa/Jerusalem.
<i>Abh</i>	- Abhandlungen.
<i>AbrN</i>	- <i>Abr Nahrain</i> , Sydney / Melbourne (Leiden).
<i>ACA</i>	- Agrupamento de estudos de cartografia antiga, Coimbra / Lisboa.
<i>ACCP</i>	- <i>Arquivo do Centro Cultural Português</i> , Paris.
<i>AcAs</i>	- <i>Acta Asiatica</i> , Tokyo.
<i>ACF</i>	- <i>Annali di Ca' Foscari</i> , Venezia.
<i>AcIr</i>	- <i>Acta Iranica</i> , Tehran / Liège / Leiden.
<i>ACMN</i>	- <i>Anais do Clube Militar-Navál</i> , Lisboa.
<i>AcOr</i>	- <i>Acta Orientalia</i> , København / Leiden.
<i>AcOrHung</i>	- <i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
<i>AcPolH</i>	- <i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i> , Wrocław.
<i>AESC</i>	- <i>Annales. Économies, Sociétés et Civilizations</i> , Paris.
<i>Afgh</i>	- <i>Afghanistan</i> , Qābol.
<i>AfghJ</i>	- <i>Afghanistan Journal</i> , Graz.
<i>AfghSt</i>	- <i>Afghan Studies</i> , London.
<i>AFPr</i>	- <i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> , Roma (Paris).
<i>AfrHS</i>	- <i>African Historical Studies</i> , Boston (Brookline/Mass.).
<i>AgrH</i>	- <i>Agricultural History</i> , Berkeley.
<i>AHConc</i>	- <i>Annuariam Historiae Conciliorum</i> , Roma.
<i>AHN</i>	- <i>Acta Historiae Neerlandica</i> , Leiden [-1972].
<i>AHNe</i>	- <i>Acta Historiae Neerlandicae</i> , 's Gravenhage [1973-].
<i>AHR</i>	- <i>American Historical Review</i> , New York.
<i>AHROS</i>	- <i>Arab Historical Review of Ottoman Studies</i> , Zagwān.
<i>AHSI</i>	- <i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i> , Roma.
<i>AI</i>	- <i>Ars Islamica</i> , Ann Arbor.
<i>AIBL</i>	- <i>Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i> , Paris.
<i>AIr</i>	- <i>Ātār-e Irān</i> , Haarlem.
<i>AI(U)ON</i>	- <i>Annali. Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli</i> , Napoli.
<i>AKG</i>	- <i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i> , Köln.
<i>AKM</i>	- <i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Leipzig / Wiesbaden.
<i>ALinc</i>	- <i>Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Real Accademia dei Lincei)</i> , Classe di scienze morali, Roma.
<i>AmAn</i>	- <i>American Anthropologist</i> , Washington.
<i>AMI</i>	- <i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> , Berlin.
<i>AmJSoc</i>	- <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> , Chicago.
<i>AN</i>	- <i>Akademija Nauk</i> .
<i>AnatSt</i>	- <i>Anatolian Studies</i> , Ankara / London.

- AnAug* - *Analecta Augustiniana*, Roma.
AnJIC - *Anais da Junta das Investigações Coloniais*, Lisboa.
AnnGeo - *Annales de Géographie*, Paris.
AnnHMM - *Annalen der Hydrographie und der maritimen Meteorologie*, Hamburg.
AnnIsl - *Annales Islamologiques*, Al-Qāhira.
AnOr - *Analecta Orientalia*, Roma.
ANRW - *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (in progress), eds. H. TEMPORINI / W. HAASE, Berlin / New York.

ANSMN - *American Numismatical Society Museum Notes*, New York.
APC - *Archives Persanes Commentées*.
ArAs - *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris.
ArchAg - *Archivo Agustiniiano*, Zamora (Valladolid).
ArchOtt - *Archivum Ottomanicum*, Wiesbaden/Den Haag.
ArchVen - *Archivio Veneto*, Venezia.
ArEurSoc - *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, Paris.
ArmRev - *Armenian Review*, Boston.
ArOr - *Archív Orientalní*, Praha / Amsterdam.
ArSt - *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge (London).
ArStQ - *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Belmont.
ArVenTri - *Archivio Veneto-Tridentinum*.
AsQR - *Asian Quarterly Review*, London.
ASiDir - *Annali di Storia del Diritto*, Milano.
ASiI - *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Firenze.
AsRev - *Asiatic Review*, London [-1952; from 1953: *Asian Review*].
AUL - *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, Lyon / Paris.
AW - *Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
BAIPAA - *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian (Iranian) Art and Archeology*, New York.
Bell(eten) - *Bellefen Türk Tarih Kurumu*, Ankara.
BengPP - *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta.
BEO - *Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*.
BEtPort(Br) - *Bulletin des études portugaises (et brésiliennes)*, Paris (Lisboa).
BFUP - *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Lisboa.
BHI - *Bāstān šenāst o Honar-e Irān*.
BI - *Bibliothèque Iranienne*.
BIBLB - *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-brasileira*, Lisboa.
BIFAO - *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, al-Qāhira.
BIHR - *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research*, London.
BIVG - *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, Nova Goa.
BJMES - *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Exeter [see also: *BRISMES*].
BJRL - *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester.
BKart - *Bedi Kartlisa*, Paris.
BKÜ - *Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte*.
BMat - *Banber Matenadarani*, Yerevan.
BMGN - *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Utrecht.

- BMHG** - *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het historisch genootschap*, Utrecht.
- BMQ** - *The British Museum Quarterly*, London.
- BNJbb** - *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Bonn.
- BriSMES** - *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies. Bulletin*, London.
- BRSIt** - *Bolettino della Reale Società (Geografica) Italiana*, Firenze?.
- BSA** - *Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung*.
- BSGeolt** - *Bollettino della (Reale) Società Geografica Italiana*, Firenze.
- BSGeoLb** - *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisboa.
- BŠHI** - *Bāstān Šenāst va Honar-e Irān*.
- BSO(A)S** - *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*, London.
- BT** - *Barrasthā-ye Tārth*, Tehrān.
- BTS** - *Beiruter Texte und Studien*.
- BTLV** - *Bijdragen tot de taal- land- en volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië)*, Leiden ('s-Gravenhage).
- BTID** - *Bergelerle Türk Tarih Dergisi*.
- BusH** - *Business History*, London.
- BVGO** - *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidskunde*, Arnhem.
- ByzF** - *Byzantinische Forschungen*, Amsterdam.
- CAJ** - *Central Asiatic Journal*, Wiesbaden/Den Haag.
- CanSlP** - *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Edmonton.
- CAR** - *Central Asian Review*, Oxford (London).
- CAS** - *Central Asian Survey*, Oxford ('s Gravenhage).
- CCA** - *Centro de estudos de cartografia antiga*.
- CCM** - *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, Poitiers.
- CDi** - *La Ciudad de Dios*, El Escorial.
- CEcHE** - *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*.
- CEcHInd** - *The Cambridge Economic History of India*.
- CGR** - *Ciba Geigy Rundschau*, Basel.
- CHEP** - *Iº Congresso da história da expansão portuguesa no mundo*, Lisboa 1940.
- CHI** - *The Cambridge History of Islam*.
- CHIA** - *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*.
- CHInd** - *The Cambridge History of India*.
- CHIr** - *The Cambridge History of Iran*.
- CHM** - *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale. Journal of World History*, Paris.
- CIHD** - *Congreso Internacionál da história dos descobrimentos*, 6 vols., Lisboa 1960/61.
- CIO** - *Congrès International des Orientalistes*, see also ICO.
- CISH** - *Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*.
- CJHSS** - *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Peradeniya.
- CMRS** - *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, Paris.
- CSOH** - *Comparative Studies in Overseas History*, Leiden.
- CSSH** - *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Ann Arbor/Cambridge/Den Haag.
- CTiss** - *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Goa.
- CurrAnth** - *Current Anthropology*, Washington.
- CV** - *Civiltà Veneziana*.

- DA** - Dissertation Abstracts.
DAArm - Documenti di Architettura Armena, Milano.
DAI - Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
DOT - Deutscher Orientalistentag.
Ds. - Denkschriften.
DT - *Dirāsāt tarthiya*, Dimašq.
EcGeo - *Economic Geography*, Worcester.
EcHJ - *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek*, 's-Gravenhage.
EcHR - *Economic History Review*, Cambridge (Welwyn Garden City).
EcSHJ - *Economisch en Sociaal-historisch Jaarboek*, Leiden.
Edeb - *Edebiyat*, Philadelphia.
EDoc - *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana*, Roma.
EDT - Entesārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Tehrān.
EFr - *Études Franciscaines*, Paris.
EHR - *English Historical Review*, Oxford / London.
El₂ - *Encyclopaedia Islamica (New Series)*.
Elr - *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
EkW - *Erdkundliches Wissen*, Remagen.
EOcInd - *Études Océan Indien*, Paris.
ESaf - *Études Safavides*.
EstCl - *Estudios Clásicos*, Madrid.
EtBalk - *Études Balkaniques*.
ETS - *Études Turco-Safavides*.
EurJSoc - *European Journal of Sociology*, Paris.
EV - *Epigrafika Vostoka*, Moskva.
EW - *East and West*, Roma.
FIS - *Freiburger Islamstudien*.
Fs. - *Festschrift*.
FIZ - *Farhang-e Irān Zamīn*, Tehrān.
FOEurG - *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, Berlin (Wiesbaden).
For - *Folia Orientalia*, Krakow.
FSPEntw - Forschungsschwerpunkt Entwicklungssoziologie, Fakultät für Soziologie, Universität Bielefeld. Südostasien Programm. Working Papers.
FzkSt - *Franziskanische Studien*, Werl.
GAL - *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, ed. C. Brockelmann, Leipzig 1937-49.
GC - *The Great Circle*, Armidale.
GDid - *Geschichte und ihre Didaktik*, Paderborn.
GG - *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Göttingen.
GJ - *The Geographical Journal*, London.
GMij - *Geologie en Mijnbouw*, Dordrecht.
GOr - *Garcia da Orta*, Lisboa.
GR - *Geographische Rundschau*, Braunschweig.
GRev - *Geographical Review*, New York.
GZ - *Geographische Zeitschrift*, Wiesbaden.

- HAHR** - *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Durham/N.C.
HAm - *Handes Amsoreay*, Wien.
HansG - *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Leipzig.
HarvThR - *Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge/Mass.
HarvUkrS - *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Cambridge/Mass.
HbESWG - *Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, Stuttgart.
HbMaN - *Handbuch der mittelasiatischen Numismatik*.
HbO - *Handbuch der Orientalistik*.
HI - *Hamdard Islamicus*, Carachi.
HistRel - *History of Religions*, Chicago.
HistTheo - *History and Theory*, Middletown.
HJ - *Historical Journal*, Cambridge.
HM - *Honar va Mardom*, Tehrān.
HRel - *History of Religions*, Chicago.
HS - *Hakluyt Society*.
HT - *Historisk Tidskrift*, Stockholm.
HTm - *Hesperis Tamuda*, Rabat.
HUCA - *Hebrew University College Annual*, Cincinnati.
HZ - *Historische Zeitschrift*, München.
IA - *Islam Ansiklopedisi*.
IC - *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad.
IChr - *Islamochristiana*, Roma.
ICIAA - *International Congress for Iranian Art and Archaeology (Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie. AMI Suppl. VI, Berlin 1979)*.
ICO - *International Congress of Orientalists*, see also: CIO.
IESHR - *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Dehli.
IHSI - *Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu*.
IJJ - *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Dordrecht.
IJAfrHS - *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Boston (New York).
IJIAS - *International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies*, Bloomington (Ind.).
IJMES - *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Los Angeles / London.
IJTS - *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Madison.
IkFM - *Istanbul Üniv. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Istanbul.
IM - *Imago Mundi*, Berlin.
IMat - *Islamkundliche Materialien*.
IndAnt - *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
IndChHR - *Indian Church History Review*, Bangalore.
IndGi - *De Indische Gids*, Amsterdam.
IndHC - *Indian Historical Congress*, see: *PIHC* and *PIHRC*.
IndHR - *Indian Historical Review*, New Dehli.
IndIr - *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta.
IntHR - *International History Review*, Burnaby.
IntSp - *Internationaal Spectator*.
IntSt - *International Studies*, Dehli.

- IQT - Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken.
IrAnt - *Iranica Antiqua*, Leuven.
IrS - *Irān-Šenāst* (see also *RFLTe*).
IrSt - *Iranian Studies*, New Haven.
ISC(iv) - *Islam: storia e civiltà*, Roma.
IslArt - *Islamic Art*, New York.
IslQ - *Islamic Quarterly*, London.
IsMEO - Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma.
ISi - *Islamic Studies*, Carachi.
IstM - *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Tübingen.
ITED - *İslam tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Istanbul.
Itin - *Itinerario*, Leiden.
 IU - Islamkundliche Untersuchungen.
 IÜEFY - Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.
IZap - *Istoričeskie Zapiski*, Moskva.
IzvAN - *Izvestija Akademii Nauk*.
JA - *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
JAAS - *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Leiden.
JAEnv - *Journal of Arid Environments*, (London).
JAfrH - *Journal of African History*, London.
JAOS - *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven.
JAsH - *Journal of Asian History*, Wiesbaden.
JAsSBeng - *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
[JAsSBomb] - *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*.
JAsSPak - *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Dacca.
JAS/JAsSt - *Journal of Asian Studies*, Ann Arbor.
JbAsK - *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, Leipzig.
JBBRAS - *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
JbbGOE - *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas*, Stuttgart.
JBORS - *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Bankipore / Patna.
JBritSt - *Journal of British Studies*, Chicago.
JbTechG - *Jahrbuch für Technikgeschichte*.
JEcH - *Journal of Economic History*, Iowa.
JEEcH - *Journal for European Economic History*, Roma.
JEOL - *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden.
JESHO - *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden.
JGAPS - *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies* (see: *MHG*).
JGSGL - *Jahrbücher zur Gesellschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Lateinamerikas*.
JHMAS - *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, New Haven/Conn.
JICH - *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, London.
JidH - *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Cambridge/Mass.
JIndAI - *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, London.
JIndH - *Journal of Indian History*, Allahabad (London).
JIndSOA - *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta.

- JIndTH* - *Journal of Indian Textile History*, Ahmadabad.
- JIslSt* - *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Oxford.
- JMalBRAS* - *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Singapore.
- JMEOS* - *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, Manchester.
- JMH* - *Journal of Modern History*, Chicago.
- JMP* - *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munten en Penningenkunde*.
- JNES* - *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago.
- JNG* - *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, Kellmünz.
- JNumSI* - *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi.
- JOmS* - *Journal of Oman Studies*, Masqat.
- JOri* - *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
- JPeasS* - *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Cambridge (London).
- JPakHS* - *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Carachi.
- JQR* - *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia.
- JRAS* - *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
- JRCAS* - *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London.
- JRCI* - *Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute*.
- JRGS* - *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, London.
- JS* - *Journal des Savants*, Paris.
- JSAI* - *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, Jerusalem.
- JSDyC* - *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colorists*, Bradford.
- JSEAH* - *Journal of South East Asian History*, Singapore.
- JSEASr* - *Journal of South East Asian Studies*, Singapore.
- JSemSt* - *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester.
- JTS* - *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Harvard (Duxbury).
- JUPHS* - *Journal of the Union Provinces Historical Society*.
- JWCI* - *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, London.
- JWH* - *Journal of World History* (see: CHM).
- KdO* - *Kunst des Orients*, Wiesbaden.
- KHGU* - *Kronijk van het historisch genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, Utrecht.
- KSINA* - *Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR*, Moskva.
- KSIV* - *Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta Vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*, Moskva.
- LusoBR* - *The Luso-Brazilian Review*, Madison.
- LH* - *Ler Historia*, Lisboa.
- LHGIt* - *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitufyunneri*, Yerevan.
- LippMitt* - *Lippische Mitteilungen aus Geschichte und Landeskunde*, Detmold.
- MA* - *Le Moyen Âge*, Bruxelles.
- MACL* - *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Classe de Letras*, Lisboa.
- MAIBL* - *Mémoires de l'Institut de France. AIBL*, Paris.
- MAIS* - *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*.
- MaMa* - *Maghreb-Machrek*, Paris.
- MAr* - *al-Mağalla al-ʿArabīya*.
- MarM* - *Mariner's Mirror*, London.

- MarsRM** - *Marseille. Révue municipale*, Marseille.
MAS - *Modern Asian Studies*, London.
MAT - *Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte*.
MatTurc - *Materialia Turcica*, Bochum.
MAW - *Mededelingen Koninklijke / Nederland. Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde*.
MBTar - *Mağalla al-buhūt at-tarīhiya*.
MDA - *Mağalle-ye dānešgāde-ye edebiyāt*, Tehrān.
MDAO - *Mağalle-ye dānešgāde-ye edebiyāt va 'olūm-e ensān-e Dānešgāh-e Ferdowsī*, Mašhad.
MDHĠA - *Mağalla dirāsāt 'l-ḥaltğ al-'arabi va ġazīrat 'l-'arabiya* [see also: *MHG*].
MedHR - *Mediterranean Historical Review*, London.
MedInd - *Medieval India*, Aligarh [see also: *MInd*].
MedInd - *Medieval India*, New York.
MEJ - *Middle East Journal*, Washington.
Mél. - *Mélanges*.
MES - *Middle Eastern Studies*, London.
MESABull - *Middle Eastern Studies Association Bulletin*.
MĠogr - *Mağmū'e-ye Ġogrāfiyā-t*.
MGeoGH - *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft Hamburg*, Hamburg.
MGS - *Marburger Geographische Schriften*.
MHG - *Mağalla Dirāsāt al-Ḥaltğ wa al-ġazīra al-'arabiya* [see also: *MDHĠA*].
MLAusl - *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen*, Stuttgart.
MIFAO - *Mémoires publiés par l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, al-Qāhira.
MIHP - *Mémoires de l'Institut Historique de Provence*.
MII - *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*, Paris (Genf).
MInd - *Medieval India*, Aligarh (London) [see also: *MedInd*].
MIndQ - *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh.
MissHisp - *Missonalia Hispanica*, Madrid.
MLI - *Mare Luso-Indicum*, Paris (Genf).
MMS - *Mağalle-ye Mardom-Šenāst*.
MNipp - *Monumenta Nipponica*, Tokyo.
MOOI - *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, Paris.
MÖStAr - *Mitteilungen aus dem Österreichischen Staatsarchiv*, Wien.
Mq - *Al-Mashriq*, Bayrūt / Southwood.
MRM - *Marseille. Revue Municipale*, Marseille.
MsME - *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, Leiden.
MSOS - *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin.
MW - *The Muslim World*, Carachi [also: *MW Hartford*].
NA - *Nuova Antologia di lettere, scienze ed arti*, Roma..
NAA - *Narody Azii i Afriki. Istorija, ekonomika, kultura*, Moskva.
NArchVen - *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*.
NC - *Numismatic Chronicle*, London.
NCHInd - *The New Cambridge History of India*.
NCirc - *Numismatic Circular*, London.

- ND** - *Numismatic Digest*.
NEBR - *Notes et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris.
NGT - *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo.
NLe - *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, Den Haag.
NLit - *Numismatic Literature*, New York.
NLR - *New Left Review*.
NNM - *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*. American Numismatic Society, New York.
NO - *Le Nouvel Orient*, Moskva [also: *NO*, Praha].
NOĖt - *Name-ye Olūm-e Eġtemāʾ*, Tehrān.
NPTurk - *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Poughkeepsie.
NR - *Il Nuovo Ramusio*.
NRSt - *Nuova Rivista Storica*, Milano.
NSGA - *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichts- und Altertumskunde*.
NZMissW - *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaften*, Schöneck-Beckenried.
OCA - *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, Roma.
OCA - *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma.
OCTS - *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies*, London.
OLZ - *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig.
OM - *Oriente Moderno*, Roma.
ONSN - *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*.
OPt - *O Oriente Portugues*, Goa.
OrAr - *Orientalisches Archiv*, Leipzig.
OrArt - *Oriental Art*, Richmond (London).
OrGand - *Orientalia Gandensia*, Gent.
OrRom - *Orientalia Romana*, Roma.
OsmAr - *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, Ankara/Istanbul.
OTF - *Oriental Translation Fund*.
PAAJR - *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*, New York.
PEFEO - *Publications de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, Paris.
PP - *Past and Present*, Petersfield / Oxford.
PAmPhS - *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia.
PBH - *Patma-Banasirakan Hamdes*, Yerevan.
PHC - *Panjab Historical Congress*, Patiola.
PIHC - *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*.
PIHRC - *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*.
PrHGeo - *Progress in Human Geography*, Sevenoaks (Kent).
Proc - *Proceedings*.
ProcRGeoS - *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, London.
PrOr - *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, Warszawa.
PSArSt - *Proceedings of the Seminar of Arabian Studies*, Cambridge.
PtF - *Portugiesische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft*, Münster.
PtSt - *Portuguese Studies*, London.
QRHS - *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta.
QSA - *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, Venezia.

- QSIr - Quaderni del Seminario di Iranistica, Venezia.
 QSt - Quaderni Storici, Bologna.
 RAA - *Révue des Arts Asiatiques. Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris.
 RArchS - *Rassegna degli archivi di stato*, Roma.
 RBNS - *Revue Belge de Numismatique et Sigillographie*, Bruxelles.
 RBPH - *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, Bruxelles.
 RC - Rendiconti.
 RCu(It) - *Revista de Cultura*, Macau.
 REArm - *Revue des études arméniennes* (N.S.), Leuven.
 REcAnth - *Research in Economic Anthropology*, Greenwich.
 REI - *Revue des études islamiques*, Paris.
 REJ - *Revue des études juives*, Paris.
 ResEch - *Research in Economic History*, Greenwich/Conn.
 RevH - *Revista de Historia*, Lisboa.
 RFLlb - *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, Lisboa.
 RFLTe - *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et sciences humaines*, Tehrān (see: MDA).
 RGeoEst - *Revue Géographique de l'Est*, Nancy.
 RGeoIt - *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, Roma.
 RGeoSI - *Review of the Geological Society of India*.
 RGP - *Rijksgechiedskundige Publikatiën*.
 RH - *Revue Historique*, Paris.
 RHCofF - *Révue de l'histoire des Colonies Françaises*, Paris.
 RHDipl - *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, Paris.
 RHES - *Revista de História Económica e Social*, Lisboa.
 RHIndF - *Revue Historique de l'Inde Française*, Pondicherry.
 RHM(agr) - *Revue d'histoire du Maghrébine*, Tunis.
 RHMiss - *Revue de l'histoire des missions*, Paris.
 RHRel - *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris.
 RHSEE - *Revue d'histoire du sud-est européen*, Paris.
 RHStr - *Royal Historical Society. Transactions*, London.
 RMarCol - *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, Paris.
 RMil - *Revista Militar*, Lisboa.
 RMM - *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris.
 RMMM - *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, Aix-en-Provence [formerly: ROMM].
 RNum - *Revue Numismatique*, Paris.
 ROC - *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, Paris.
 RoczOr - *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Krakow.
 ROMM - *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, Aix-en-Prov. [> 1988: RMMM].
 RömQs - *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, Roma.
 RPtCM - *Revista Portuguesa Colonial e Marítima*.
 RPtH - *Revista Portuguesa de História*, Coimbra.
 RSHist - *Revue de synthèse historique*, Paris.
 RSO - *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Roma.
 RSocJB - *Récueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, Bruxelles.

- RSIt* - *Rivista Storica Italiana*, Napoli.
RUC - *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Coimbra.
SA - *South Asia*, Perth.
SAb - *Slavery and Abolition*, London.
Saec - *Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte*, Freiburg/Br.
SAMArm - *Studi di Architettura Medioevale Armena*.
SAR - *South Asian Research*, London.
SAS - *South Asian Studies*, London.
SB - *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
ScAm - *Scientific American*, New York.
ScEcHR - *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, Stockholm.
SD - Sonderdruck (=tiré-à-part).
SGS - *Stuttgarter Geographische Studien*.
SI - *Studia Islamica*, Paris.
SIEER - *Slavonic and East European Review*, London.
SOnDh - *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History*.
SOF - *Südostforschungen*, München.
SpF - *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, Münster.
SpH - *Spiegel Historiae*, Bussum.
SRBG - *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, Bombay.
SRL - *Scriptores Rerum Lusitanarum*.
SRMG - *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*.
StIr - *Studia Iranica*, Paris.
StKurd - *Studia Kurdica*, Paris.
StMagr - *Studi Magrebini*, Napoli.
StMed - *Studi Medioevali*, Spoleto.
StSt - *Studi Storici*, Roma.
StVen - *Studi Veneziani*, Firenze.
StVolt - *Studies on Voltaire and the XVIIIth Century*, London.
SV - *Sovetskoe Vostokvedenie*, Moskva.
TA - *Turkologischer Anzeiger*, Wien.
TAmPhS - *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia.
TangNR - *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Dar es Salam.
TAVO - *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*.
TBombGS - *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, Bombay.
TD - *Istanbul Üniversitesi. Edebiyat Fakültesi. Tarih Dergisi*, Istanbul.
TDKMV - *Trudy XXV meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokvedov*, 5 vols., Moskva 1963 [i.e. XXV CIO].
TEDerg - *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Istanbul.
TerrIn - *Terrae Incognitae*, Chicago.
TESG - *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, Amsterdam
TextH - *Textile History*.
TextMJ - *Textile Museum Journal*, Washington.
TG - *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, Amersfoort.

- TGS - Tübinger Geographische Studien.
- TIncD - *Tarih Incelemeleri Dergisi*, Izmir.
- TJHSE - *Transactions of the Jewish History Society of England*, London.
- TKNAG - *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederl. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*.
- TMP - *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederl. Genootschap voor Munten en Penningkunde*.
- TOEM - *Târîh 'Otmanlı Engûment Meğmû'ası*, Istanbul.
- TopSM - *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, Istanbul.
- TP - *T'oung Pao*, Leiden.
- TRAJH - *Transafrican Journal of History*, Nairobi.
- TSAB - *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, Bloomington.
- TTYKY - *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*.
- TüMec - *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, Istanbul.
- TuSb - *Turkologičeskij Sbornik*.
- TZg - *Tijdschrift voor Zeegechiedenis*, Leiden.
- UAJB - *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, Wiesbaden.
- UrbHY - *Urban History Yearbook*, Cambridge.
- VD - *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Ankara.
- Vel - *Il Veltro*, Roma.
- VIK - *Veröffentlichungen der Iran. Kommission*, Wien.
- VIsI - *Voprosy Istorii*, Moskva.
- VKAWLett - *Verhandeleingen der Koninklijke Akademie van wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde*, Amsterdam.
- VKTLV - *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Leiden ('s-Gravenhage).
- VMoskUV - *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. Vostokvedenie*, Moskva.
- VOK - *Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, Wiesbaden.
- VSWG - *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Stuttgart.
- WHG - *Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*.
- WCJS - *World Congress of Jewish Studies*.
- WI - *Die Welt des Islam*, Berlin / Leiden.
- WLv - *Werken Uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging*.
- WdO - *Welt des Orients*, Göttingen.
- WWA - *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Kiel / Tübingen.
- WZKM - *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Wien.
- XCHR - *Xavier Centre for Historical Research*.
- ZDMG - *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden / Stuttgart.
- ZfG - *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Berlin.
- ZGEkB - *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Berlin.
- ZGSW - *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*.
- ZHF - *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, Berlin.
- ZRRG - *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, Marburg.
- ZSWG - *Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival sources:

- AEP** - Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris
 CCP: Correspondance politique, Perse
 CCT: Correspondance politique, Turquie
- AHU** - Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa
 C.I.: Caixas da Índia
- ANP** - Archives Nationales, Paris
 Ae : Fonds des Affaires étrangères
 Ae/B I: Correspondence consulaire
 Col: Colonies
 FM : Fonds de la Marine
 FM/B7 : Pays étrangers. Commerce et consulats: Ordres et dépêches; 204-462:
 Correspondence à l'arrivée
- ANTT** - Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa
 CC : Corpo Chronológico
 CDC: Cartas de Diu a D. João de Castro.
 CGC: Cartas de Goa a D. João de Castro.
 COC: Cartas de Ormuz a D. João de Castro.
 CSL: Collecção de São Lourenço.
 CSV: Collecção de São Vicente.
 CVR: Cartas dos Vice-reis
 DRI: Documentos remetidos da Índia
 Leis: Leis.
 Livr: Manuscritos da Livraria
 LR : Leis e regimentos.
 Misc: Manuscritos da collecção "Miscellanea"
 Or : Documentos Orientais
- ARA** - Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag
 CWG: Coleectie Geleynssen de Jonghe
 OP : Overgekomen brieven en papieren
 SG : Staaten Generaal
- ASV** - Archivio di stato, Venezia
- BAL** - Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisboa
- BL** - British Library, London
- BNL** - Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa
 Alcob.: Codices Alcobacenses
 FG : Fundo Geral
 Pomb.: Codices da collecção Pombalina
- BNM** - Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

- BNP - Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- BUB - Biblioteca Universitaria (di Stato), Bologna.
- HAG - Historical Archives, Panaji, Goa [see *BFUP*]
 LM : Livros das Monções
 LRV: Livros dos reis vizinhos
 LSS: Livros dos segredos
- IOR - India Office Records, London
 E/3 Correspondence with the East (ex-"Original Correspondence"; ex-"Despatch Books")
 G/29 Factory Records Persia
 G/36 Factory Records Surat
 G/40 Factory Records Miscellaneous
 H Home Miscellaneous
 L/AG/1 Ledgers and Journals
 L/MAR Marine Department records
 Map Coll.: Map Collection
- MCC - Museo Civico Correr, Venezia

Abbreviations for Published Collections of Documents and Calendars:

- ACE* - *Assentos do Conselho do Estado 1618-1750*, ed. P.S.S. PISSURLENCAR, 5 vols., Goa, 1953-57 [see also: V.T. GUNE (ed.), *Assentos do Conselho do Estado. A Supplementary Volume: ACE Gune*].
- APO¹* - *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, ed. J.H. De CUNHA RIVARA, 9 vols., Nova Goa, 1857-76.
- APO²* - *Arquivo Português Oriental*, ed. A.B. De Bragança PEREIRA, 11 vols., Bastora/Goa, 1936-40.
- BFUP* - *Boletim da Filmateca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, 49 vols., Lisboa.
- BGLH* - *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel*, ed. K. HEERINGA, 2 vols. (3 pts.), 's Gravenhage, 1910-17.
- BGP* - *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië. 1611-1638* (=RGP LXXII), ed. H. DUNLOP, 's Gravenhage, 1930.
- CAA* - *Cartas de A. De Albuquerque*, ed. R.A. Bulhão PATO, 7 vols. (=Collecção de monumentos para a história das conquistas dos Portugueses, 1^a ser.), Lisboa 1884-1935.
- CCLP* - *Collecção Chronológica da legislação portuguesa 1603-1712*, ed. J.J. De ANDRADE E SILVA, 9 vols., Lisboa, 1854-59.
- CCMC¹* - *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1635-1667*, ed. E.B. SAINSBURY, 7 vols., Oxford, 1907-25.
- CCMC²* - *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1667-1679*, eds. W.

FOSTER / W.T. OTTEWILL, 4 vols., Oxford, 1925-38.

- CDNI** - *Corpus diplomaticum neerlandico-indicum*, eds. H.R. HEERES / F.W. STAPEL, 6 vols., 's Gravenhage, 1907-55.
- CDP** - *Corpo Diplomático Português, contendo os actos e relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo desde o século XVI até os nossos dias* (vol.7: Relações com a Curia Romana), ed. J. De Silva MENDES-LEAL, Lisboa, 1864.
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